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HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

VOL. II.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE,

PROPERLY SO CALLED,

VOL. II.

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JOHN GAST, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW.

—1793.—

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HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

THE deep policy of Philip of Macedon, and the artful uſe he made of the mutual jealouſies and conteſts of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, of the venality of their orators and leaders, and of that decay of public ſpirit which was become general throughout Greece, had, during the courſe of his reign [1], raiſed the Macedonian kingdom to a degree of power far beyond what its late humility of fortune ſeemed to promiſe. His military character was little inferior to his political. And if, to the ſagacity of the ſtateſman and the vigour of the warrior, he had joined thoſe virtues which give to the regal dignity its brighteſt luſtre, all remains of independence had probably been loſt to the Grecian people.

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 336. Olymp. 111. 1.

[1] He reigned about twenty-four years.

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 336.

Philip's own miſconduct prevented it. Intemperate in the purſuit of ſenſual gratifications, he had, for ſome time before his death, rendered his court a ſcene of ſtrife and diſtraction. In order to wed Cleopatra, a young princeſs of whom he happened to be enamoured, he had endeavoured to throw ſuſpicions on his wife Olympias. His ſon Alexander, impatient of his mother's wrongs, he had driven from his preſence, and forced him to ſeek for refuge among the enemies of his country. From his partiality to the creatures of his young queen, he had treated with neglect ſome of his moſt faithful ſervants; and at laſt, by his new favourites, he provoked the blow which put an end to his life. Pauſanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, had been injured in a moſt ſenſible manner by one of Cleopatra's kinſmen, and upon applying to the king for juſtice, had found his complaint diſregarded. Pride, mortification, and reſentment, rendered him deſperate. He marked his opportunity; and as Philip, on a day of public feſtivity, was entering into the theatre, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are hiſtorians who pretend, that he was encouraged to this deed of violence by ſome of the king's own family, and that his accomplices were numerous [2]. But neither the one nor the other

[2] The death of Philip ſeems to have furniſhed much matter of accuſation, which the voice of faction, of private animoſity, and even of ambition, occaſionally employed againſt whatever perſons they thought it was their intereſt to deſtroy, or to blacken. When Alexander invaded Aſia, he charged (Arrian, l. 2. c. 14.) the Perſian court with the guilt of it, alledging it as one of the injuries that had called him forth againſt Darius. At the ſame time, Alexander himſelf did not eſcape; and in the treatment he had received from his father, and the ſpirit with which he had reſented it, his enemies diſcovered reaſons ſufficient for ſuſpecting, that he had ſhared in a crime, to which he owed his ſecurity, and the throne he was in poſſeſſion of. The like ſuſpicions had place againſt Olympias, and her paſſionate exceſſes ſtrengthened them.

Severely

other ſeems to be true. Poſſibly ſome perſons, obnoxious on other accounts, may have been involved in the ſuſpicion; and to have rejoiced at the ſucceſs of the crime (which, doubtleſs, was the caſe of many) may have been conſidered as an argument of their having ſhared in the guilt. Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 336.

The abilities and enterpriſing ſpirit of Philip had rendered him the terror of his neighbours. They haſted to avail themſelves of the favourable change of circumſtances, which his death, the defenceleſs ſtate of Macedon, the embarraſſments and the ſuppoſed inexperience of his ſucceſſor, preſented to their view. The Thracian borderers, who had been lately reduced, threw off the yoke. Illyricum followed the example. In Theſſaly, all was in commotion: and ſuch was the ferment throughout the reſt of Greece, as ſeemed evidently to forebode a total revolution of intereſts.

At home alſo, the Macedonian affairs were in much confuſion; moſt of the chief men being either ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, or proſecuting private animoſities one againſt another. The blow which had proved fatal to Philip, was ſuppoſed to have come from a formidable party, of which Pauſanias was only the inſtrument. The princes of the blood had each their pretenſions. Olympias had her adherents: the young queen Cleopatra hers. And the uncle of the

Arrian, 1. 1. et ſeq. Diod. Sic. 17. Juſtin, 11. Plut. Alex. et Demoſt.

Severely injured by the late king, and of a temper violent and vindictive, ſhe ſaw with exultation, in Philip's death, the overthrow of a faction which had inſulted her, and of a rival whom ſhe abhorred. His fall was her triumph, and ſhe indulged it. With her own hands ſhe placed a golden crown on the head of the aſſaſſin, when hanging on the gibbet, and conſecrated the very dagger which had drank his blood in the temple of one of her gods. Hiſtorians have often pronounced from ſlighter proofs. Such a decided conduct was conſidered as an unqueſtionable argument of her having directed the blow ſhe rejoiced in; of which, however, had ſhe been really guilty, probably ſhe had been more artful in diſguiſing her ſentiments.—See Juſt. l. 9. c. 7.

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 335.

latter, Attalus, who, together with Parmenio, had the command of the forces in Aſia, was ſaid to entertain the moſt ambitious and criminal views.

Alexander perceived the dangers that threatened him, without being diſmayed. He began his reign with revenging his father's death; he ſuppreſſed different factions that threatened the domeſtic peace of his kingdom; and contrived to have Attalus taken off, before he could carry his deſigns, whatever they were, into execution.

Greece employed his attention next. The Theſſalians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the defiles, which lay between their country and Macedon. He eluded them, by paſſing over the craggy top of mount Oſſa, and was already in Theſſaly, before it was imagined he had entered upon his march. Without loſs of time, he proceeded to the Corinthian iſthmus, where the general convention of the States of Greece was held, and laid before them his claim, requiring, that they ſhould appoint him Captain-general againſt the Perſians, with the ſame powers they had granted to his father. Moſt of the Grecian ſtates were ſecretly inimical to his intereſt. The deputies of Sparta, nevertheleſs, were the only perſons in this aſſembly who had the firmneſs to avow their ſentiments. 'The Lacedæmonians,' ſaid they, 'are accuſtomed to lead the way to glorious exploits, not 'to follow the lead of others.' Their repreſentations, however, had little weight. The preſence of the young king, the activity and vigour he had diſplayed, together with his inſinuating addreſs, made all oppoſition fall before him.

Alexander returned with expedition to the north, in order to ſecure his frontier on the ſide of Thrace. The Thracians were a fierce people, of remarkable ſtrength of body, whoſe dwellings

were in faſtneſſes and mountains exceedingly high, and difficult of acceſs. Alexander attacked and diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſtrong holds, and reduced them to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. Theſe terms, in appearance void of ſeverity, ſhew, that to the ſpirit of the young warrior, Alexander had already joined the profound policy of the old chieftain. He required, that their principal leaders, with a choſen body of their braveſt men, ſhould attend his banners; thus ſtrengthening himſelf with the acceſſion of the moſt warlike people then known, and at the ſame time taking with him the ſureſt pledges of their future fidelity. The adjacent nations, the Triballi, the Getæ, and the ſeveral Celtic tribes on both ſides of the Danube, he attacked in the ſame vigorous manner, and with the like ſucceſs [3]. Thence he moved on to Illyricum. The Illyrians had aſſembled a powerful force, and ſtood prepared to meet him: they were nevertheleſs totally defeated, and Clytus their king, who had encouraged the defection, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the neighbouring barbarians.

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 335. Front. Strat. II. 11.

During theſe tranſactions, a report prevailed, that Alexander had fallen in battle againſt the Illyrians. The Greeks in general, the Thebans and Athenians eſpecially, received the tidings with an eager credulity, and the moſt intemperate joy. At Athens, the event was celebrated as the reſtoration of public liberty, the moſt ſpirited decrees were propoſed, and the Macedonian name was

[3] Alexander aſked the Celtes, 'What they feared moſt?' He expected, it ſeems, a compliment; but theſe rough ſons of freedom made anſwer, 'They had no fear but one, leſt the ſky ſhould 'fall on them.' Pleaſed with their ſpirit, he pronounced them his friends and confederates; adding, however, 'the Celtes are 'an haughty people.' Arrian, 1. 4.

treated

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 335.

treated with great indignity. At Thebes, they proceeded ſtill farther. Cadmea, the citadel, was garriſoned by Macedonians. The Thebans put immediately to the ſword all the Macedonian officers they could ſeize; and having ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, upon refuſal, laid ſiege to the citadel.

ALEXANDER had not left Illyricum, when the news of this revolt reached him. He inſtantly marched with the utmoſt expedition, and was within ſight of Thebes, before the Thebans would believe that he was alive. At firſt, he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in hopes that a ſenſe of danger might induce the Thebans to adopt more moderate counſels, and only demanded, that the promoters of the revolt ſhould be delivered up. But perceiving that, inſtead of being reformed by this lenity, they treated him with greater inſult, he at length gave a looſe to his reſentment, and having taken the city by ſtorm, abandoned to military execution all thoſe who were found in arms. The reſt of the inhabitants he ſold for ſlaves; the prieſts excepted, with thoſe to whom the Macedonians were bound by the ties of hoſpitality, the deſcendants of Pindar, and ſuch as had oppoſed the late tumultuous meaſures. It is ſaid, that the number of Thebans thus doomed to ſlavery amounted to thirty thouſand. The city alſo the victor levelled with the ground, not ſuffering one building to be preſerved, but the temples, and the houſe where Pindar had been born.

THE manner in which the Athenians acted on this occaſion does them great honour. They were guilty, as well as the Thebans, and had every thing to fear from the victorious Macedonian. They nevertheleſs made public lamentations for the overthrow of Thebes, ſuſpending on that account even the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries, the moſt highly revered feſtival at Athens; and

and they afforded protection to all the Thebans that fled to them, notwithstanding Alexander's express injunction, 'that no Grecian state should presume 'to give them shelter.' Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 335.

It is probable, the generous compassion which Athens exhibited to this unfortunate people made an impression on the mind of Alexander himself. Historians observe, that, though at first he appeared much displeased, he afterwards received the embassy, which they sent to apologize for their disobedience, with marks of singular esteem. 'Your 'Athenians,' said he to Phocion, 'should look 'to themselves; for, were any misfortune to 'befal me, they alone, of all the Greeks, are 'worthy to command.' The only punishment he inflicted on them was, that they should banish Charidemus, and seven other orators, who had been most active in stirring up the people. Upon a second application, he remitted much even of this, contenting himself with the exile of Charidemus, the sharpness of whose invectives had given him particular offence. Charidemus accordingly left Athens, and fled to the court of Persia. We shall have occasion to mention him hereafter. Plut. Phocion. Plut. Demost.

The extreme severity with which the Thebans were treated is not to be justified upon any ground, perhaps, but that of political necessity. As an intimidating example, it undoubtedly had its use. Greece was thereby completely humbled: for whatever might be the secret inclinations of the different states, they saw it was not now the time to assert their liberties against a prince, whose power was not to be resisted, and at whose hands no mercy was to be expected.

The affairs of Greece being thus composed, and the security of his kingdom provided for, Alexander found leisure to pursue his favourite plan of carrying his arms into Asia. Little more than a year

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 335.

a year had elapſed ſince Philip's death, and already had his ſon, though but twenty years old when he aſcended the throne, ſtruck terror into the moſt formidable of the ſurrounding nations, and diſſipated every league that had been formed againſt him. Upon his return to Macedon, he declared his intention of entering on the Perſian war the enſuing ſpring. Parmenio and Antipater would have perſuaded him to defer it, until he was married, and had male offspring; but Alexander was too eager for military glory to brook delay. It is alſo probable, that his ſituation did not admit of it. His forces were ripe for action: they had been formed by a ſucceſſion of hardy atchievements; and ſhould they now be ſuffered to ſink into inactivity, they might loſe much of their preſent vigour. His finances, beſides, were nearly exhauſted; and the very means of ſupporting ſuch an army were only to be derived from the conqueſts he had in contemplation.

The intervening winter was employed in making the neceſſary arrangements previous to his departure, and in ſettling the internal concerns of his kingdom. The attention he beſtowed on theſe domeſtic matters, and the wiſdom of his meaſures, ſpeak him not leſs intelligent in he arts of peace than in the buſineſs of war. He had reaſon to fear, that ſome remains of diſaffection were yet lurking in many parts of his dominions; and that the feuds, which had diſturbed the beginning of his reign, might burſt out afreſh. He therefore made it his ſtudy to eſtabliſh himſelf in the hearts of his people, to efface, if poſſible, every remembrance of party-diſtinction from among them, and to make them all conſpire in advancing the public happineſs and tranquillity. With this view, he appointed ſolemn feſtivals to be held at Aegae,

Aegae [4], which were celebrated with great mag- Book I.
nificence, and to which all Macedon was invited. Sect. 1.
He afterwards diſtributed his whole patrimony
among his friends and principal ſubjects; giving Bef. Chriſt
to one a village, to another a diſtrict of land, to 335.
a third a portion of the royal revenues. 'What
'then do you reſerve for yourſelf?' ſaid Parme-
nio to him. 'My hopes,' anſwered the prince.
'Permit us then, who mean to ſhare in your
'dangers,' replied Parmenio, 'to ſhare alſo in
'your hopes:' and he refuſed to accept the
eſtate which Alexander would have beſtowed on
him. There were others, who followed the exam-
ple of Parmenio.

ALEXANDER next committed the regency of his kingdom to Antipater, an aged nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who had been one of his father's chief counſellors; and he provided a ſufficient body of troops to anſwer any ſudden emergency.

ALL things being now in readineſs, he prepared, Bef. Chriſt
upon the firſt opening of the ſpring, to paſs the 334.
Helleſpont. His whole army amounted to about thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, with proviſions only for one month, and in the military cheſt were no more than ſeventy talents [5]. Agreeable to this ſlender proviſion was his naval equipment, conſiſting moſtly of tranſports, with a few ſhips of ſtrength; the Macedonians having never had a powerful navy, the expence of which, indeed, they were not able to maintain. Yet

[4] Or Aegeae, *the city of the goats*; ſo called in memory of an old tradition, that Caranus, a prince of the houſe of Hercules, who firſt led a colony of Greeks into this country, and was the founder of the kingdom of Macedon, was conducted thither by a flock of goats, which the oracle had commanded him to follow. Juſtin, l. 7. c. 1.

[5] £. 13,562. 10*s*. 0*d*.—Arbuthnot.

from

Book I. Sect. 1. from ſo inconſiderable a force as we have deſcribed, was the greateſt empire of Aſia to receive its overthrow.

Bef. Chriſt 334. Upon Alexander's paſſing into Aſia, all Greece ſeemed to have paſſed over with him, ſuch an univerſal inactivity ſucceeded to the uſual buſtle of this buſy nation; the hopes or fears of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates turning to that important field, where their fortunes were now to be decided. If Alexander ſuffered diſcomfiture, Greece had ſtill a chance for her liberties; if he proved victorious, her ſubjection was inevitable. The hiſtory of Alexander, at this period, is the hiſtory of Greece.

It ſeems amazing, that the Perſians, who could not but have intelligence of his deſigns, and might eaſily have covered the ſea with fleets, made no attempt to interrupt him in his paſſage. But this devoted people were infatuated; of which their hiſtory, at this period, affords frequent inſtances.

Alexander, having landed without oppoſition, made it his firſt buſineſs to viſit the ruins of Troy, and the monuments yet remaining of thoſe heroes whom Homer had ſung; as if to pleaſe his imagination with a view of the ſeat where Greece, in antient days, had triumphed over the powers of Aſia. In the ſame ſpirit, he cauſed games to be celebrated, and extraordinary honours to be paid, at the tombs of ſeveral of thoſe illuſtrious Greeks who had fallen in that memorable war; particularly at the tomb of Achilles, whom he numbered among his progenitors, and whoſe military character he affected to imitate. His ſituation, it might be imagined, called for other thoughts. But to a mind of ſuch a temper as Alexander's, theſe ſcenes afforded allurements too powerful to be reſiſted.

Mean

MEAN while, Darius' generals were divided in opinion about their plan of operations. Memnon of Rhodes, the ableſt and moſt faithful officer in the Perſian ſervice, counſelled to avoid battle with the Macedonians, and to lay waſte the country, in order to deprive them of ſubſiſtence. Had this wiſe meaſure been adopted, Alexander had ſoon found himſelf in great perplexity. But the vain confidence of the other commanders, and their jealouſy of Memnon, ſaved the Macedonians. Arſites, Satrap of the lower Phrygia, vaunted, that not the ſmalleſt village in his government ſhould ſuffer inconvenience on account of this contemptible band of adventurers.

Bef. Chriſt 334.

IT was accordingly determined to wait for the Macedonians at the paſſage of the Granicus. And, if a battle was to be fought, it muſt be owned, the Perſians could hardly have choſen their ground more advantageouſly. The Granicus is a deep rapid river; its banks are ſteep. the ſoil crumbling, and its bottom, from the nature of the mud that covers it, exceedingly ſlippery [6]. Acroſs this river lay the way into Upper Phrygia. The Perſians, beſides, were far ſuperior to Alexander in horſe: and it was not ſuppoſed, that the Macedonian infantry could perform much ſervice, from the unavoidable delay that muſt be incurred in their paſſing the river.

ALEXANDER, who had exact intelligence of the motions of his enemy, nevertheleſs held on his march. On the ſight of the enemy drawn up on the oppoſite bank, and of the difficulties to be ſurmounted before he could cloſe with them, his generals began to be apprehenſive of the iſſue, and would have diſſuaded him from the attempt, beſeeching him at leaſt to delay the attack till

[6] See Tournefort Voyage au Levant, Let. 22.

next

Book I. Sect. 1. next day. But Alexander ſaw, how diſreputable to his arms, and therefore how prejudicial to his affairs, any appearance of heſitation muſt prove at this juncture, and moving forward with his cavalry, he immediately commanded the forlorn hope to enter the river; he himſelf, amidſt the acclamations of his army, following at the head of the right wing, whilſt Parmenio, at the ſame time, advanced at the head of the left. That his men, however, might not have both the rapidity of the current and the weight of the enemy to contend with, he, with great judgment, inſtructed them not to go directly acroſs, but to march obliquely down the ſtream, in order to have leiſure to form, before they reached the oppoſite bank.

Bef. Chriſt 334.

The Perſians were not wanting to themſelves: aſſiſted by their ſituation, they preſſed on the Macedonians with ſuch vigour, that the foremoſt ranks of the latter found it impoſſible to carry the bank, and were falling back in confuſion. Alexander obſerved their diſtreſs, and ruſhing amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy, reſtored the battle, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Perſians, who diſputed the ground inch by inch, oppoſing man to man, and horſe to horſe, and having marked where the king fought, poured their braveſt troops towards that quarter. Accordingly, ſeveral of the king's guards, and thoſe neareſt his perſon, were ſlain; and he himſelf, had it not been for the quickneſs and addreſs of Clitus, had loſt his life. For Rhoeſaces, a Perſian officer of diſtinction, having diſcharged his falchion on the king's helmet, and cut off part of his creſt, as Alexander turned upon him, Spithridates, another noble Perſian, came up behind, which Clitus perceiving, he ſprung forward, and with one blow ſevered the Perſian's arm from his body, at the inſtant

inſtant it was raiſed to ſtrike the king. The perils, to which Alexander had been expoſed, ſerved only to inſpire him and his Macedonians with freſh ardour. They were now irreſiſtible, and bearing down all before them, obliged the Perſians, who were breaking on every ſide, to betake themſelves to flight. One body of infantry only remained, of about ten thouſand Greek mercenaries, who, whether through amazement at the ſudden diſcomfiture of their friends, or in hopes of obtaining favourable terms, continued on the field of battle. But Alexander, having commanded his troops to ſurround them, put moſt of them to the ſword, after they had, for ſome time, made a gallant reſiſtance. Two thouſand were taken priſoners, whom Alexander condemned to ſlavery, and tranſported into Macedon to be employed in the public works; to intimidate by this act of ſeverity the Greeks from ſerving in the armies of the Perſian king, whoſe beſt troops, he knew, were compoſed of ſuch mercenaries.

Bef. Chriſt 334.

What the numbers of the Perſians were upon this occaſion, hiſtorians are not agreed, ſome making them amount to an hundred thouſand, ſome to ſix hundred thouſand. Arrian, whoſe relation ſeems to deſerve moſt credit, makes the account much lower. According to him, the Perſian cavalry amounted to twenty thouſand, and their infantry nearly to the ſame number: of whom were ſlain two thouſand five hundred of the cavalry; and of the infantry, ten thouſand.

On the ſide of Alexander, there were five thouſand horſe, who, together with a few of the light-armed infantry, were the only part of the Grecian army that engaged; for the battle appears to have been over, before the Macedonian phalanx had croſſed the river.

Book I. Sect. 1. Alexander took care, that his troops ſhould ſee the ſenſe he had of their gallant behaviour. One hundred and fifteen Macedonians had fallen. Bef. Chriſt 334. Orders were iſſued, that their families ſhould enjoy the moſt ample privileges, and be for ever exempt from ſervice and tribute. Of this number, twenty-five were of the king's guards, who fell in the beginning of the action, fighting around his perſon. Their memory he honoured in a particular manner. Their ſtatues were caſt in braſs, and placed at Dium in Macedon; where Metellus, when the Romans ſubdued that country, found them, and removed them to Rome.

The reſt of the army were not forgotten. They received every recompence, which a victorious and grateful general could beſtow; public acknowledgments, military honours, pecuniary rewards. He even viſited in perſon the wounded, taking care that they ſhould be treated with great attention and tenderneſs.

He was alſo ambitious, that Greece ſhould be fully informed of the ſucceſs of his arms. Preſents of the richeſt of the ſpoils were ſent to Olympias and his Macedonian friends, and three hundred complete ſuits of armour to Athens, with ſuitable inſcriptions, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva.

In juſtice to Alexander, it muſt be confeſſed, that to his conduct and ſpirited example this victory is chiefly to be aſcribed. It appears alſo, that many of the Perſian chiefs acquitted themſelves with great courage, and might have turned the fortune of the day, had they been properly ſupported. Memnon and his ſons diſtinguiſhed themſelves among the foremoſt combatants, and for a time rendered the iſſue doubtful. That gallant commander, though the action had been brought on contrary to his ſentiments and opinion, did what valour

valour could perform, and retired only when he saw that all was lost. Arsites, by whose counsel the battle had been fought, was so deeply affected at the unfortunate event, that he laid violent hands on himself. Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 334.

This victory was attended with important consequences. Sardis, the chief city of Lydia, and once the royal seat of the Lydian kings, submitted immediately. The several cities likewise of Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Caria, Ionia, opened their gates to the conqueror, Miletus and Halicarnassus excepted; and of these also he soon made himself master, though vigorously defended, the latter even by Memnon. Within the course of a few months therefore from his passing the Hellespont, he had reduced most of the provinces of Lower Asia.

Soon after the reduction of Miletus, he dismissed his fleet; a measure seemingly rash, but the result nevertheless of mature deliberation. A naval armament required an expence, which he could not well defray; with the utmost pains, he would, after all, have found it impossible to maintain a superiority at sea against the powerful navies of Phœnicia and Cyprus; and to have attempted an engagement, and been defeated, though nothing worse had followed, would probably have encouraged the Greeks to rise against him. His only road to victory was therefore by land; and if all the sea-ports were once subdued, the shipping must, in the end, be his also. Chandler's Travels in Lower Asia, c. 9.

His wisdom in improving the advantages which his arms had obtained was not less conspicuous, than his valour had been in obtaining them. He took care, that agriculture and civil government should succeed to the devastations of war. Those Macedonians, in whom he could best confide, he appointed governors over the several provinces;

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provinces; inſtructing them to ſtrengthen the new eſtabliſhments by the lenity of their adminiſtration, and to make the nations over whom they were to rule, feel the difference between the Grecian laws, and the arbitrary oppreſſions under which they had recently groaned. In the Greek cities, he reſtored the democratical form of government, to which the citizens were fondly attached; recommending it to them, that whatever wrongs they had ſuffered under the late adminiſtration, they ſhould not ſeek for revenge. At the ſame time, he viſited in perſon thoſe places which ſeemed to demand his preſence, attentive to what the circumſtances of each people required, and ſtudious to heal the breaches that yet remained; impoſing no new tribute, and even lightening the burden of thoſe who appeared to want relief [7]. Theſe noble cares employed him until the return of the ſeaſon fitted for military operations.

Bef. Chriſt 334.

Bef. Chriſt 333. Arrian. 2. 3. Q. Curt. 3. 1.

It was in the courſe of this progreſs, that he is ſaid to have performed the famed atchievement of the Gordian knot. At Gordium in Phrygia, the capital city of old Midas, in one of the temples was the yoke of a chariot, ſuſpended to a beam, the knot of which was contrived with ſuch art, that it was not poſſible to diſcover the ends. And, 'to the perſon who ſhall unlooſe it,' ſaid the barbarians, 'the oracles had deſtined the empire 'of the world.' Alexander, according to ſome hiſtorians, *cut* the knot, determined if he could not fulfil the oracle, that no other perſon ſhould. But Ariſtobulus, who accompanied the king, relates the ſtory in a different manner. The pin, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was paſſed

[7] At Epheſus particularly, he applied the tribute, which the citizens were wont to pay, to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana, the favourite Goddeſs of the Epheſian people, which had been conſumed with fire on the night on which he was born.

through

through the knot; the pin, therefore, taken out, the charm was diſſolved, and Alexander drew out the yoke without difficulty. If the incident is true, it is plain Alexander did not diſdain to avail himſelf of the ſuperſtition of the vulgar, as well as of the prieſts, from whom doubtleſs he had received inſtructions, before he ventured on an attempt, in which it had been dangerous for him to have failed. Bef. Chriſt 333.

MEAN while, Memnon died. This was the ſevereſt loſs Darius had yet ſuſtained. Previous to his death, that general had formed a plan, the only one that could have ſaved the Perſian empire, and of which his royal maſter had approved, to remove the war into Greece. In order to effect this, he had already begun to reduce thoſe iſlands which had revolted to the Macedonians, and was before Mitylene at the time of his death. From thence he was to have paſſed into Euboea, and from Euboea into Peloponneſus, where having formed a confederacy with the ſeveral Grecian ſtates to whom the Macedonian was become formidable, he was to have poured the war into Macedon, and have obliged Alexander to attend to the defence of his hereditary dominions. But the ſupreme Arbiter of events had pronounced, that the empire of the Medes and Perſians ſhould be no more, and removed from Darius the only reſource he had left to avert the blow. Arrian. 2. 1. Diod. Sic. 17.

WHILE Memnon lived, Alexander had confined his attention to the ſecurity of the Lower Aſia. Upon his death, as if relieved from all farther apprehenſions on that ſide, he declared his reſolution of penetrating into the upper provinces. What enabled him the better to attempt it was, that the returning ſpring had brought him large reinforcements. At the cloſe of the former campaign, he had granted to his army an indulgence, from

Book I. Sect. 1. which he now derived considerable benefit. In the spirit of the Jewish law (of which probably he had information from Aristotle, who could not but have some acquaintance with the sacred writings) he had given his Macedonian soldiers, who were lately married, permission to return home, and spend the winter with their wives. In the effusion of their gratitude, they had reported the king in so advantageous a manner, and spread such splendid accounts of the exploits atchieved, and the rich conquests made, that numbers crowded to a service in which such noble rewards were to be obtained.

Bef. Christ 333.

Arrian, 2. 25.

At the same time Darius, who had no general whom he could employ in the place of Memnon, had determined to march in person against the enemy, and prepared to leave Susa.

The splendor, or rather pageantry, that Darius affected on this occasion, gives us the highest idea of the wealth and of the folly of the Persian monarch. His army numbered six hundred thousand men. Their dress, the trappings of their horses, the ornaments of their elephants, their very armour, exhibited, we are told, the most costly display of silver, gold, and precious stones. The chariot of Darius, its materials and curious workmanship, the richness of his royal mantle, vest, and tiara, and the profusion of jewels with which he was covered, were such, that history has not disdained to record them particularly. The retinue, by which he was attended, was suitable to this state. He carried in his train, in the greatest abundance, all those ministers and implements of luxury, in which the Asiatics have been always known to delight. Their women made part of their military train; and besides Darius' mother, wife, and children, he had with him three hundred and sixteen concubines. It may be supposed, that the officers

Q. Curt. 3. c. 3.

officers of his army but too faithfully copied their master's example. Book I. Sect. 1.

Charidemus was among the attendants of the Persian king. He had been obliged, as we have seen, to leave Athens, and enjoyed a considerable share of the royal favour. Darius, full of confidence in his numbers, and who beheld, with great complacency, the gay appearance they made, asked him, 'What he thought would now become of Alexander and his handful of men?' The generous Greek, though an exile, though severely injured by the king of Macedon, and a daily witness of the abject servility with which whatever fell from Darius was received, could not suppress his honest indignation. He told him, 'He was much mistaken, if he imagined, that this vain parade could avail against the men whom he was marching to attack; the rough Thracians, the hardy Illyrians, the resolute and well-disciplined Greeks; men, to whom no dangers were new, and who had been long inured to every kind of toil—that, if he hoped for victory, instead of lavishing his vast treasures in the support of this effeminate multitude, he had better send to Thrace, to Illyricum, to Greece, for forces which he might safely oppose to those of Alexander, as they had the same hardiness, the same vigour, the same expertness in arms—that, would he vouchsafe to intrust him, he was ready to undertake the charge; and if he was only enabled to raise among those valiant nations an army equal to one sixth part of the numbers which the king had with him, he would chearfully stake his life on the issue.' Darius, it is said, hesitated. He felt the truth of Charidemus' observations. But his courtiers got the ascendant over him. They represented Charidemus as a dangerous person, who had perfidious views. He was weak enough to believe them, Bef. Christ 333.

BOOK I. Sect. 1. and was at laſt prevailed on to have him put to death. Darius, like moſt unfortunate princes of his character, perceived his miſtake, when it was no longer to be repaired.

Bef. Chriſt 333. Q. Curt. 3. 2. DARIUS was nevertheleſs accounted a ſenſible, brave, and generous prince, at the time he aſcended the throne of Perſia; and this was only the fourth year of his reign. His name, before he was king, was Codomannus. He was deſcended originally from a diſtant branch of the royal family, and for ſome years in a very humble ſtation, having been reduced to accept of the office of *Iſtanda*, or royal courier. His life was even, for ſome time, in great danger, Ochus, the king then reigning, having put to death the father of Codomannus, with moſt of his family. How Codomannus eſcaped, hiſtorians do not ſay. He afterwards obtained the government of Armenia for his gallant behaviour againſt the Caduſians, with whom Ochus was at war. A champion belonging to the enemy had challenged any Perſian to ſingle combat, and Codomannus engaged and ſlew him. Soon after this, Ochus was taken off by Bagoas, his favourite eunuch; and Arſes, his youngeſt ſon, was placed on the throne, Bagoas having put all his other ſons to death. But Bagoas, who thought to govern the young king, finding himſelf in danger of being diſappointed, cauſed him to be murdered, and advanced Codomannus to the throne, in hopes that the favour which he had conferred on him would fix him his dependent. Codomannus nevertheleſs, appriſed of his guilt, held him in abhorrence, and judging from his former treaſons what he had to expect, watched him ſo narrowly, that he detected him in the very act of attempting his life by poiſon, and compelled him to ſwallow the potion he had prepared.

Diod. Sic. 17. Juſt. 10. 3.

BUT

But whatever had been the virtues of Codomannus (or Darius, as we ſhall now call him) in a private ſtation, the corrupted manners of the Perſian court, and the ſeductions of flattery, had ſoon taught him other ſentiments. Hiſtory has even charged him with practices, that ſpeak great baſeneſs of mind. He ſcrupled not to ſuborn traitors againſt Alexander, offering large rewards to the perſon who ſhould kill him; and he had nearly ſucceeded. The aſſaſſin was Alexander, the ſon of Aeropus. He owed his life to his maſter's clemency, having lain under the ſuſpicion of being privy to the conſpiracy againſt Philip, for which his two brothers had ſuffered. The king had conferred many favours on him, and had lately appointed him to the command of the Theſſalian horſe, an office of great truſt and dignity. But it would appear, that the offers which Darius had cauſed to be made to him, of ten thouſand talents (near two millions ſterling) and the kingdom of Macedon, had ſeduced him from his allegiance. The treaſon was on the point of being carried into execution, when it was diſcovered by the ſagacity of Parmenio. Arrian. 1. 26.

Bef. Chriſt 333.

Whilst Darius was on his march through Aſſyria, Alexander had advanced into Cilicia as far as Tarſus. Cilicia forms a large plain, extending itſelf from the foot of mount Taurus to the ſea; on the ſouth, it is waſhed by the Aegean; its other ſides are bounded by mountains, which have three openings or narrow paſſes, named by hiſtorians *the gates of Cilicia*. One paſs, to the north-weſt, opens into Cappadocia; the other, to the eaſt, into Syria; and the third, to the north-eaſt, into Aſſyria, by the ſide of the mountain Amanus, and it is therefore known by the name of the *gate* or *paſs of Amanus*. Alexander had marched through this paſs, which leads from Cappadocia.

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padocia. A ſmall body of men might have interrupted him, and a ſufficient force had been placed there accordingly. But his very name defeated all oppoſition. As ſoon as they heard that Alexander was approaching, they fled. Entering Cilicia, he gave orders to Parmenio to ſeize the paſs on the Syrian ſide, purpoſing to march on with all poſſible expedition in queſt of Darius.

An accident delayed him at Tarſus. Through this diſtrict runs the river Cydnus, remarkable for its beauty and exceeding coldneſs. Alexander, to whom, as to all the Greeks, it was cuſtomary to throw himſelf, however warm, into whatever river was neareſt, had, immediately upon his arrival, when in a glow of heat promoted by his march and the ſultry ſeaſon, plunged into the Cydnus, the cold of which ſtruck through him in ſuch a manner, that his life was deſpaired of. The whole army remained in the deepeſt conſternation; and what rendered their ſituation the more alarming, advice had been received, that Darius was approaching.

Among the attendants of Alexander was Philip of Acarnania, a phyſician of eminence. In the general perplexity, he offered to prepare a potion, exceedingly violent in its operation, but from which he had reaſon to expect the moſt ſalutary effects. Alexander, impatient of confinement, deſired the experiment might inſtantly be made; and already was the medicine prepared, when diſpatches arrived from Parmenio to the king, 'not on any account to truſt Philip, for he had ſold himſelf to the Perſians.'

Alexander, with magnanimity ſuperior to all praiſe, concealed the pacquet under his pillow, and the potion being brought him, ſwallowed it without emotion, delivering at the ſame time Parmenio's diſpatch into the hands of Philip, marking

ing his countenance as he read it. The firmneſs, and honeſt indignation, with which he peruſed it, fully ſatisfied the king: he embraced him, aſſuring him in the warmeſt terms, of the entire confidence he had in his fidelity; whilſt Philip, with the moſt ardent proteſtations of his unalterable attachment, conjured the king to aſſiſt the operation of the medicine, by keeping up his ſpirits, and baniſhing every gloomy doubt. Arrian. 2. 4. Juſt. 11. 8. Q. Curt. 3. 6. Plut. Alex.

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The ſtrength of the medicine, notwithſtanding, having overpowered him, he remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs, diſcovering ſcarcely any ſigns of life. But the faithful Philip, who watched every change, ſoon relieved him, and in three days he was enabled to ſhew himſelf to the Macedonians, whoſe diſtreſs did not abate until the king appeared before them.

Alexander's illneſs had encreaſed the confidence of Darius. His courtiers had aſſured him, that the Macedonians would not dare to meet him in battle; and their not appearing confirmed him in this vain belief. He now looked upon it as certain, that the Greeks were flying; accordingly he prepared to purſue them through Cilicia, and had entered the paſs of Amanus at the ſame time Alexander had ſtruck off by that of Syria, and was thus leaving Darius behind him. When advice of the enemy's motions was brought to Alexander, he would ſcarcely give credit to the report; but finding it ſufficiently authenticated, he began with thanking the Gods, who had confounded the counſels of Darius, and by ſhutting him up in theſe defiles, had delivered him into his hands. He then commanded his troops to march back into Cilicia, and to prepare for battle. Arrian. 2. 7. et ſeq.

Darius had already croſſed the Pinarus, which divides Cilicia, and was encamped near the city of Iſſus. When the Perſians found that Alexander, of

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of whoſe flight they entertained not the leaſt doubt, was advancing againſt them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion. Pent up within narrow defiles, they found themſelves deprived of all the advantages which they expected to derive from their multitudes, and in a manner reduced to fight upon an equality with the enemy. Darius particularly, who ſome hours before was elated with confidence, was now ſtruck with ſuch terror, that he commanded the banks of the river to be fortified with ſtakes, leſt the Greeks ſhould break in upon him. This cowardly precaution, Arrian tells us, provoked the ſcorn of the Macedonian ſoldiers; 'He has already,' ſaid they, 'the ſpirit of a ſlave in him [8]!' But, whatever cauſe Alexander might have to hold the Perſians in contempt, it did not make him negligent of any one of the duties of a general. With conſummate ſkill he extended his front from the foot of the mountain to the ſea; ſo that the Perſians ſhould not have it in their power, by their ſuperiority of numbers, to ſurround him: ſome of their detached parties had occupied the heights above him; he ſent a body of archers to diſlodge them previous to the engagement: he examined attentively every diſpoſition the enemy had made; and wherever he ſaw their beſt troops placed, he added to the ſtrength of that part of his line which was to oppoſe them. He then rode through the ranks, reminding thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any former exploit, of what atchievements they had performed, and calling by name upon every brave ſoldier, to ſupport, on that day, the glory he had already acquired.

The command of the left wing, which reached to the ſea, he aſſigned to Parmenio; and began

[8] Τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένες. Arrian. 2. 10.

himſelf

himſelf the attack at the head of the right, directing his men to move up ſlowly, until within a certain diſtance of the enemy, and then to ruſh vigorouſly on, before the Perſians ſhould have time to diſcharge their miſſile weapons. This manœuvre had the deſired effect. The foremoſt ranks of the enemy, finding their arms, in which they were moſt expert, rendered uſeleſs, and preſſed by the violent onſet of the Greeks, who charged them ſword in hand, fell back on the ranks behind them; theſe likewiſe on thoſe next to them, until the confuſion ſpread throughout the whole left wing; the Macedonians ſtill urging on with dreadful execution. Darius, who was only conſpicuous by the height of his ſplendid chariot and the richneſs of his dreſs, ſeeing his left wing broken, and that the ſlaughter began to threaten the ſpot where he was ſtationed, turned from the field of battle, and fled with the foremoſt.

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The Greek mercenaries, who compoſed the main body of the Perſian army, ſtill bravely maintained their ground, though againſt the Macedonian phalanx. But Alexander, after routing the enemy's left wing, having taken them in flank, they were at length worſted with great ſlaughter.

On the right wing, the Perſians had conſiderably the advantage at the beginning of the engagement, their cavalry on that ſide being much ſtronger than the Greeks, until a ſeaſonable reinforcement of Theſſalian horſe enabled Parmenio to turn the fortune of the day againſt them; when ſeeing the general diſperſion, they conſulted their ſafety by flight.

The purſuit which Alexander, though wounded in the thigh, continued till the cloſe of day, proved not leſs fatal to the Perſians than the battle,

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tle, on account of their multitudes, and of the narrow defiles and rugged mountainous paths through which they had to paſs. So that Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, who accompanied Alexander on this occaſion, declared, that through the whole way they had trodden on nothing but dead carcaſſes. As for Darius, he remained in his chariot for ſome time; but his fears ſuggeſting to him that this method was not ſufficiently expeditious, he alighted, and relinquiſhing his royal mantle, mounted on horſe-back, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, hardly ſtopping for refreſhment, until he had got beyond the Euphrates.

Of the Perſians there fell, according to Arrian, ninety thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. Of the Greeks, if Diodorus may be depended on, only four hundred and fifty. The Perſian camp was taken; in which were found the mother and wife of Darius, with his ſon and two daughters. The greater part of the baggage and treaſure of the enemy had been left at Damaſcus. The plunder, however, was very conſiderable, every part of the camp affording proofs of Aſiatic luxury and opulence. The tent of Darius, eſpecially, the Macedonians beheld with amazement. Its ſpacious apartments were laid out in the moſt elegant manner, adorned with coſtly furniture, and on every ſide were placed vaſes of gold, from whence the richeſt odours iſſued; ſumptuous preparations alſo for bathing and for the royal banquet, awaited Darius' return from the battle; and the officers of the houſehold, ſplendidly attired, attended in their reſpective ſtations.

It was thought proper to reſerve this piece of magnificence for Alexander himſelf. He viewed it with much indifference, and having ſmelled the rich eſſences, turning to his followers, 'This then,' ſaid

said he, 'it was to be a king [9]!' Out of all the precious things he selected only a casket, ornamented with jewels and of curious workmanship, in which Darius was wont to keep perfumes. 'I use no perfumes,' said he, 'but I will apply it to a nobler purpose;' and accordingly used it as a case for Homer's Iliad, a copy of which, corrected by Aristotle and Callisthenes, he always carried about with him. Hence is this copy of Homer, which appears to have been in high estimation among the ancients, known by the name of *the copy of the casket* [10]. Bef. Christ 335.

HISTORICAL writers make the most honourable mention of the temperate manner in which Alexander enjoyed his victory. To Darius's family he behaved with singular magnanimity. He took care that their persons, and whatever belonged to them, should be saved and secured from insult. The night succeeding the battle, hearing of their distress upon the supposed death of Darius, whose mantle one of the eunuchs had seen in the hands of a soldier, he immediately sent Leonnatus to assure them, that Darius was living, and that themselves, though now captives, should enjoy the same royal state to which they had been accustomed in their highest splendor. The ensuing day he visited them in person, his friend Hephaestion only accompanying him. As they entered, Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at Hephaestion's feet, supposing him to be the king; but one of the attendants having informed her of the mistake, she in great confusion, turning to Alex-

[9] Dacier and others understand Alexander's words, as if spoken in admiration of what he saw. Dr. Langhorne considers them as the words of indignation. And this idea, which seems the most natural, and gives to the passage a peculiar beauty, is accordingly here adopted. See Langhorne's Plutarch.

[10] Ἡ ἐν τοῦ νάρθηκος. Strab. 13. Plutarch. in Alexand.

ander,

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ander, began to excuſe herſelf. 'You are not greatly miſtaken, madam,' replied he, raiſing her up with much tenderneſs, 'for *he* alſo is Alexander.'

From that day, to avoid every injurious ſuſpicion, he laid it down as a law never to viſit the wife of Darius more, who, it is ſaid, was the moſt beautiful woman of her time. So that, as Plutarch obſerves, ſhe and the reſt of the princeſſes 'lived, though in an enemy's camp, as if 'they had been in ſome holy temple, unſeen and 'unapproached, in the moſt ſacred privacy.' Syſigambis, particularly, was treated by him with a reſpect and attention not leſs than ſhe could have expected from Darius himſelf. He permitted her to order the funeral honours that ſhould be paid to thoſe of the royal family who had fallen in the action; and often afterwards granted favours at her requeſt, even forgiving, upon her interceſſion, ſome Perſian lords, who had deſervedly incurred his diſpleaſure.

Arrian, 2. 15.

The victory of Iſſus was followed by the ſurrender of Damaſcus; the governor, without waiting to be attacked, having delivered up to Parmenio the city, and the treaſures it contained, to a vaſt amount; together with thirty thouſand priſoners, among whom were the wives and daughters of the firſt nobles of Perſia; and, what is worthy of notice, embaſſadors deputed from Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, to Darius, who had taken up their reſidence here, as in a place of ſecurity.

Alexander commanded the embaſſadors to be immediately ſent to him. Two of them, Thebans, he treated with remarkable lenity. 'He wondered not,' he ſaid, 'that they ſhould 'be found among the enemies of Greece, deprived, as they had been, of their native home, and 'driven to ſeek for refuge in a foreign land.'

From

From this and other inſtances it is evident, that Alexander repented of his ſeverity to the Theban people, and ſought to remove the unfavourable impreſſions which that rigorous procedure had left on the minds of moſt of the Greeks. Another of the embaſſadors was Iphicrates of Athens, ſon to the illuſtrious general of that name. He forgave him alſo. 'He had known,' he ſaid, 'and 'honoured his father. The reſpect, beſides, that 'he had for Athens, would not permit him to ſhew 'reſentment to her citizen, though employed in 'ſo improper a buſineſs.' But the fourth, Euthycles, the Spartan, he ordered immediately into confinement. 'The Spartans were his profeſſed 'enemies, and deſerved no favour at his hands.' In a little time, however, he releaſed him. The truth is, Alexander was ſenſible that he was far from enjoying the affections of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and was cautious of exaſperating them. He well knew, that it muſt be a matter of much difficulty to make that republican ſpirit, with which they were animated, ſubmit to the chains to which he had deſtined them and ſhould he declare his purpoſe at once, and avow himſelf for their lord and maſter, it might be the means of forcing them to unite in defence of their common liberties, and of provoking an oppoſition, with which he was not yet in a condition to contend. We ſhall ſee him aſſume a very different deportment after the final deſtruction of Darius.

Bef. Chriſt 333.

Arrian, loc. cit.

Alexander had now the prize of empire before him, and reſolved to employ his utmoſt vigour in puſhing on the purſuit. He proceeded firſt to reduce the maritime nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and the iſlands adjacent. This was an object to him of conſiderable moment. They were powerful at ſea; he wanted a navy to ſecure and extend his conqueſts; and by reducing them into ſubjection,

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ſubjection, he cut off from Darius many important reſources he derived from them. The ſucceſs correſponded to his expectations. Byblus, Marathus, the prince of Aradus on the Phœnician coaſt, and, of more moment ſtill, the people of Sidon, revolted to him. The Sidonians particularly hated the Perſian yoke; they had ſuffered much oppreſſion in the days of Ochus, and hailed Alexander as their deliverer.

Arrian, 2. 17. ſeq. Plut. Alex. Q. Curt. 4. 2 Diod. Sic. 17. 4.

The Tyrians alſo made a ſhew [11] of ſubmitting, and preſented him with a golden crown. But he found they meant to preſerve their independence. Confiding in their ſituation and naval ſtrength, they thought they had little to fear, and refuſed to admit any Macedonians within their walls, whilſt the fate of the Perſian empire was yet in ſuſpence. Alexander, on the contrary, was determined, that the proudeſt power of Aſia ſhould not defy him with impunity.

To reduce Tyre was nevertheleſs a work of difficulty. It was ſeated on an iſland at the diſtance of four furlongs from the Phœnician ſhore; it was ſurrounded with walls, remarkable for their height and ſolidity; and the ſea, where it waſhed the foot of theſe walls, was of the depth of three fathoms. The Tyrians beſides were ſtrong in men, hardy, experienced, well-appointed; they were the boldeſt mariners then known, and poſſeſſed immenſe wealth from the extenſive commerce they had long enjoyed; from their numerous fleets, they had the means both of annoying at pleaſure the enemies that ſhould attack them, and of receiving conſtant ſupplies of whatever was neceſſary for their defence; and they had a right

[11] The king of Tyre, Azelmicus, was at this very time on board the Perſian fleet with Autophradates, one of Darius' admirals. Arrian, 2. 15.

to

to expect powerful ſuccours from their ſeveral colonies.

ALEXANDER was not to be intimidated. He began by running a mole from the continent to Tyre, in order to have firm ground on which to raiſe machines and carry on his works. Laborious as the undertaking was, the ſoldiers, inſpired by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, thought no fatigue too ſevere: earth, timber, and every neceſſary material, were collected in abundance; and the mole ſoon appeared above the ſurface of the ſea. Whilſt the Macedonians wrought near the ſhore, they met with no obſtruction; but as they approached towards Tyre, they found themſelves ſo much expoſed to attacks from the enemy, and ſo ſharply galled by the ſtones and miſſile weapons which their engines diſcharged againſt them, that Alexander was obliged to raiſe wooden towers to protect his work, and to cover the workmen. The Tyrians, on their part, loſt no time. They prepared a ſhip filled with combuſtible ſtores, and towing her to the place where the towers were reared, ſet them on fire, with the other machines which the Macedonians had conſtructed; whilſt armed men from the city, in ſmall boats, attacked the mole on every ſide, and laid it in ruins. Bef. Chriſt 332. Olymp. 112. 1.

BAFFLED in this attempt, Alexander found it neceſſary to alter his plan. He determined to give his mole more breadth, that, by having it in his power to raiſe a greater number of towers on it, he might provide the more effectually for its defence. Obſerving, that without a ſufficient naval force it muſt be impoſſible to keep the Tyrian fleet in awe, he ſummoned the ſeveral maritime powers which had lately ſubmitted, to furniſh him with ſhips. They obeyed: even Cyprus joined him. That iſland had hitherto followed the fortunes

Book I. Sect. I. tunes of Darius, but, deterred by the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms, it declared now for Alexander. The Tyrians, who had been preparing for a naval engagement, were aſtoniſhed to behold the ſea covered with the veſſels of the enemy, and retired within their ports.

Bef. Chriſt 332.

The Macedonians, thus reinforced, completed their mole, and urged on the ſiege with great activity. But the more vigour they exhibited, the more ſpirited was the defence which the Tyrians made, as if reſolved to preſerve their liberties or periſh. A continual diſcharge of deſtructive and deadly weapons poured from every part of their walls upon the ſhips or men that dared to approach them. And whatever inſtruments of offence the enemy invented, the Tyrians ſtraightway contrived others to diſappoint their effect. The Greeks had conſtructed towers of wood equal in height to the battlements of the city, which they moved cloſe to the walls, ſo as to fight the beſieged hand to hand, and ſometimes, by throwing ſpontoons acroſs, paſſed on to the very battlements. The Tyrians prepared hooks and grappling irons, with which they caught hold of the ſoldiers that appeared on theſe towers, and dragged them off. Thoſe who attempted ſcaling-ladders had poured on them veſſels of ſcalding ſand, which penetrated to the bone. Againſt whatever place the battering engines were directed, green hides or coverlets of wool were inſtantly ſpread, to render ineffectual the blow; and if in any part of the walls an opening was made, a number of combatants immediately ruſhed forward to guard the breach.

The ſiege had now continued ſeven months, and it is likely the Macedonians began to be tired out, if we may judge from the extraordinary artifices which it appears were made uſe of to raiſe their drooping

drooping ſpirits. One while, an account had been received that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had faſtened him to his pedeſtal with golden chains, to prevent his elopement. At another, it was ſaid, that Hercules had appeared to Alexander, and invited him to paſs into Tyre. And again, the king dreamed that a ſatyr [12] was playing before him, and, as he endeavoured to lay hold of him, eluded his graſp, but that at laſt, won by his ſolicitations, he ſurrendered to him. The augurs, in whom the Macedonian army had been taught to place implicit faith, and who were therefore Alexander's general reſource in his difficulties, affirmed, that theſe were all notices from heaven, that Tyre was on the point of falling into his hands. BOOK I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 331.

It was thought adviſable to take advantage of the confidence which theſe aſſurances produced in the minds of the ſoldiery. Large breaches had been made in the walls; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the long fatigue, and many ſharp engagements, which the Tyrians had ſuſtained, muſt have diminiſhed their numbers conſiderably. Alexander accordingly determined to make another effort, and gave orders for a general aſſault by ſea and land; the Macedonians to penetrate the breaches, and the fleet at the ſame time to attempt the different ports, of which Tyre had two, one opening towards Egypt, the other towards Sidon.

[12] One can hardly forbear ſmiling at the paltry equivoque, with which we are told the augurs ſatisfied their employers on this occaſion. The Greek word Σάτυρος, *a ſatyr*, may be divided into two ſyllables, Σὰ Τύρος, *Tyre is thine*. 'Tis the very interpretation of the king's dream;' pronounced the augurs: 'the appearing of the ſatyr ſays, *that the gods have delivered Tyre into thy hands.*' Plutarch (in Alexand.) relates this ſolution as a notable piece of ingenuity. Probably, both the dream and the interpretation were the contrivance of the augurs themſelves.

BOOK I. Sect. 1 Bef. Chriſt 332.

IT is difficult to ſay which deſerves moſt the warrior's praiſe, the ſkill exhibited in planning the ſeveral attacks, or the ſpirit with which they were executed. The Tyrians then, notwithſtanding a reſiſtance to which they ſeem to have been animated by deſpair, were at laſt overpowered on every ſide. The gallant defence of the beſieged had exaſperated Alexander. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms ſhould be put to the ſword, and the reſt of the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves [13], thoſe excepted who had taken refuge in the temple of Hercules, the patron god of Tyre; in gratitude, doubtleſs, for the viſion with which he wiſhed to have it believed the god had honoured him. The Sidonians, however, in compaſſion to their kindred city (for Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, and is therefore called by the prophet *the daughter of Sidon*) ſecreted a number of the inhabitants, to the amount of fifteen thouſand, and carried them off in their ſhips. By theſe, Tyre was afterwards raiſed from her ruins [14]. Some hiſtorians have recorded, that Alexander's

Iſaiah 23. 12.

[13] There was the *Old Tyre* and the *New*. The Old Tyre, known by the name of Palaetyrus, was ſituate on the continent of Phœnicia, and by means of its extenſive trade, roſe to ſuch power, that it held out a ſiege of five years againſt Salmaneſer, king of Aſſyria, who was at laſt obliged to raiſe it. It was again beſieged by Nebuchadnezzar, who took it, after a ſiege of thirteen years, and overthrew it. Upon which, the Tyrians built them a new city, that which we now treat of, on an iſland oppoſite to old Tyre.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the prophecies of Iſaiah xxiii. and of Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. relate to the calamities they ſuffered from Salmaneſer and Nebuchadnezzar, or to thoſe which Alexander brought on them. Grotius ſupports the former opinion: Prideaux the latter. Biſhop Newton (Diſſertat. xi.) thinks that theſe prophecies relate both to the one and to the other.

[14] Tyre ſoon recovered; for in about nineteen years after, it was able to withſtand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and to ſuſtain a ſiege of fifteen months before it was taken. It owed this wonderful encreaſe of ſtrength to its commerce, and chiefly to

Alexander's cruelty went beyond what we have related, and that he crucified two thouſand of this unhappy people. If ſo, Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs Arrian compiled his hiſtory, choſe to paſs this action over in ſilence; for there is no mention of it in Arrian. Probably they were aſhamed of ſuch horrid barbarity. Bef. Chriſt 332. Q. Curt. 4. 4.

Darius found that Alexander was becoming every day more formidable, and ſought to engage him to an accommodation. He had applied to him ſoon after the battle of Iſſus; but the manner was ſuch, that Alexander thought himſelf rather inſulted by it. He ſummoned him, 'to behave to the princeſſes he held captive, as it became a king to behave to a king, and to deliver them up immediately to Darius.'—He reproached him with 'having undertaken the preſent war, unprovoked by any wrongs; whereas Darius had armed in defence of his hereditary realms;'—adding, that 'he nevertheleſs offered Alexander his friendſhip, and was ready to accept of his, whenever it was properly tendered.'

Alexander replied, by 'enumerating all the grievances, real or imputed, which Greece had at any period of time ſuffered from the Perſian kings, demanding reparation at the hands of Darius for them all;—that, if he had any favour to aſk of Alexander, he ſhould come in perſon, and ſolicit it;—that, if he entertained any doubt, there ſhould be given ſufficient hoſtages for his ſecurity, and his wife and children ſhould no longer be withheld from him;'—he concluded with 'requiring him, ſhould he henceforth write to him, to remember he was writing, not to his equal, but to the lord of Aſia and of Darius; that, if he was

to its purple trade; the purple ſhell-fiſh being found on this coaſt in great abundance.—See Strabo. Caſaub. l. 6. 521.

Book I. Sect. 1. unwilling to admit the claim, Alexander was ready to ſupport it by force of arms.'

Bef. Chriſt 332. Darius now uſed an humbler ſtyle. He offered him 'his daughter in marriage; a ranſom of ten thouſand talents for the reſt of the princeſſes; and the ceſſion of all the provinces of Aſia, from the Helleſpont to the Euphrates.' Parmenio, we are told, adviſed Alexander to accept of theſe terms: '*I* would,' added he, 'were I Alexander' —'And ſo would I,' replied Alexander, 'were *I* 'Parmenio.' Alexander anſwered Darius, 'that he ſtood not in want of any treaſures Darius had to give; that the provinces which he propoſed to cede, were no longer his to offer; that nothing leſs could now be accepted of, than the ceſſion of the whole empire. With reſpect to marrying his daughter, Alexander, regardleſs of the conſent of Darius, would conſult only his own inclination; and that the laſt reſource of the Perſian king was, to ſurrender himſelf to Alexander, and make trial of his clemency.'

From Tyre [15] Alexander directed his march towards Jeruſalem. The Jews had offended him. Under pretence of allegiance to Darius, they had excuſed themſelves from furniſhing him with proviſions during the late ſiege, and at the ſame time had ſent ſupplies to the Tyrians. When they heard that Alexander was approaching, Jaddua, the high-prieſt, inſtructed by an heavenly viſion, arrayed himſelf in the ſacerdotal veſtments, and,

[15] Joſephus, in whoſe writings the account of the high-prieſt Jaddua is found, ſuppoſes, that Alexander did not ſet out for Jeruſalem till after the taking of Gaza; but Euſebius, in his Chronicle, ſays, he went thither from Tyre. Archbiſhop Uſher (Annal. p. 301) is of the ſame opinion. And this is entirely conſonant with what Arrian expreſsly ſays, that, before he ſet out for Gaza, on his way to Egypt, he had brought into ſubjection all Paleſtine; ἣν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἦν. Arrian, l. 2. 25.

together

together with the other prieſts in their ſacred habits, and the reſt of the people clothed in white, went forth to meet Alexander. The Macedonians beheld them in earneſt expectation of what would follow; they knew the king to be violent in his reſentments, and imagined this humiliation would avail little; when, all at once, Alexander ſtepping forth, proſtrated himſelf before Jaddua. Parmenio, amazed, would have ſtopped him. 'What!' ſaid he, 'ſhall you, whom all hold in 'veneration, proſtrate yourſelf before a man!'— 'Not before a man,' replied the king, 'but be- 'fore the God whoſe miniſter he is. When at 'Dium in Macedonia, the ſame venerable per- 'ſonage whom I now ſee, appeared to me, and 'commanded me to paſs into Aſia, promiſing, 'that the God whom he ſerved ſhould be my 'conductor [16].'

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 332.

Embracing then the high-prieſt, he held on his way towards Jeruſalem, where he ſpent ſome days, ſhewing himſelf exceedingly gracious to the Jewiſh nation, and granting them a confirmation of their ſeveral privileges; particularly, of their exemption from all tribute on every ſeventh year, or year of the ſabbath, on which, according to their law, they were neither to ſow nor reap.

Josephus, from whom we have taken this account, tells us, that the Macedonian ſaw at Jeruſalem the prophecies of Daniel, in which was foretold 'the overthrow of the Perſian empire by a prince of Greece;' which the high-prieſt took care to explain to him [17].

Joſ. Ant. 2. 8.

Dan. 8. 7, 20, 21.

The

[16] See the authenticity of this whole account fully vindicated in Biſhop Newton's Diſſertations on the Prophecies. Diſſert. 15.

[17] It may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that Alexander, after having had ſuch convincing proof of the True God, ſhould have continued an idolater, and eſpecially have purſued his viſionary plan of

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 332.

The Samaritans, whoſe jealouſy and hatred of the Jewiſh people are well known, and who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of Alexander, applied for the ſame favours as the Jews had received; but he declined liſtening to the requeſt, excuſing himſelf for want of leiſure, on account of Egyptian affairs, which occupied his attention.

On the road to Egypt, at the entrance of the deſart that divides it from Phœnicia, ſtood Gaza, a city ſtrong and well garriſoned, of which Batis was governor. The cowardice or infidelity of other Perſian governors were no examples for him: he defended the city againſt the whole Macedonian army for the ſpace of two months, and when at laſt it was taken by ſtorm, he and his men continued fighting to the laſt gaſp of life, not a man ſurviving. [18] Alexander however, provoked partly by this obſtinate defence, and partly by ſome ſlight wound he had received in the

of having himſelf acknowledged for the ſon of Hammon. But, in the firſt place, *the incompatibility of the worſhip of the True God with that of the gods of the nations*, was a doctrine which few of the Pagans could be brought to apprehend rightly, and from which even the better informed nations of Iſrael and Judah were but too apt to depart, debaſing often the worſhip of the Almighty with the mixture of heatheniſh rites. And, in the ſecond place, Alexander's real motive for claiming divine honours was not any idolatrous principle (for it was an impious violation of the very religion of his own country) but merely the luſt of conqueſt, which in him was ſo ſtrong, as to abſorb all other conſiderations. It was not poſſible he ſhould ever have brought himſelf to believe ſincerely, that he was a god. But it is very poſſible he might wiſh, that others ſhould believe him one; becauſe ſuch a belief was an uſeful inſtrument for the eſtabliſhing of that empire which he had in view.

[18] Quintus Curtius, 4. 6. in expreſs contradiction to Arrian, tells us, that Batis (Betis, he calls him) was yet alive when taken, though grievouſly wounded; and that Alexander, after loading him with reproaches for the gallant defence he had made, faſtened him to his chariot by cords paſſed through his feet, and, in imitation of what Achilles is ſaid to have done to the dead body of Hector, dragged him, while life yet remained, round the walls of Gaza. Probably this is fabulous.

courſe

courſe of the ſiege, wreaked his vengeance on the women and children, all of whom he condemned to ſlavery. BOOK I. Sect. 1.

Egypt was ſoon reduced. Even before Alexander's arrival, the Perſians were held in abhorrence there, on account of their late oppreſſions and profane treatment of the Egyptian gods, in the reign of Ochus [19]. Alexander cultivated theſe favourable diſpoſitions. He ſhewed particular attention to the proſperity of the country; and laid the foundation of a great city, to be called after his own name, the ſituation of which, he ſaid, had been pointed out to him by Homer [20]. This was the famed Alexandria, which proved the principal ſource of that immenſe opulence, of which the Egyptians became poſſeſſed in ſucceeding ages. Bef. Chriſt 332.

His next atchievement was of a different kind. In the depths of Lybia was ſituated the oracular temple of Jupiter Hammon. What was the origin of this ſuperſtition, is an enquiry foreign to the preſent purpoſe. It is ſufficient to notice, that the antiquity of the eſtabliſhment, which ſeems to have had its beginning in very remote and ignorant Bef Chriſt 331.

[19] He had profaned the moſt revered rites of their national religion, and had even ſlain their god Apis. See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah 19. 1.

[20] According to Plutarch, a perſonage of venerable aſpect appeared to him (ſo at leaſt reported the voice of flattery) and repeated the following lines, Odyſſ. 4.

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου πρόπαροιθε (Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι.)

High o'er a gulphy ſea, the Pharian iſle
Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile.—POPE.

The difficulty is in the lines that follow: Homer places the Pharos at the diſtance of a day's ſail from the continent; and, on the contrary, it is generally allowed that the Pharos is only ſeven ſtadia, ſcarcely a mile diſtant from Alexandria. To reconcile the matter, Mr. Pope would ſuppoſe, that the Poet meant to ſpecify the Peluſian mouth of the Nile, from which the Pharos ſtands a day's ſail.

ages,

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 331.

ages, together with the ſituation of the place, where the prieſts were ſecured from obſervation and controul, and where every circumſtance promoted the amazement and reverence of thoſe votaries who reſorted thither to worſhip, naturally contributed to the propagating of the many ſtrange fictions concerning it which hiſtory has recorded.

Arrian, 3. 3 4 Q. Curt. 4. 7.

ALEXANDER formed the plan of rendering theſe fictions ſubſervient to his views. The way to the oracle lay through a vaſt deſart, inhoſpitable and pathleſs; where the intenſe heat of the climate was rendered tenfold more violent by burning ſands, the only footing the traveller had; and where none but perſons well acquainted with the dreary wild could find out the line by which they were to march. From the entrance of the deſart to the temple, it was two hundred and thirty miles. Through this deſart Alexander undertook to march his army. The very attempt had in it ſomewhat of prodigy. To give it more ſtrongly this appearance, he with great art concealed from his men that he had employed any guides to conduct him, in order to diſpoſe them the better to believe that his inſtructions came from heaven, and that the gods themſelves appointed ſupernatural guides, 'two dragons,' according to Ptolemy, 'two ravens,' according to Ariſtobulus [21]; the difference between whoſe accounts may be conſidered as a proof, that Alexander kept the matter even from thoſe in whom he confided moſt on other occaſions. Probably his truſty augurs were the only perſons in the ſecret.

BEFORE he reached the temple, he had in like manner prepared every thing for his reception: the prieſts had received their leſſons, and the

[21] A flock of crows, ſays Plutarch, in Alexand.

oracle

oracle pronounced what Alexander wiſhed it ſhould. Moſt hiſtorians agree that the miniſter of Hammon ſaluted him as the ſon of the god; that when he enquired, whether any of the murderers of his father had eſcaped, the oracle replied, that *his* father was not mortal, but that the death of Philip was fully avenged. Upon his enquiring again, whether he was deſtined to conquer the world, the anſwer was, that Jupiter granted him that glory. Arrian omits theſe particular reſponſes, and tells us in general, that Alexander declared, 'the god had left him nothing more to 'deſire [22].' Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus were perhaps unwilling to diſgrace themſelves, by recording what they knew to be impious forgeries. It certainly appears, that from this period Alexander began to diſcover to what a chimerical height his ambitious thoughts were ſoaring. With the Greeks however, for ſome time at leaſt, he uſed more caution, not daring to expoſe his favourite claim to divine honours to the ſeverity of their ridicule.

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 331.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed, Statira, wife to Darius, died. His demeanor towards her had been always noble. He paid her memory every honour in his power, expreſſed the deepeſt concern at her death, and commanded that her obſequies ſhould be ſolemnized with as much magnificence as they could have been, had ſhe died in full poſſeſſion of royal ſplendor.

Tireus, one of Statira's eunuchs, upon her death made his eſcape from the camp, and brought Darius the account. The king, who loved her tenderly, broke out into the moſt paſſionate lamentations, bewailing her loſs, that ſhe ſhould have ended her days in ſuch an abject ſtate,

Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. 4. 10. Arrian. 4. 22.

[22] Ἀκούσας ἕσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν. Arrian, 3. 4.

oppreſſed

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 331.

oppreſſed with the miſeries of captivity, and that after death ſhe was likely to be deprived of thoſe honours which ſhould have graced her obſequies. 'Lament not for theſe things, O king!' ſaid the eunuch; 'for neither did Statira, while ſhe lived, 'nor do any of the royal captives, feel the leaſt 'diminution of their former fortune, except it 'be the having loſt the light of thy countenance, 'which the great Oromaſdes will again cauſe to 'ſhine upon them: and, far from being deprived 'of her due obſequies, Statira was honoured with 'the tears of her very enemies; for terrible as 'Alexander is in battle, he is equally mild in 'uſing his victories.'

The eunuch's words excited the darkeſt ſuſpicions in the mind of Darius. 'Tell me then,' ſaid he, taking the eunuch aſide, 'if thou haſt 'not yet revolted to the Macedonians, as the for-'tune of Perſia has; tell me, as thou revereſt the 'light of Mithra, and this right hand of thy 'king, is not the death of Statira the leaſt of 'what I have to lament? and, amidſt all our ca-'lamities, had not our diſgrace been leſs, if we 'had met with a more ſavage foe? For, what but 'the tendereſt engagement could induce a young 'prince thus to honour the wife of his enemy!'

Tireus, humbling his face to the earth, entreated Darius not to harbour a thought ſo unworthy of himſelf, ſo injurious to Alexander, and ſo diſreſpectful to the memory of his excellent queen; nor to deprive himſelf of that reflection, which muſt adminiſter the higheſt conſolation to him, that Alexander, whoſe ſuperiority in arms he had felt, was ſuperior alſo to human nature; aſſuring him with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that Alexander was even more to be admired for the propriety of his behaviour to the captive princeſſes, than for the valour he exerted againſt Darius.

Darius,

Darius, lifting up his eyes to heaven, is ſaid to have thus expreſſed himſelf: 'Ye gods, the 'guardians of our births, and who watch over the 'fortunes of kingdoms, grant me to re-eſtabliſh 'the ſtate of Perſia, and to leave it proſperous as 'I found it; that, bleſſed with victory, I may 'have it in my power to return to Alexander the 'kindneſſes which my deareſt pledges have expe-'rienced from him. But if the fated term of 'this empire is now come, and the glory of the 'Perſians muſt have an end, may none but Alex-'ander ſit on the throne of Cyrus!' Bef. Chriſt 331.

When we meet with theſe ſentiments, we can ſcarcely forbear wiſhing, that the prince capable of having uttered them, had never known the baneful influence of abſolute power.

Some hiſtorians tell us, that upon this event the Perſian king ſent a third embaſſy to Alexander, with much larger offers than before. But neither Arrian nor Plutarch make mention of that particular.

Darius, who ſaw no other deciſion than that of arms was to be expected, and ſtill poſſeſſed the fond notion that the ſtrength of an army conſiſted in its numbers, ſent to levy forces through all his provinces. There aſſembled accordingly a prodigious multitude; a million of foot, ſays Arrian, and forty thouſand horſe, with ſome elephants, and two hundred armed chariots. And as the ſucceſſor of Cyrus had been encouraged to believe, that the defeat at Iſſus was altogether owing to his having been ſhut up within narrow defiles, where he could not avail himſelf of his ſuperiority, he now choſe for his ground a plain of great extent, near the village of Gaugamela [23] in Aturia, a province of Aſſyria; having

[23] The name ſignifies *the houſe* or *body of the camel*; ſo called, becauſe Darius Hyſtaſpis appointed this diſtrict for the maintenance of the camel, to which he owed his preſervation in his flight out of Scythia. Strab. 16. Plut. in Alex.

given

Book I. Sect. 1. given directions, that every hillock ſhould be levelled, for his army and chariots to have room to act without interruption.

Bef. Chriſt 331. Arrian, 3. 7. et ſeq. Diod. Sic. 17. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. 4. 12. et ſeq.

ALEXANDER was on his march through the Upper Aſia, and had paſſed the Tigris in ſearch of Darius, when advice was brought him that the Perſians were near. At ſight of them, the Greeks, accuſtomed as they had been to engage with numerous armies, were in ſome degree aſtoniſhed. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be ſeen but arms, military enſigns, chariots, and all the parade of war; and from every part of the plain below aroſe a deep murmur, hoarſe as the ſurges of a tempeſtuous ſea. Alexander had advanced in order of battle. He thought it nevertheleſs adviſable to encamp, and to poſtpone the engagement till the enſuing morning, that his men might have an opportunity of viewing the enemy at leiſure, and of recovering from the impreſſion which, it appeared, the fight had at firſt made on them. The remainder of the day, beſides performing [24] the proper ſacrifices [25], he employed with Parmenio in reconnoitring the ſituation of the oppoſite army, and in examining

[24] Plutarch ſays, that after the Macedonian army were gone to repoſe, Alexander, attended by Ariſtander the augur only, went through certain private rites, and performed a ſacrifice φόβῳ, to Apollo, as it ſtands in the printed text; but Amyot, as Xylander informs us, inſtead of φόβῳ, found in ſeveral manuſcripts φόβῳ, to Fear. If this is the true reading, as there is reaſon to believe it is, it ſhews what Alexander himſelf thought of the conſternation of his army, and what induced Parmenio to give the advice which we find he afterwards gave.

See Plut. Xylandri in Alex.

[25] It was perhaps on this occaſion, that Alexander employed the artifice mentioned by Frontinus, 1. 11. By means of ſome medicated liquor, he inſcribed the hand of the aruſpex with certain characters inverted, importing a promiſe of victory, which being laid on the warm liver of the victim, left there a legible impreſſion. The miracle was immediately communicated to the army with great ſucceſs.—See alſo Polyaeni Stratagem. 4. 3.

the ground on which the battle was to be fought.

WHEN he had retired to his tent, Parmenio came to him again, and counſelled him to take advantage of the night to attack the enemy. Parmenio himſelf was doubtful of the event, and thought the boldeſt heart muſt be appalled at encountering ſuch an hoſt of foes in open day. 'No, Parmenio,' replied Alexander, 'I will not '*ſteal* a victory.' This ſpirited anſwer, hiſtorians obſerve, though in appearance that of a young man, was the reſult of cool and judicious thought. The enemy, he reflected, might be apprehenſive of ſuch a deſign, and therefore on their guard againſt it; many diſaſters might befal his own men in the dark; they might miſtake friends for foes; they might loſe each other amidſt ſuch a confuſed multitude, and be overpowered; the enemy could not have before their eyes the bold onſet and dreadful execution of his troops; and therefore the darkneſs would be void of terror, which would otherwiſe operate on them with full force: the Macedonians, beſides, were ignorant of the country, and, if ſucceſsful, could not purſue the enemy; if unſucceſsful, they could not eſcape. Bef. Chriſt 331.

IT appeared afterwards, that Alexander had conjectured rightly. The Perſians, apprehenſive of a ſurpriſe, had remained under arms until morning, which very circumſtance was of conſiderable detriment to them. Waſted with fatigue, and ſubdued by repeated alarms in the night, they were leſs able to execute the buſineſs of the enſuing day; whereas the Macedonians, to whoſe refreſhment Alexander had paid particular attention, approached in full vigour of mind and body. Arrian. 3. 10, 11.

A MINUTE detail of this battle belongs rather to the military ſcience. It will be ſufficient to mention the more remarkable incidents. October 1.

DARIUS'

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 331.

Darius' design was to incloſe the Greeks by his ſuperiority of numbers, and by means of his armed chariots to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx, in which Alexander's principal ſtrength was ſuppoſed to conſiſt. Alexander was aware of this intention. He placed therefore a number of ſlingers and bowmen in the front of his line, with orders, that as the chariots moved towards them, they ſhould, by frightening the horſes, and plying them with ſtones and darts, endeavour to drive them back on the enemy. If this failed, they were to aim at diſabling the horſes, or to kill the drivers, in order to get poſſeſſion of the chariots: but in caſe any of them ſtill eſcaped, and reached the phalanx, then the Macedonians were to open to the right and left, and permit them to paſs to the rear, where there was a corps of reſerve appointed to take care of them. He had alſo diſpoſed a number of detached parties, whoſe inſtructions were to obſerve the enemy's flying ſquadrons, and prevent their taking him in flank. If the Perſians ſhould carry their point, and incloſe him, in that caſe the extreme ranks, flank and rear, were to face about inſtantly, to front the enemy on every ſide.

His orders were punctually executed. The chariots bore down on the Macedonians, and they were ſoon rendered uſeleſs. Repeated attempts were made to take him in flank, without effect; whilſt Alexander, at the head of the right wing, after having broken the left wing of the enemy, though compoſed of the Scythian horſe, by far the beſt corps Darius had, turned directly on the main body of the Perſian army, and drawing up his men in the form of a wedge[26], upon a ſmall front ſupported by a great depth, opened to himſelf a way into the midſt of them,

[26] Ὡσπερ ἔμβολον. Arrian. Gronov. 3. 14. p. 124.

puſhing

puſhing on to the center, with loud ſhoutings and great ſlaughter; probably with a view of taking the king priſoner, who, according to the Perſian cuſtom, had his ſtation there, and was, as uſual, eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his magnificent dreſs and ſtately chariot.

Darius had hitherto preſerved [27] ſome appearance of firmneſs; but as ſoon as he ſaw this torrent of war ruſhing towards him, his ſtrength of mind forſook him, and he betook himſelf to flight; which completed the defeat of his army in this part, every man following the king's example.

Alexander immediately purſued, and had probably ſoon come up with Darius, if a courier from his left wing had not brought him back to the field of battle. This wing, of which Parmenio had the command, had been ſorely preſſed by the enemy, and was giving way. Alexander flew to his general's aſſiſtance: but that movement was unneceſſary; the diſpute was already decided, and a total diſcomfiture of the Perſians had taken place.

Intent on overtaking Darius, as ſoon as he ſaw the victory ſecure, he allowed his men but a few hours' repoſe, and ſet off again at midnight, continuing the purſuit as far as Arbela [28], upward

[27] According to Diodorus, Darius for ſome time ſhewed both conduct and valour; but his charioteer having been ſlain, and a report prevailing that the king himſelf had fallen, the Perſians fled, and Darius was obliged to follow their example.

[28] Gaugamela being only an inconſiderable village, and Arbela a place of ſome note, hiſtorians have thought proper to name the battle from the latter, though fought at ſuch a diſtance from it. Arrian 6. 11. ridicules this affectation. 'As well,' ſays he, 'might they call the battle of Salamis the battle of the Corinthian 'Iſthmus.'

Archbiſhop Uſher (Annal 312.) thinks that the diſtance could not be more than about thirteen or fourteen miles, ſomewhat beyond an hundred ſtadia. Arrian, who ſeems to have been well informed,

Book I. ward of ſeventy miles from the field of battle;
Sect. I. but was at length obliged to deſiſt, Darius having outſtripped him.

Bef. Chriſt 331. By the beſt accounts, the Macedonians had only, forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, not a twentieth of the enemy. But on the one ſide were a tumultuary multitude, on the other was experience, and diſcipline, and valour.

ALEXANDER himſelf certainly deſerves great praiſe, not merely for his perſonal courage, in which he ſeems generally to have exceeded, but for his diſcernment and judicious precautions before the engagement began; and eſpecially for that admirable preſence of mind, the natural companion of intrepidity, which he appears to have preſerved through the whole action. His anſwer to Parmenio deſerves particularly to be remembered: during the heat of the battle, when appriſed by Parmenio, that the enemy had fallen on the camp, and were pillaging it, 'Bid him 'not mind them,' replied Alexander, 'let us 'make ſure of victory; the pillage will of courſe 'be ours.'

WHAT the loſs was on either ſide, antient writers are not agreed. Arrian relates, that of the Perſians there fell three hundred thouſand, and that the number of priſoners was greater. Whereas Alexander, he ſays, loſt only an hundred men and a thouſand horſes; moſt of the latter being deſtroyed in purſuing the enemy. But this account ſeems to be incredible.

informed, and with whom the ſeveral antient writers agree, affirms expreſsly, that the diſtance was not leſs than from five to ſix hundred furlongs.

BOOK I.

SECTION II.

THE victory of Gaugamela put an end to the empire of Darius. The ſeveral nations of Aſia, who had hitherto followed his fortunes, now conſidered him as a loſt prince, to whom allegiance was no longer due; and moſt of them prepared to pay their homage to the conqueror. Among other perſons of diſtinction, Mazæus, a Perſian ſatrap of high rank, who by his gallant behaviour in the late battle had nearly wreſted the victory from Parmenio, made his ſubmiſſion, inviting the king to Babylon, of which he was governor. The peaceable ſurrender of ſuch a city, the capital of Aſſyria, the ſiege of which might have retarded the progreſs of his arms conſiderably, and whoſe example promiſed to be of extenſive influence, could not but be exceedingly flattering to Alexander. He made his entrance into it in all the magnificence of triumphal pomp, attended by the Magi and great men of Babylon, amidſt loud acclamations of joy from the inhabitants, who had long borne impatiently the Perſian yoke. He ſpent ſome days among his new ſubjects, to whom he made himſelf highly acceptable by commanding that their temples ſhould be rebuilt, particularly that of Belus, which Xerxes had laid in ruins.

Book I. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 331. Olymp. 112. 2. Q. Curt. 5. 1. Arrian, 3. 16. et ſeq. Plut. in Alex. Diod. Sic. 17. 7.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Christ 331.

He then paſſed on to Suſa, which in like manner opened its gates to him. And from Suſa he advanced towards Perſepolis. The way into Perſia lay through narrow ſtreights, formed by mountains that encompaſs it. The Uxii, a nation of mountaineers, who had preſerved their independence even under the Perſian monarchs, had poſſeſſed themſelves of one of theſe defiles. The Macedonians ſoon diſlodged them, and would have put every man to the ſword, had not Syſigambis interceded in their favour. At her interceſſion, Alexander contented himſelf with impoſing on them an annual tribute of cattle, all the wealth known among them. At the paſs called *the gates of Perſia*, Ariobarzanes, with a conſiderable force, had intrenched himſelf. But this difficulty the ſon of Philip alſo ſurmounted, and without further oppoſition reached Perſepolis.

Diod. Sic. Q. Curt.

Some hiſtorians tell us of Alexander's being met here by certain Greeks, whom the Perſians, in the courſe of former wars, had carried into captivity, and had diſfigured and maimed with a ſavage barbarity. But there is reaſon to believe this account to be fabulous, Arrian not making the leaſt mention of it. Probably it was invented as an apology for thoſe cruel executions of the Aſiatics, of which Alexander appears to have been afterwards frequently guilty.

The treaſures which he found here, and at Paſargadae, a city not far from Perſepolis, where the Perſian kings were wont to be inaugurated, together with the riches of Suſa and Babylon, ſurpaſſed what his moſt ſanguine hopes could have promiſed him. The ſilver and gold alone amounted to upwards of thirty millions ſterling; beſides jewels and precious things of ineſtimable value, in ſo vaſt a quantity, that, if Plutarch may be believed, there was ſufficient to load twenty thouſand

In Alex.

ſand mules and five thouſand camels. He alſo found at Suſa the brazen ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which had been carried away from Athens by Xerxes: Alexander took care to have them ſent back to that city. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 331.

This exceſſive opulence had been a ſource of corruption and ruin to the Perſians; and it now proved fatal alſo to the Greeks. The rough Macedonians began to have a reliſh for Aſiatic luxuries; and many of them, in the ſumptuouſneſs of their dreſs, the delicacy of their tables, the elegance and number of their attendants, and the profuſion and richneſs of their perfumes, had already aſſumed more of the appearance of effeminate ſatraps, than of the leaders of a warlike nation. Alexander himſelf, however he may be ſaid to have cenſured theſe exceſſes, had given but too much occaſion for them, the profuſe manner in which he had beſtowed thoſe treaſures among his ſervants, furniſhing them with temptations to voluptuous indulgences, and with the means of enjoying them; thus making wealth the reward of military merit, which muſt always, in the end, prove deſtructive of it. Ibid.

His own conduct alſo, after ſome time, was far from diſplaying an example, which a good prince ſhould exhibit to his people; and whether from natural inclination, or corrupted by Aſiatic manners, he appears to have been too often fond of mixing in ſcenes of revelry and intemperance.

It was on ſuch an occaſion, as Plutarch informs us, that he was prevailed on by Thais, the courteſan, to ſet fire to the royal palace of Perſepolis; a ſtructure held in univerſal admiration for its beauty and magnificence, even in that country, where the eye was familiarized to ſuch objects.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 331.

The king, on a certain day, had made a great entertainment for his friends, to which, ſuch was the indelicacy of manners, women of Thais's character were admitted. When, fluſhed with wine, 'This day,' cried Thais, 'has made me 'amends for all my toilſome travels through Aſia, 'by putting it in my power to trample on the 'proud courts of Perſia's kings. But how much 'more glorious would it be, to fire the palace of 'Xerxes, who laid Athens in ruins, and to have 'it ſaid in future times, that the women of Alex-'ander's train have more ſignally avenged the 'cauſe of Greece againſt the Perſians, than all 'the generals before him have been able to do!'

The propoſal was received with loud applauſe, and carried into immediate execution; the king himſelf ſnatching up the firſt torch, and leading the way. Arrian makes no mention of Thais. He only tells us, that Alexander laid the palace of Perſepolis in aſhes, in revenge of what Xerxes had an hundred and fifty years before done to Greece. Parmenio endeavoured to prevent this act of phrenſy. But Alexander would not be controuled; though he afterwards, it is ſaid, repented of it.

3. 18.

Bef. Chriſt 330.

It was now time for him to turn his thoughts to Darius, who, aſſiſted by able and faithful ſervants, might have improved to uſeful purpoſe the long interval which Alexander's diſſipation afforded him. A report that the Perſian monarch had raiſed numerous forces, and was preparing to renew the war, called the Macedonian from Perſepolis; poſſibly the artifice of ſome honeſt Macedonian, who ſaw with concern his preſent inactivity.

Arrian, ubi ſup.

The unhappy Darius had the fate, which all deſpotic princes in their fall generally meet with. Beſſus, who attended him in his flight, under a ſemblance

ſemblance of zeal, concealed the moſt treacherous deſigns. He had adviſed him to take refuge in Bactriana, of which he was governor, where he promiſed powerful reſources, that would enable him to diſpute the prize of empire once more. His real deſign was, to keep poſſeſſion of his perſon, and under ſanction of his name to uſurp the regal authority, ſecure of removing him out of the way, when no longer neceſſary. Darius ſoon found reaſon, in the inſolence with which he was treated, to ſuſpect Beſſus, and refuſed to follow him. Provoked at which, the villain, throwing off all diſguiſe, had the aſſurance to put his ſovereign in chains, and to force him along with him. Bef. Chriſt 330.

SUCH was the ſtate of things, at the time Alexander reſumed the thought of purſuing Darius. Before he had proceeded far, he received information of the treaſon of Beſſus; and, immediately taking with him a body of light horſe, gave directions for the reſt of his army to haſten after him, and preſſed the purſuit with the utmoſt expedition. He had proceeded in this manner ſome days, when a Macedonian, named Polyſtratus, found Darius in his chariot at a ſmall diſtance from the road, pierced with wounds, and bathed in his blood. It ſeems, Satiſbarzanes and Barzaentes, two Perſian lords of Beſſus' party, had ſhot him through with their darts, becauſe he did not haſten on with that precipitation which their fears made them think neceſſary; and had diſabled the cattle, and killed the ſervants that drove them. The only attendant he had left was a favourite dog, whom he had bred. He had juſt ſtrength enough to aſk for ſome drink to quench his thirſt. And Polyſtratus having brought water from a neighbouring ſpring, 'Now indeed,' ſaid the unfortunate prince, 'do I feel myſelf completely wretched, 'ſince Ibid. Q. Curt. 5. 13. Plut. in Alex. Ælian. hiſt. animal. 6. 25.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 330.

'ſince I am not able to reward thee for this act 'of kindneſs. But Alexander will not let thee 'go unrewarded. The gods alſo will recompenſe 'Alexander for his humanity to my mother, my 'wife, and my children. Tell him, I give him 'my hand, for I give it to thee in his ſtead.' So ſaying, he expired. When Alexander came up, he lamented affectionately over him, and covering the body with his robe, commanded it to be removed to Perſia, and interred in the royal ſepulchre.

Alexander continued his purſuit of Beſſus, who had aſſumed the enſigns of royalty, together with the name of Artaxerxes; a circumſtance which probably made him appear ſtill more guilty. It may be ſufficient here to obſerve, that vengeance at length overtook this perfidious traitor, and in a manner worthy of his crime. After flying from province to province, and uſing every artifice to elude his purſuers, his aſſociates in guilt delivered him into the hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was brought to Alexander; who took care to vindicate the majeſty of kings by the exemplary puniſhment inflicted on him [1]. It is, however, matter of ſurpriſe, that Satiſbarzanes, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, was, upon his ſubmiſſion, pardoned and promoted. Are we to think it was not ſo much the ſhedding of Darius' blood, as the uſurpation of ſovereignty, that Alexander thought himſelf intereſted in puniſhing?—The reader will doubtleſs have pleaſure in being informed, that, notwithſtanding this favour, Satiſbarzanes did not eſcape unpuniſhed. He proved as perfidious to

Arrian, 3. 25.

Bef. Chriſt 329.

[1] Arrian, 3. 30. Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs Arrian wrote, relate his death differently. Plutarch alſo, and Quintus Curtius, give us a circumſtantial account, but altogether different, of the manner of his death.

Alexander

Alexander as he had been to his own prince, and fell as he deſerved. Book I. Sect. 2.

THERE is one circumſtance in the cloſe of Darius' fortunes, which deſerves notice. At the battle of Gaugamela, he had near him a body of Greek mercenaries, moſtly Phocians. When, urged by his fears, he fled from the field of battle, this faithful band continued to attend him, and not only rejected the propoſals with which Beſſus and his accomplices endeavoured to gain them over to their party, but even made offer to Darius, if he would intruſt his perſon to them, to defend him, at the hazard of their lives, againſt the violence which they perceived was in agitation: but that unfortunate and too generous prince refuſed to be indebted to ſtrangers for a protection, which he could not obtain from his own ſubjects; thinking perhaps, that to avow his diſtruſt of Beſſus would only precipitate matters, and ſerve as an excuſe for the treaſon he meditated. When theſe gallant Greeks perceived that Darius' fate was not to be prevented, they declined to have farther connection with the traitors, and ſtruck into another road. They proceeded afterwards to Alexander, who, in conſideration of their noble ſpirit, forgave them, and employed moſt of them in his ſervice. Bef. Chriſt 329. Q. Curt. 5. 12. Arrian. 3. 18.

IT is alſo remarkable, that of all the Perſians, none preſerved their allegiance inviolate to Darius in his misfortunes, but Artabazus and ſons. Their fidelity had its recompence. Alexander received them at his court, and held them ever after in the higheſt eſteem.

BESSUS ſeemed to be the principal object of the expedition in which Alexander was now engaged: the important purpoſes of conqueſt were, however, not forgotten. In the courſe of his progreſs, Alexander ſaw a ſucceſſion of extenſive provinces ſtill opening before him; and he took care, as he Arrian, 3. 23. et ſeq.

paſſed

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

paſſed through them, either to accept the ſubmiſſion of the ſeveral nations, or to reduce them to obedience [2]. Of this number were the inhabitants of Hyrcania, Bactriana, Ariana, Drangiana, Arachoſia, Sogdiana, and in general of all the countries from the Caſpian ſea to the Indus, as far northward as the river Jaxartes [3], which, in thoſe days, was the Scythian boundary on this ſide. Some of theſe nations, nevertheleſs, ſeem not to have been wanting in natural courage, and to have had the advantage of ſtrong holds, which might have bidden their enemies defiance. The rock of Sogdiana, particularly, and that of Chorienes, in the country of the Paraetacae, (if the accounts of antient hiſtorians may be depended on) ſeem to have been nearly impregnable. They were both of an amazing height, and of ſo ſteep an aſcent, that (even when there was no enemy) the foot could ſcarcely find a ſtep to reſt on; and being ſurrounded alſo by rapid torrents, and by vaſt precipices in which the winter ſnow remained collected to an immenſe depth, whoſoever ſlipped in attempting the dangerous path, fell, never to riſe again. Theſe rocks, beſides, were well garriſoned, and ſupplied with proviſions for a length

[2] It was in the courſe of this expedition, when he was at Zadracarta in Hyrcania, that he is ſaid by certain romantic writers of his hiſtory, (See Quint. Cur. 6. 5.) to have had an interview with Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, who drawn by the fame of his exploits, came with a numerous retinue from the banks of the Thermodon, to viſit him, in hopes of having lineage by him. But, beſides that neither Ariſtobulus nor Ptolemy make mention of ſuch an adventure, there is good reaſon to doubt whether ſuch a people ever exiſted. The fable it ſeems was the invention of Oneſicritus, who ſerved in theſe very wars, but was fond of the embelliſhments of fiction. One day, when he was reading this part of his hiſtory to Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's chief captains, at that time king of Thrace, 'Where was I,' ſaid he, ſmiling, 'when all this happened?'—Plut. in Alex. Conſult alſo Arrian, 7. 12; and Strabo Caſaub. 11. 348.

[3] The Greeks miſtook it for the Tanais. Arrian, 3. 30.—Conſult Strabo, 11. 356, 357.

of

of years. Alexander, however, partly by ſtratagem, partly by the terror of his arms, got theſe and every other place of ſtrength into his power; the wretched inhabitants, wherever he met with reſiſtance, being put to the ſword without mercy. It were of little uſe to follow him through all the ſcenes of carnage and deſolation, of which his plan of operations was productive. It may be ſufficient to ſay, that not only thoſe who might be ſuppoſed to have ſhared in Beſſus' crime, but alſo every people who appeared to be in poſſeſſion of any portion of liberty, and had the ſpirit to defend it, felt the utmoſt ſeverity of relentleſs war. Bef. Chriſt 329.

Arrian. 4. 1. et ſeq.

The Scythians, famed as they were for their poverty and ſimplicity of manners, could not eſcape. This people, known ſince by the name of Tartars, occupied, as ſome of their deſcendents ſtill do, a vaſt tract of country to the north and north-weſt of Europe and Aſia; and were ſaid to have been victorious over every nation, that had attempted to ſubdue them. And, what might have induced the Macedonian the more to peace, their adjoining tribes had ſent him an embaſſy with a tender of friendſhip. In return, he commiſſioned certain perſons to paſs into Scythia, and to report their manner of living, and in what way he might moſt effectually reduce them into ſubjection. With this view, he built a city on the Jaxartes, by means of which he might have commanded, at pleaſure, a paſſage into their country. But his wonted ſucceſs failed him here. After making repeated inroads into their borders, and deſtroying a few of their towns, he ſaw it availed nothing. They drew him into ſituations, where he and his troops were in danger of periſhing: they harraſſed him by the abruptneſs of their attacks, and the quickneſs of their retreats: they

ſurrounded

Book I. Sect. 2. surrounded parties of his men, when they leaſt expected it, and cut them in pieces without mercy [4]: and if ever he joined battle with them, though victorious, he found it impracticable to penetrate thoſe deep deſarts, of which none but Scythians could tell the extent, and in which they were always ſecure of finding refuge. Arrian ſays, they at laſt offered peace, which Alexander accepted. If ſuch an offer was ever made, there is reaſon to believe that a few only of the leaſt conſiderable of their tribes were concerned in it. Probably Alexander was not diſpleaſed to have a pretence, whatever it might be, for turning his arms againſt other nations leſs capable of reſiſtance.

Bef. Chriſt 329.

Arrian, 4. 15.

Whilst the ſon of Olympias was employed in adding to the number of his conqueſts, he was loſing ground in the affections of his people. Many cauſes contributed to this; the haughty port he aſſumed, his abſurd ambition of being accounted a god, the contempt he affected to have for Macedonian manners, the pleaſure which he ſeemed to take in the ſervile honours he received from the Aſiatics, and above all, that ſuſpicious and cruel diſpoſition, which now began to appear ſtrongly in him, and of which he had lately given fatal proofs in the caſe of the unhappy Philotas, and eſpecially in that of Parmenio. This melancholy tranſaction happened ſoon after Darius' death, when Alexander was on his expedition in purſuit of Beſſus; and was then omitted, that it might not break in upon the narrative of the operations depending on that expedition. It may, not improperly, have its place here.

[4] In one action, it appears from Curtius, 7. 7. he ſuſtained ſuch loſs, that it was was made death to thoſe who ſurvived, to divulge what had happened. Probably this is the action ſpoken of, Arrian, 4. 6. in which he tells us, only forty horſe and three hundred foot eſcaped.

Philotas

PHILOTAS was ſon to Parmenio, who had ſerved with great diſtinction under Philip, and had been always honoured with particular marks of confidence by his royal maſter. When Alexander paſſed into Aſia, Parmenio, in like manner, continued on every occaſion to approve himſelf a faithful and zealous ſervant; and he enjoyed ſo large a ſhare of confidence, that in the three great battles which completed the overthrow of the Perſian empire, it was to him the command of the left wing was entruſted, whilſt the king himſelf charged at the head of the other. In all theſe actions, the only imputation that ever lay againſt him was, that his anxiety for his maſter's ſafety ſometimes betrayed him into over-cautious counſels. He was at this time upwards of ſeventy years of age: of three ſons, he had only Philotas left (the two others having fallen in the ſervice of Alexander;) and he had been lately ſent to command in Media, which office he diſcharged with the ſtricteſt vigilance and moſt unblemiſhed integrity.

Bef. Chriſt 329.

WHAT Parmenio had been in his days of vigour, Philotas was now; of acknowledged courage, generous, poliſhed, perhaps ſomewhat too magnificent in his manner of living, beloved by the ſoldiers, and highly in favour with Alexander, who had advanced him to the firſt military honours.

A CERTAIN Macedonian, named Cebalinus, had informed Philotas of ſome deſign carried on againſt Alexander's life by one Dymnus [5], and other perſons unknown, deſiring he would acquaint the king with the particulars. Philotas promiſed he would: but whether he thought the information frivolous, or whether, as his enemies

Arrian. 3. 26. Q. Curt. 6. 7. et ſeq. Plut. in Alex. Diod. Sic. 16. 8.

[5] Quintus Curtius, according to cuſtom, has ſet off this ſtory with many romantic circumſtances.

pretended,

Book I. Sect. 2. pretended, from worſe motives, he neglected to perform that promiſe. Cebalinus, diſcovering this neglect, contrived to have his information conveyed to the king through another channel; at the ſame time acquainting Alexander, that he had firſt made his application to Philotas, but without effect.

Bef. Chriſt 329.

This account had already raiſed doubts of Philotas in Alexander's mind, when an unlucky incident added to them. Dymnus, the accuſed perſon, was ſent for; who, to prevent the extorting any confeſſion from him, laid violent hands on himſelf. This indication of guilt convinced the king that ſome dark purpoſe had been in agitation; and not knowing on whom to fix his ſuſpicions, he turned them on Philotas, whoſe motive for concealing the information was now interpreted into an argument of his being privy to the treaſon. Philotas had nevertheleſs owned his fault to the king, with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations, that his imprudence aroſe altogether from his mean opinion of the informer; and, in appearance, had ſatisfied Alexander of his innocence.

It was exceedingly improbable, that a perſon, with ſuch means in his power as Philotas poſſeſſed, ſhould, during two whole days (for this time had elapſed between the firſt and ſecond information) have remained altogether indifferent about the matter, had he really been engaged in ſuch a conſpiracy; and ſhould have taken no ſtep either to remove Cebalinus, or to appriſe Dymnus and his accomplices of the danger that threatened them.

But his ſervices and merit were too conſpicuous, to be ſeen without attracting envy. Some officious counſellors, among whom hiſtory mentions even Craterus, under pretence of concern for Alexander's perſonal ſafety, took advantage of the

the king's weak moments, and prevailed on him to have Philotas examined by torture. He bore this cruelty at firſt with great fortitude, and perſiſted in aſſerting his innocence. His enemies, nevertheleſs, were too much intereſted in his deſtruction, to permit him to eſcape. They renewed the queſtion, with every circumſtance of barbarity which that inhuman mode of examination admits of. Exhauſted by anguiſh, he confeſſed whatever they would have him confeſs, and probably what never had exiſted, and was inſtantly ſhot to death. BOOK I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

PARMENIO, Philotas' aged father, ſtill remained. It was thought expedient to involve him alſo in his ſon's guilt. Some hiſtorians relate, that Philotas had criminated his parent, when in the agonies of torture; but the falſehood of this appears from Arrian. There were, however, powerful reaſons why Parmenio ſhould not eſcape. He was a man of exalted character, adored by the army, and had been injured in ſuch a manner, that it was not to be imagined he could ever forgive it. Q. Curt. 6. 11. Arrian, 3. 26. Plut. in Alex.

THE mean ſtratagem, indeed, made uſe of in order to haſten his deſtruction, proves abundantly, that the king himſelf was conſcious of his innocence. The perſon pitched upon to go into Media on this errand, where Parmenio commanded, was Polydamas, Parmenio's friend! of whom the old general could not entertain ſuſpicion. To effect his purpoſe the more ſecurely, he received directions to arrive at an hour when Parmenio might be ſuppoſed to have retired to reſt, and before he ſaw him, to communicate his inſtructions to certain truſty perſons, who might be eaſily wrought upon to aſſiſt in the bloody buſineſs which was meditated.

THUS prepared, in the morning he waited on Parmenio, as if juſt arrived, and delivered him a letter

Book I. Sect. 2. letter from the king, and another as from his ſon, the king having ſealed it with Philotas' ſignet. The king's letter Parmenio, from reſpect, opened

Bef. Chriſt 329. firſt, which, being written in his uſual ſtyle of regard and confidence, he read with much pleaſure; and, turning to Polydamas, 'Will the king,' ſaid he, 'never put an end to his toils! he tells me, he 'purpoſes marching againſt the Arachoſians.' He was then preparing to open the letter from Philotas, when Polydamas, and the aſſaſſins who had accompanied him, plunged their poniards into his body, and laid him dead at their feet. A few ſoldiers at a diſtance were ſpectators of the deed, who ſpreading the alarm among the troops, they were ready to tear Polydamas, with his aſſociates, in pieces, and could hardly be reſtrained, even when convinced that it had been done in obedience to the king's orders.

In what light the Macedonians regarded theſe proceedings, was no ſecret to Alexander. It was ſtill in his power to have removed much of the odium under which he laboured, by aſſuming a more gentle and conciliating deportment. But his pride would not permit him. The more he found himſelf the object of cenſure, the more gloomy and irritable did he become. He even perſiſted in avowing his diſregard of the Macedonian cuſtoms, by the change of his dreſs, appearing now generally in the pompous garb of an eaſtern monarch. What rendered his conduct yet more offenſive, he married a ſtrange woman, Roxana, induced to it merely by the exterior charms ſhe poſſeſſed; though in her ſituation there was ſomewhat exceedingly humiliating: ſhe was among the priſoners taken at the ſurrender of the Sogdian rock; and was daughter of Oxyartes, a

Arrian, 3. 28. Bactrian, one of the aſſociates of the perfidious Beſſus. Theſe ſeveral circumſtances the Macedonians

nians did not fail to dwell upon with aggravation —A ſtrange woman! a barbarian! and the daughter of a traitor! Book I. Sect. 2.

Such was the general temper of his army, when Alexander's violence betrayed him into another action, which, though it had not the ſame guilt of premeditation as that againſt Parmenio, was attended with circumſtances not leſs aggravating. Bef. Chriſt 329. Arrian, 4. 8. et ſeq. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. 8. 1.

Clitus has been already mentioned. He was a general of approved valour, and had ſaved Alexander's life at Granicus. His ſiſter alſo had nurſed Alexander. On theſe accounts he was particularly dear to his maſter, notwithſtanding his retaining all the roughneſs of the Macedonian character, which well became the gallant ſoldier, and in which the now prevailing Aſiatic mode had not the power of making the leaſt alteration. It was now a cuſtom with the king to give frequent entertainments to his officers, at which the laws of ſobriety were not often obſerved. To one of theſe Clitus had been invited. When warmed with wine, the king's flatterers began to extol his exploits above thoſe of all the antient heroes and chieftains of Greece, aſcribing every ſucceſs that had attended his arms to him alone, and at the ſame time depreciating whatever Philip and his Macedonians had atchieved. Clitus was fired; he anſwered them. Alexander, meanly enough, ſupported the ſycophants. And Clitus again, without due regard to the condition in which he ſaw the king, retorted with great aſperity; reproaching his maſter with his Perſian robe, and the favour now ſhewn to barbarians, without whoſe intervention, he ſaid, Macedonians could not even have acceſs to their ſovereign. 'And 'yet, deſpiſed as we are,' continued he, 'it was 'this arm that ſaved you from the ſword of 'Spithridates;

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

'Spithridates; and theſe very Macedonians are 'the men, at the expence of whoſe blood you are 'now become ſo great, as to diſdain to own 'Philip for your father, and to pretend yourſelf 'the ſon of Hammon.'

ALEXANDER became tranſported with rage; and, looking round for a weapon, had inſtantly wreaked his vengeance on the offender, had not their common friends compelled Clitus to retire. But he, not to be reſtrained by any repreſentations, forced in again; when Alexander, wreſting a javelin from the hand of one of his guards, ſmote him through with it, as he entered.

THE bloody deed was no ſooner committed, than Alexander recollected himſelf. The guilt of the action ruſhed upon his mind with all its aggravations—he had killed, with his own hand, his friend! his preſerver!—and, ſnatching the javelin out of Clitus's body, he would have pierced himſelf with it, had not his guards interfered.

EVERY means, that humanity or adulation could ſuggeſt, were employed to pacify the king. Even the aids of ſuperſtition were called in. It was Bacchus, they told him, who had wrought the miſchief. The king, it ſeems, had omitted certain ſacrifices uſually celebrated in honour of this god; and, in reſentment for the neglect, he had taken this method of puniſhing him. Of what the king, therefore, ſeemed to have done, the god was the author. Wretched the ſtate of princes, when even their crimes are thus explained away, and the ſources of inſtruction ſtopped up!

Arrian, 4. 9. 10.

THERE was, however, on this occaſion, an inſtance ſtill more affecting, of the pernicious influence of ſervility and flattery. Among the king's attendants were two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The firſt was a man of rigid virtue. He had been recommended to Alexander

Arrian, ubi ſup. Plut. in Alex.

Alexander by Ariſtotle, as a valuable ſage, on whoſe wiſdom and integrity he might ſafely depend; and he appears to have ſupported this character, though his auſtere manners were not always acceptable to his maſter. At this conjuncture he behaved to the king with much tenderneſs, but without diſgracing his principles. Incapable of attempting to juſtify the exceſſes of which Alexander had been guilty, he endeavoured to bring him back to a proper ſenſe of what he owed to the dignity of the regal office with which he was inveſted, and to convince him, that the only reparation he had now to make was, to be more on his guard in future againſt thoſe fatal violences into which he had been hurried. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

The other, Anaxarchus, rather a vile ſophiſt than a philoſopher, talked to his maſter as if he ſought to eraſe from his mind every humane and generous ſentiment. 'What!' ſaid he, 'is the 'king caſt down thus! Does not Alexander know, 'that juſtice is what he wills it to be? that his 'pleaſure is the meaſure of right and wrong? *and* '*therefore have the poets feigned*, that JUSTICE IS 'SEATED ON THE THRONE OF JUPITER, be-'cauſe, wherever *Supreme Power* is, *Juſtice* is 'there alſo.' Hiſtorians have obſerved, that Anaxarchus ſucceeded but too well. Alexander readily believed what the flattering ſycophant inculcated, and became every day more haughty and more deſpotic.

From this time he certainly appears to have expected from the Macedonians themſelves a more abject ſubmiſſion than he had hitherto ventured to require. The adventure of the temple of Hammon ſhews, even at an early period, what his views were. He could not ſeriouſly ſuppoſe himſelf a god, but he wiſhed that others ſhould believe him one; and in this idea, he had ſuffered himſelf

Book I. Sect. 2 Bef. Chriſt 329.

ſelf to be fortified by the mean adulation of the ſophiſts he was ſurrounded with, and by the ſervile proſtrations with which the ſlaviſh Perſians approached him.

It was agreed [6] to try, whether the Macedonians might not be prevailed on to imitate the example. Accordingly, at a royal banquet, when the company began to be elevated, and every heart to open to feſtivity and chearfulneſs, the propoſal was made in form by Anaxarchus. 'There was 'no doubt,' he ſaid, 'but ſuch glorious exploits 'as Alexander had atchieved, challenged every 'honour the Macedonians had to beſtow. Neither Hercules, nor even Bacchus, had equalled 'what he had performed; and yet Macedon 'numbered them, though both of foreign extraction, among her gods. How much more juſtly 'might the like honours be paid to a prince, who 'was their own, and in whoſe glories they were 'directly intereſted?—When he was removed 'from among them, divine honours muſt of courſe 'be his; and therefore to pay them now, was 'only an anticipation of zealous homage, which 'muſt be the more acceptable to Alexander, as 'he ſhould thereby have an opportunity, whilſt 'preſent with them, of enjoying their grateful 'adoration.'

Surprise and indignation ſat painted on the countenance of every Macedonian. Whilſt the perſons who had been appointed to be the principal performers in the farce anſwered Anaxarchus's propoſal with a burſt of applauſe, and were preparing to carry the ſcheme into immediate execution, Calliſthenes interpoſed:

[6] It is evident from Arrian, 4. 10. that the matter had been concerted with Alexander.

'Whatever

BOOK I. Sect. 2. Bef. Christ 329.

'Whatever [7] honours can be paid to mortals, 'are, I confeſs, O Anaxarchus, juſtly due to 'Alexander. Among all the commanders record- 'ed in the annals of time, he is, I acknowledge, 'the firſt in counſel, the firſt in valour; and of all 'the princes of the earth, he is beyond compari- 'ſon the moſt illuſtrious. But ſtill the immortal 'gods are far above him, and very different are 'the honours due to them. It were blaſphemy 'to confound the one with the other. What 'would Alexander himſelf ſay, ſhould any perſon 'preſume to uſurp thoſe exalted honours of roy- 'alty, which belong to him? And ſhall the gods be 'leſs jealous of what belongs to them, and neglect 'to vindicate their majeſty?—Were it even to be 'ſuppoſed, that the king could be capable of enter- 'taining ſuch preſumptuous thoughts, you yourſelf, 'O Anaxarchus, who are admitted to ſhare his 'private hours, ſhould be the firſt to reclaim him 'from an error ſo prejudicial to his fame, ſo in- 'conſiſtent with his piety.—You ſurely muſt have 'forgotten, who he is, to whom you propoſe to 'pay adoration; not a Cambyſes, not a Xerxes, 'but the ſon of Philip, the deſcendent of princes 'who governed Macedon, not with arbitrary 'ſway, but according to the rule of law.—If,

[7] Speeches of this kind are often conſidered as the wanton ſportings of the hiſtorian's fancy. This ſpeech deſerves to be thought of differently. From the principles avowed in it, and the fate of Calliſthenes in conſequence of thoſe principles, we are warranted to conjecture, that Arrian had it from thoſe reſpectable memoirs of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, which are known to have been the ground-work of his hiſtory. The cauſe, which Calliſthenes pleads here, was in fact the cauſe of Greece, that thoſe ſons of freedom ſhould not have their necks bent down to the ſame ſervile yoke, to which the Aſiatics had been ſubjected; and therefore it was a cauſe to which thoſe two officers, at leaſt at that time, muſt have wiſhed well, and the defence of which they muſt with pleaſure have recorded.

This noble monument of Grecian manners, the learned reader will find at length in Arrian, 4. 11.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

'however, O Alexander, you are taught to believe, that you owe regard to the cuſtoms of thoſe numerous Aſiatic nations among whom you are, and that we Greeks, becauſe few in number, are to be looked upon as of no account; let me recal to your remembrance, that this war was undertaken by you, not that Greece ſhould become dependent upon Aſia, but Aſia the dependent of Greece.—Conſider beſides, in what difficulties ſuch claims muſt involve you, when you return home. For is it to be imagined, that the gallant Greeks, thoſe ſpirited ſons of liberty, will ever fall proſtrate before you? or is this reproach meant only for your Macedonians? or ſhall the barbarians alone honour you as a god? and from all the reſt of your empire will you be content to receive, what a mortal ought to be content with?—Neither let the practice of the princes of this empire tempt any one to imitate them. Cyrus, they tell us, had divine honours paid to him. Admit that he had; god as he was, the Scythians, poor but free, chaſtiſed his inſolence. Others of the ſame nation put Darius, though equally honoured, to flight. Xerxes, revered likewiſe as a god, eſcaped with difficulty from the vengeful arms of Athens and Sparta. Clearchus and Xenophon bade defiance to Artaxerxes, who, like his predeceſſors, was alſo adored; and the laſt Darius, before whom ſo many nations proſtrated themſelves, has our Alexander, though but a mere mortal, brought to deſtruction.'

The ſeverity of this remonſtrance made Alexander ſhrink beneath it. The mention of the chaſtiſement of the Perſian kings by the Scythians; by thoſe very Scythians who had checked the arms, and tarniſhed the glory, of the ſon of Philip, ſunk deep into his mind. He read at the ſame time,

time, in the faces of thoſe Macedonians around him, who had not yet bowed their necks to the yoke, the ſame independent ſpirit, and the ſame free principles. He ſaw the danger of preſſing the unmanly propoſition. His haughtineſs forſook him. He whiſpered to his creatures to wave the point. They were to confine their endeavours to perſonal and private ſolicitation; and he appeared to content himſelf with the proſtration of thoſe alone, who ſeemed willing to debaſe the dignity of human nature. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 329.

It was however, evident, that the diſappointment mortified Alexander ſeverely. He refuſed to Calliſthenes the kiſs, with which it was cuſtomary for the king, at the concluſion of the banquet, to honour his gueſts. 'Then,' ſaid the philoſopher, 'I retire one kiſs the poorer.' And one of his principal officers having ventured to ridicule ſome perſon, who, in the act of adoration, beat his chin againſt the ground, by bidding him 'ſtrike with more fervency,' the pleaſantry had nearly coſt him his life; the king with great difficulty having been prevailed on to forgive him.

Calliſthenes ſoon felt the effects of the king's reſentment. There was a band of youths of the firſt families of Macedon, whoſe office it was to attend the king's perſon, from which corps they were advanced, as they grew up, to ſome military command. One of theſe, named Hermolaus, had, in the heat of the chace, ſtruck down a boar juſt as the king was taking aim at him. Provoked at which, Alexander commanded him to be ſcourged, and his horſe taken from him. The indignity ſunk deep in the mind of the youth, and having communicated his grief to ſome of his intimates, he prevailed on them to aſſiſt in revenging him on the king. Bef. Chriſt 328.

The

Book I. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 328.

The conſpiracy having been diſcovered, it was ſuggeſted to Alexander [8], that Hermolaus and his fellows were admirers of Calliſthenes, and often reſorted to him. This was enough for Alexander. 'His inſtructions,' ſaid he, 'have taught them to 'conſpire againſt me.' The philoſopher was immediately taken into cuſtody, and unconvicted, unheard, was ſentenced to death. There is reaſon to believe he was executed privately [9]. The manner in which Hermolaus had behaved at the time of his death, made Alexander cautious of venturing another public execution. Undaunted at his approaching fate, he keenly reproached the king with all his late violences and exceſſes, which had diſgraced him—his condemnation of Philotas, upon preſumption of guilt, unſupported by proof—his murder of Parmenio—his killing of Clitus—his affectation of Perſian faſhions—his arrogant and inſulting deportment—his frequent and diſſolute banquetings—his contempt of the laws of his country.

Alexander ſaw the expediency of drawing the attention of his ſubjects away from theſe gloomy ſcenes, which but too plainly diſcovered to their view the fierce deſpotiſm he was preparing for them. The occupations and buſtle of war were now become a neceſſary reſource. After having

[8] Some writers, among whom Arrian mentions Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, ſay, that Hermolaus and his aſſociates, in the agonies of torture, charged Calliſthenes. Others deny this, and impute his condemnation to the reſentment Alexander had conceived againſt him, on account of his freedom of ſpeech.—See Arrian, 4. 14.

[9] This may be collected from the different accounts we have concerning the manner of his death. Plutarch relates it in one way; Diogenes Laertius in another; Quintus Curtius in another. Ptolemy, Arrian tells us, pretended he had been put to the rack, and then crucified. Ariſtobulus ſaid, he had been kept in chains for a conſiderable time, and at laſt died a natural death. Conſult Arrian in the place laſt quoted. Conſult alſo Diogenes Laertius in Ariſtotele.

therefore

Bef. Chriſt 328.

therefore provided for the peace of the newly-conquered provinces, by quelling domeſtic inſurrections, and ſecuring their frontiers againſt the inroads of the neighbouring Scythians, he determined to employ his arms in the reduction of the Indies; an expedition which ſeemed to promiſe a large field for adventure and enterpriſe, and was alſo well calculated to ſoothe the vanity of the Greeks. An idle report was propagated, that this country had been viſited by Hercules and Bacchus [10], and that here many of their atchievements had been performed. Alexander took care, at entering upon the preſent expedition, to encourage this belief. The city of Nyſſa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus himſelf. In one place were ſhewn to them the identical boundaries that Hercules had ſet up; and in many parts they met with the deſcendents of the Greeks who had fought under the banners of theſe deified heroes.

IT does not appear, however, that Alexander reſpected much theſe pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced into ſubjection every people he viſited, ſparing none who preſumed to oppoſe him. At Maſſaga particularly, the chief city of a nation called the Aſſaceni, he carried his cruelty to an exceſs, which thoſe hiſtorians, who favour him moſt, find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous reſiſtance, the city being of ſome ſtrength, and the ſovereign of the country having called in a reinforcement of ſeven thou-

[10] It ſeems difficult to fix, with any degree of preciſion, who the Indian Hercules was: it only appears from Arrian (Hiſt. Ind. 9.) that he was poſterior to Bacchus by fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, 15, calls him Tearcon.) His invaſion of the Aſſyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is ſuppoſed to have been Seſoſtris or Seſac king of Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Ant. Kingdoms.

Book I. Sect. 2. sand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled him to surrender, the garrison having first stipulated, that they should *march out* in safety. They *marched out* accordingly; when Alexander basely pretended, that his promise extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at some distance from the city, surrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian says, they had engaged to enter into his service, and that he was informed they meant to escape back into their own country. Plutarch allows, that this transaction has left a lasting stain on the memory of the conqueror.

Bef. Christ 328. 4. 26, 27. In Alex.

Bef. Christ 327.

But of all his exploits, that which flattered Alexander's vanity most, was the taking of the Aornos [11], a vast rock, near the sources of the Indus. The Greeks had given it this name on account of its stupendous height, which, together with its situation, and the steepness of its ascent, seemed to render it impregnable. Hercules himself, fiction related, had failed before it. The most warlike of the inhabitants of the country had, besides, stationed themselves here, with every means of defence within the compass of their military science. Alexander, notwithstanding, did what Hercules could not perform. After some attempts of little moment, the Indians, struck with wonder at the execution of the machines which the Macedonians used, and the boldness of their works, abandoned the place.

Arrian, 4. 28.

The people, against whom all these martial terrors were employed, are nevertheless represented to have been strictly just, humane, peaceable, inoffensive, and such religious observers of the rights of mankind, that the name of slavery

Arrian Hist. Ind. 10 et seq. See also Strabo, 15. 484 et seq.

[11] This word, evidently of Greek extraction, is probably a translation of the Indian name, *beyond the flight of bird*; an exaggerated manner of expression, which, from what little we know of their language, seems to have been familiar to them.

was

was unknown among them. They were remarkable for their police. The whole nation was divided into ſeven *caſts*, or diſtinct profeſſions, which were continued down from father to ſon, no perſon being permitted to paſs, or even to marry into another. Of theſe, they who were employed in the cultivation of the land, or the tending of flocks, were held in particular honour, and enjoyed a perpetual exemption from military ſervice. Over the ſeveral *caſts* inſpectors were appointed, who reported to the king the conduct of each individual, and who, ſays Arrian, adminiſtered their truſt with ſuch unblemiſhed integrity, that no inſtance had ever been known of their having been guilty of a malicious repreſentation. The modern traveller ſees with admiration the remains of this order of eſtabliſhments ſubſiſting at this day among the tribes of Hindoſtan. But neither from the wiſdom of their inſtitutions, nor from the innocence of their manners, could they obtain protection. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327. L'Abbé Raynal, Hiſt. Phil. 1. 4.

That portion of India, which was the ſcene of Alexander's operations, lay far to the weſtward of the Ganges, and, according to Arrian, may be divided into three parts; that ſituated to the weſt of the Indus; that between the Indus and the Hydaſpes; and that between the Hydaſpes and the Hyphaſis. The firſt of theſe diſtricts Alexander ſoon reduced, the natives being unable to make much reſiſtance, the fate of two or three of their cities having intimidated the reſt. He then paſſed the Indus. Taxiles reigned here. He appears to have been a warlike prince, and poſſeſſed of an extenſive and powerful kingdom; but the fame of Alexander's arms had already ſubdued him. He ſubmitted himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of as the conqueror pleaſed. His neighbour, Abiſſarus, king of the Indians of the mountains,

Book I. Sect. 2. mountains, haſtened in like manner to avert the deſtruction that threatened him: and ſuch was the terror which had fallen on the whole land, that there ſeemed to be an end of all oppoſition.

Bef. Chriſt 327.

Arrian, 5. 8. Porus, who reigned beyond the Hydaſpes, had other thoughts. He aſſembled his forces, and regardleſs of the name and power of his foe, reſolved to preſerve his independence, or to periſh in the attempt. Inſtead therefore of ſeeing him a tame ſuppliant, Alexander beheld him guarding the paſſes of the river, at the head of a formidable army, and directing his operations with all the capacity and ſpirit of an experienced and undaunted warrior. It was now the ſummer-ſolſtice, when the ſeveral rivers under the equator, ſwollen by the melting of the mountain-ſnows, and the heavy rains which fall during that ſeaſon, eſpecially on the higher grounds, overflow their banks; ſo that the Hydaſpes, from its vaſt breadth, had rather the appearance of a ſea than a river. It was beſides uncommonly deep and rapid; whilſt the narrower and more ſhallow parts, which cavalry might have attempted to croſs, were on the oppoſite ſide defended by lines of elephants, to which horſes have a ſtrong and almoſt invincible antipathy.

After many fruitleſs efforts, Alexander, finding it impoſſible to gain his point by open force, determined to try whether he could deceive the enemy. Accordingly, for ſeveral days he preſented himſelf, as if preparing to paſs over; which, as often as it was done, brought Porus to the edge of the water, threatening a vigorous reſiſtance. This manœuvre, having been repeated time after time without any farther attempt, was at length conſidered by the Indian as a feint, of which the intention was only to harraſs his troops. Inſtead therefore of following Alexander in all his motions,

Arrian, 5. 10. Plut. in Alex.

ons, he contented himſelf with ſending parties up and down the river to reconnoitre. In this ſituation of things, Alexander ſet about the execution of his plan. Bef. Chriſt 327.

A few miles higher up, a part of the river ran much narrower, by means of a jutting rock, and the winding of the land; and about the middle of the channel, oppoſite to the rock, lay a ſmall deſart iſland. This ſpot Alexander had fixed upon, in hopes that, if he could get his troops over to the iſland, he might eaſily from thence penetrate further. In this view, ſome large barges, with a number of rafts and ſtuffed leathern bags, for the purpoſe of ferrying over the army, had been privately conveyed at different times to a wood which ſkirted that part of the river, and there lay concealed. Having given directions, that the uſual appearances ſhould be kept up throughout the camp; that the royal tent, which was within view of the Indians, ſhould have the ſame parade of guards and attendants, as if he were there in perſon; and that, as ſoon as night came on, they ſhould keep the enemy in continual alarm, by lighting fires in different places, by frequent ſhoutings, and the tumult and trampling of men and horſes, as if the army was preparing to croſs over; Alexander, towards the decline of day, filed off for the appointed rendezvous, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, by a road leading from the back part of the camp, not within obſervation of the enemy's ſcouting parties. Fortunately, by the time he got to that part of the bank from whence the attempt was to be made, the night became exceedingly tempeſtuous, ſo that, though the river happened to be much deeper, and the paſſage far more difficult, than he expected, yet the darkneſs of the night, and the violence of the ſtorm, concealed him ſo effectually from

Book I. Sect. 2. from the enemy, that, before they were appriſed of his purpoſe, he had already reached the iſland.

Bef. Chriſt 327. From this iſland, he had imagined the paſſage to the oppoſite ſhore admitted of no difficulty. He now found there was another iſland to be croſſed, and beyond it a conſiderable gut, in which the ſwell was ſo high from the late fall of rain, that the horſes were up to their necks. By this time too it was day-light; and the weather having cleared up, he perceived that the enemy had full view of him, and were haſtening from every part to oppoſe his landing.

Notwithstanding all theſe difficulties, Alexander paſſed on, and was already on firm ground, when the firſt detachment of Porus' troops came up with him; whom he inſtantly charged, and cut to pieces.

Upon receiving notice of the Macedonians paſſing the river, Porus, who thought it was only a ſmall detachment of little conſequence, had diſpatched againſt them his ſon with a party of horſe and ſome armed chariots; but a ſecond account informing him, that this party was defeated, his ſon ſlain, and the enemy led on by Alexander himſelf, he immediately formed his army in order of battle, and advanced to meet him.

Arrian, 5. 15 et ſeq. The intrepid manner of the Indian chieftain, and the ſkilful diſpoſition he made, ſhewed Alexander that he had not a common enemy to contend with. Porus' cavalry, flanked by a number of armed chariots, formed the wings of his army. His infantry, in number about thirty thouſand, compoſed his main body, in the front of which he had placed his elephants, at ſuch diſtances, that it was not poſſible for Alexander's cavalry to make impreſſion on this line, the very ſight and ſmell of theſe animals deterring the horſes from approaching; whilſt the foot, had they attempted to

to break in upon this diſpoſition, were not only in imminent danger of being trampled down by theſe tremendous creatures, but were expoſed to the deadly aim of numbers of Indian markſmen. BOOK I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327.

ALEXANDER perceived at once what was proper to be done. His main body he commanded to halt at ſome diſtance from the main body of the enemy; and having detached Coenus to attack the right wing, with directions to wheel round as ſoon as poſſible, and fall on the enemy's rear, he at the ſame time, in perſon, charged their left wing. This unexpected operation threw the Indians into confuſion. Attacked both in front and rear, their cavalry, in which they were weakeſt, were ſoon diſperſed; and Alexander, having thus laid open the flank of their main body, puſhed on, whilſt the Macedonian phalanx, who had now orders to advance, took advantage of the enemy's broken condition, and getting between the elephants, incloſed them, and either diſabled, or drove them back upon the Indian troops.

BUT what completed the ruin of the Indian army, was a movement of Craterus, who commanded in the Macedonian camp. As ſoon as he ſaw the battle incline in favour of Alexander, he inſtantly croſſed the Hydaſpes, purſuant to inſtructions left with him, and pouring in his freſh troops on this fatigued and diſpirited enemy, made dreadful havock, and fixed deciſively the fortune of the day.

PORUS, amidſt this general diſcomfiture, ſtill preſerved an unconquered mind; and though wounded, and left almoſt alone, refuſed to quit the field of battle. Alexander, who ſaw his danger, and admired his valour, wiſhed to ſave him, and ſent Taxiles to perſuade him to ſurrender. 'Baſe betrayer of thy country!' ſaid Porus to him,

Book I. Sect. 2. him, as ſoon as he approached; and would inſtantly have ſlain him, had he not ſaved himſelf by flight. Meroes, an Indian, who was on terms of friendſhip with Porus, was then ſent, who having repreſented how ineffectual any farther oppoſition was, with the gracious treatment he might be aſſured of, at length prevailed on him to approach Alexander. The conqueror beheld the vanquiſhed prince with admiration. Porus had, as hiſtorians tell us, an uncommon dignity in his appearance; his ſtature was much above the uſual ſize, and his eye betrayed nothing of his preſent fortune. 'How do you require I ſhould treat you?' ſaid Alexander to him. 'As a king,' anſwered the other. 'As a king, I ſhall, doubtleſs,' replied Alexander; 'the regard I owe to myſelf demands 'it of me. But have you nothing to aſk on your 'own private account?'—'To be treated as a king,' ſaid the royal priſoner, 'implies every thing.' Moved by this greatneſs of ſpirit, Alexander reſtored him to his kingdom, and endeavoured to make compenſation for what he had ſuffered; if any thing could make this prince amends for the unprovoked ſlaughter of his people, and the death of his two ſons, the ſecond having fallen in the laſt action. Alexander, however, found Porus ever afterwards to remain one of his moſt faithful allies.

Bef. Chriſt 327.

Other wars ſucceeded. There were ſeveral princes in the country, who had not yet ſubmitted; and this was a crime which Alexander could not forgive. What Arrian relates, ſeems indeed to exceed all belief; that in this part of India, between the Hydaſpes and the Hyphaſis, he ſubdued ſeven different nations, and took two thouſand cities; of theſe, thirty-ſeven belonged to the Glauſae alone, not one of which, ſays Arrian, had fewer than five thouſand inhabitants, and many

6. 2.

5. 20.

above ten thouſand; beſides a number of villages, peopled in proportion. Some were ſtill more populous, ſeventeen thouſand being ſlain, and ſeventy thouſand made priſoners, at the ſacking of Sangala, which he laid in ruins, becauſe the inhabitants had the inſolence to make a vigorous defence. Allowing even theſe numbers to be greatly exaggerated, we may nevertheleſs conclude, that this country muſt then have been exceedingly populous[12], and in a very high ſtate of cultivation.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327. Arrian, 5. 24.

When the Macedonian found there was nothing more for him to ſubdue on this ſide the Hyphaſis, he propoſed to paſs on to the Ganges. There, he was told, he ſhould meet with ſeveral rich and mighty kingdoms, whoſe inhabitants were famed for their ſkill in huſbandry, their valour, and their wiſdom, and who were poſſeſſed of elephants larger than any he had yet beheld. Theſe were powerful incitements for him to make trial of their ſtrength; as if it had been his glory to deface whatever was fair and lovely among men, and to the decencies and bleſſings of ſocial life to ſubſtitute horror and devaſtation.

But his ſoldiers refuſed to proceed. Worn out with toil, to which they ſaw no end, and perhaps not inſenſible to the miſeries of which they had ſo often been the inſtruments, they demanded, that he ſhould now think of returning. Alexander expoſtulated with them. He laid before them the glorious plan he had formed; the execution of which, he told them, was to give them poſſeſſion of boundleſs treaſure, and would render their names illuſtrious to the lateſt times—he propoſed to purſue his conqueſts to the Ganges, and from

[12] After the reduction of Indoſtan by the Tartars, the population of the country amounted, according to Raynal, 4. 11. to an hundred millions of Indians, and ten millions of Tartars.

thence

Book I. Sect. 2. thence to make his way to the eaſtern ocean—thence they were to have the opportunity of paſſing from ſea to ſea, and of viſiting many unknown lands, one great ocean, he told them, encompaſſing the whole earth—that afterwards, ſailing along the whole coaſt of Africa, they ſhould return by Hercules' pillars, thus completing the conqueſt of all the Aſiatic and African nations—and that whatever ſhould then appear to be the boundaries of the world, thoſe he would eſtabliſh for the boundaries of his empire.

Bef. Chriſt 327.

Arrian, 5. 25, 26.

Had this viſionary project been handed down to us upon the authority of Curtius, we ſhould be apt to conſider it as one of thoſe romantic embelliſhments, which this author has interwoven in many parts of his hiſtory: but we have it upon the word of the ſober Arrian, who wrote from authentic memoirs of reſpectable witneſſes, to whoſe charge if any thing can be laid, it is, that they have ſought rather to extenuate the exceſſes and follies of this firm, but vain-glorious prince.

From this account it is eaſy to perceive, that Alexander had a view alſo to Rome. Arrian, in another place, confeſſes, it was generally believed that he had. Other writers are more explicit. They tell us expreſsly, that he declared his intentions of carrying his arms into Italy, as ſoon as he had made an end of conquering the other nations of the earth.

7. 1.

In order to gain over his ſoldiers, he made uſe of every argument that unſatisfied ambition could ſuggeſt; he deſcended to ſolicitations; he choſe rather, he told them, to entreat than to command; he conjured them to remember, in what manner he had lived among them, in what eſtimation he held their atchievements, how bountifully he had rewarded their valour and fidelity. But his men were not to be moved. When he had

done ſpeaking, a ſullen ſilence enſued; the whole army expreſſing by their looks the ſtrongeſt marks of diſapprobation, though fearful of exciting his wrath by an avowed oppoſition. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327.

AT length Coenus, an officer of the firſt rank, whom years and ſervices rendered reſpectable, ventured to reply: Arrian, 5. 27.

'SINCE, O king, you are pleaſed to declare, 'that you mean not to command but to perſuade, 'and that you yourſelf are ready to comply with 'the wiſhes of your army, if it ſhall appear there 'is conviction in the arguments which they have to 'offer, I riſe to ſpeak, not in behalf of us your 'principal officers, who diſtinguiſhed by your fa-'vour, ſee ourſelves promoted to the firſt military 'honours, for whitherſoever your orders ſhall call 'us, we are ready to obey; I riſe to ſpeak in be-'half only of theſe your faithful ſoldiers.

'NEITHER in behalf even of them would I 'preſume to ſpeak, were it merely *their* intereſt I 'had in view. A much higher regard urges me, 'a regard to your royal perſon, a regard to the 'conſervation of your ſacred life.

'ON many accounts I think myſelf called upon 'to ſtand forth on this important occaſion: theſe 'grey hairs of mine, the honours you have 'graced me with, the life I have lived amidſt toils 'and dangers, ſeem all to require of me, that I 'ſhould, on this day, honeſtly ſpeak what I think 'it is expedient for you to hear.

'THE greater our dangers and fatigues have 'been, the more numerous and illuſtrious the ex-'ploits atchieved by you and the troops under 'your command, the ſtronger reaſon there is to 'beſeech you to put an end to our labours, and 'to reſt contented with that large portion of glory 'you have acquired.

Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327.

'CAST your eyes around. Of all the Greeks and Macedonians that accompanied you from Europe, ſee, how few do now remain! The Theſſalians, worn out in the ſervice, you have already diſmiſſed. Numbers of the other Greeks have periſhed by the ſword and by diſeaſe, in the courſe of the many wars you have been engaged in. The greater number of thoſe who ſurvive, you have been under the neceſſity of leaving behind in different parts of Aſia, diſabled by wounds, or weakened by infirmity, cut off from the hopes of ever beholding Greece more: and even the few who yet remain with you, and ſtill retain ſome appearance of vigour, have neither that firmneſs of body, nor that ſtrength of mind, which they had at the beginning. They languiſh for their native home, looking wiſhfully for the day that ſhall again reſtore them to their parents, their wives, and their children.

'WONDER not, O king, that this deſire ſhould work ſtrongly within them. You yourſelf have given it ſtrength. You have enriched them with wealth; you have graced them with honours: they long to ſhew to their neareſt connections, thoſe ornaments which they have received from you.—Compel not therefore men to follow you, who can no longer have the ſame affection for the ſervice they once had; whoſe bodies are averſe from toil, and whoſe minds are ſunk into dejection.

'THINK alſo, that you have a parent in Greece, who anxiouſly waits your return, and a kingdom that demands your attention. Full of glory, and laden with the ſpoils of Aſia, you will have the joy of making a people happy, and a mother bleſt.

'AND

'AND ſhould you hereafter be diſpoſed to go again to war, either againſt the Indians, or againſt Carthage and the Lybian nations, you will have ſoldiers from every part of Macedon crowding to your ſtandard; not men ſuch as theſe, bent by years, and ſubdued by labour; but ſoldiers freſh and vigorous, who will think lightly of toils they are not acquainted with, and will chearfully encounter the ſharpeſt dangers, in expectation of ſuch rewards as theſe your old ſoldiers now poſſeſs. Book I. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 327.

'MODERATION, amidſt the allurements of proſperity, is man's higheſt glory. This glory, O king, be thine. Succeſs has hitherto attended your arms; you cannot be aſſured that it ſhall always attend them; for, though with ſuch an army, led by ſuch a king, we bid defiance to the power of enemies, yet fortune may change on a ſudden, and blaſt our faireſt hopes.'

WE are indebted to Arrian for this intereſting ſpeech. Though the texture of it is evidently the work of the hiſtorian, it is nevertheleſs exceedingly valuable, as it may be ſuppoſed to be a juſt repreſentation, both of the manner of thinking of Alexander's army, and of the many miſeries which his boaſted conqueſts had brought even upon his own ſubjects; the ſtrength of Greece being waſted in a foreign land, whilſt the domeſtic weal was abandoned to the rage of ſtruggling factions!

As ſoon as Coenus had ended, a murmur of applauſe ran through the whole aſſembly. And what was moſt affecting, the tender ſentiments, with which their hearts were impreſſed, being all awakened by this pathetic oration, moſt of theſe gallant warriors appeared bathed in tears. Arrian, c. 28.

Book I. Sect. 2. Alexander nevertheleſs remained unmoved, and flung from the aſſembly with marks of ſtrong reſentment.

Bef. Chriſt 327. Next day he convened them again. 'I ſhall go 'on,' ſaid he to them; 'but I ſhall not deſire a 'Macedonian to follow me. There are *men*, who 'will not deſert their king. Return home when 'you pleaſe, and inform your countrymen, that 'you have left Alexander in the midſt of hoſtile 'nations.'

Retiring then to his tent, he remained ſhut up until the third day, not even his friends being allowed admittance.

He expected, that the love which he knew his army bore to him, and the dread of his diſpleaſure, would make them deſiſt from their purpoſe. No ſymptom of this appearing, he endeavoured to intereſt their ſuperſtition. Sacrifices were appointed, and the entrails of victims conſulted: but the prieſts deſerted him on this occaſion. Thus beſet with difficulties, he at length acquieſced, and to the great joy of his army, gave directions that they ſhould prepare to return.

Arrian, ubi ſup.

His vanity, however, ſtill diſplayed itſelf. He contrived to have arms much larger than his men could wield, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horſes required, left buried in the earth, or ſcattered throughout the territory that had ſet bounds to his conqueſts. He cauſed alſo twelve altars of an amazing ſize to be raiſed on the eaſtern ſide of the Hyphaſis, and a camp to be laid out upon a much larger ſcale than uſual. All this, to induce after-ages to believe, that himſelf and his men had the ſtrength and ſtature of giants. And on theſe altars, if we are to believe Philoſtratus, were left inſcriptions ſuitable to the folly and arrogance of the builder:—'to 'father

Philoſt. de vitâ Apoll. Tyan. 2. 15.

'father Hammon'—'to brother Hercules'—'to 'brother Apollo.' Book I. Sect. 2.

We are almoſt tempted to queſtion the veracity of antient hiſtorians, when they recite exceſſes of ſuch palpable abſurdity [13]. Bef. Chriſt 327.

[13] About this time died Coenus, much lamented by the whole army, to whom he was juſtly dear, and even mourned by Alexander himſelf, who could not but honour * the probity and noble ſpirit of this generous ſoldier.

* Quintus Curtius puts, nevertheleſs, a ſilly jeſt in Alexander's mouth on the occaſion.

See Quint. Cur. 9. 3.

BOOK

BOOK I.

SECTION III.

Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 327. Olymp. 113. 2. Arrian. 6. 1. et ſeq. Plut. in Alex. Q. Cur. 9. 3. Diod. Sic. 17. 10.

IT might well be ſuppoſed, that Alexander's buſy and lofty ſpirit would not long remain eaſy under reſtraints, to which nothing but the neceſſity of his affairs had made him ſubmit. His reſtleſs ambition began immediately to ſeek for new objects. And new objects ſoon opened to his view. The part of India he had traverſed is interſected by five great navigable rivers, which, he was told, after taking their courſe through many nations not leſs rich and populous than thoſe he had viſited, diſcharged themſelves into a vaſt ocean abounding with prodigies. Every circumſtance made him eager to attempt the enterpriſe. The Greeks alſo, naturally curious, and who were aſſured they might return by this route into Perſia, were not averſe from an expedition, which, beſides other advantages, ſeemed to bring them on their way towards their native country.

A FLEET

A FLEET was accordingly fitted out, and the command of it given to Nearchus, with directions to fall down the Hydaſpis, whilſt the army moved along its banks, Alexander himſelf embarking with a party of cavalry and a conſiderable body of cuiraſſiers. They had continued their navigation for ſome days, when an accident, of which he had been appriſed by the natives of the country, had nearly put an end to his whole project. The rivers of this part of India fall the one into the other [1], and at every confluence the meeting of the waters cauſes a ferment, which few veſſels are able to reſiſt. When therefore the Macedonian fleet reached the confluence of the Aceſines and Hydaſpis, ſeveral veſſels found themſelves caught abruptly by whirling eddies; ſome were overſet, and moſt of them ſhattered. At length, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, they got clear by dint of their oars.

Bef. Chriſt 326.

HITHERTO they had ſeen only a few ſcattered Indians, who abandoned their habitations at the firſt approach of an enemy. The Macedonians now began to enter a diſtrict inhabited by a people, who appeared to have more civilized manners, and to be well acquainted with the cultiva-

[1] We have, from the accurate Arrian, 6. 14. an exact account of theſe ſeveral confluences. The five rivers of this part of India are the Indus, the Hydaſpis, the Aceſines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphaſis. Upon the confluence of the Hydaſpis and Aceſines, the name of the former is loſt, and the river takes that of Aceſines; it is afterwards joined by the Hydraotes, and then by the Hyphaſis, ſtill retaining the name of Aceſines, and at laſt falls into the Indus; under which name all theſe waters conjoined empty themſelves into the ſea. According to Cteſias (See Arrian, 5. 3, 4.) the Indus is in one part upwards of twelve miles (an hundred furlongs) in breadth, and upwards of five miles (forty furlongs) where narroweſt; and yet is far inferior to the Ganges. According to Oneſicritus, who was commander of the ſhip in which Alexander was, Strabo tells us (15. 482.) that the Indus is in one part two hundred furlongs, about twenty-five miles, in breadth. Beſides the rivers above-mentioned, eleven more, making fifteen in all, fall into the Indus. See Arrian, 5. 6.

Book I. tion of land. Theſe were named the Malli.
Sect. 3. Alexander immediately landed, and prepared to march againſt them, forming his army into three
Bef. Chriſt 326. diviſions, that the natives, who eluded the one, might be intercepted by the other. The Malli were an harmleſs people, of great ſimplicity of life, who had never heard of Alexander or his exploits; who had not even been ſubjected to the Perſian yoke, to whoſe name probably they were ſtrangers; and who, ſince the days of Bacchus, according to their tradition, had lived in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties, conformably to their own laws. Conquerors pay little regard to circumſtances like theſe. The ſon of Olympias ſtill went on, ravaging the country, and ſacking every fortified place that did not open its gates to him. One city ſtill remained unſubdued, which had the advantage of ſome kind of fortreſs; and here a great part of the Malli had taken refuge. Thither Alexander marched his forces; and finding a more rigorous reſiſtance than his impetuous ſpirit could brook, he commanded ladders to be applied, and the walls to be ſcaled, mounting himſelf the foremoſt. The ladders being too ſlender to ſuſtain the weight of the numbers who crowded after the king, broke down, juſt as Alexander and three of his guards had reached the top of the battlements. Here they ſtood alone, in a critical ſituation, unable to execute any thing effectual, and expoſed to all the weapons of the beſieged. The danger in which Alexander found himſelf, made him bolder and more reſolute; and, without loſing a moment in deliberation, he undauntedly leaped from the battlements into the city; his three attendants, to whom the king's raſh deed left no choice, following him. They lighted on their feet; but this availed them little. They were at once ſurrounded

ed by crowds of combatants; and though they struck down as many as durſt approach them, a freſh ſupply of enemies ſtill preſſed on; and ſtones, and darts, and javelins, poured in upon them from every ſide. Abreas, one of Alexander's men, was already ſlain, and the two others, Peuceſtas and Leonnatus, dangerouſly wounded, when the king received a javelin in his breaſt, which brought him almoſt lifeleſs to the ground: his two companions, though nearly diſabled by their own wounds, covered him with their ſhields and bodies. The report of Alexander's danger having run through the army, the ſoldiers, frantic at the thoughts of loſing their prince, burſt into the city at different places; ſome ſcrambling up the walls, others beating down the gates; when, putting to the ſword all they met, without diſtinction of age or ſex, they made their way to the ſpot where the king lay. Their firſt care was to remove him to his tent, and to cut out the head of the javelin, which, being bearded, required a large inciſion to be made. The plentiful effuſion of blood, occaſioned by the operation, threw Alexander into a ſwoon, and for ſome minutes it was doubtful whether he had not expired; but he ſoon revived, and from the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, and the care taken of him, he was in a ſhort time re-eſtabliſhed, and enabled to ſhew himſelf again to his army, who would ſcarcely believe their prince was alive, till they were permitted to approach his perſon. All that remained of the Malli, as if to atone for the ſhare they had in the accident, ſubmitted; and their example was followed by the Oxydracae, another nation not far diſtant [2].

BOOK I. SECT. 3. Bef. Chriſt 326.

[2] Moſt of the antient hiſtorians ſuppoſe this adventure to have happened in the city of the Oxydracae. It appears from Arrian, 6. 11. that they are miſtaken.

Book I. Sect. 3. Ante Chriſt 326.

Alexander's inclination for war and conqueſt was not in the leaſt impaired by his recent unfortunate adventure: he ſtill continued his military operations, marking out for deſtruction every people that dared to reſiſt the power of his arms. What devaſtation this muſt have produced, among nations ſuch as we have deſcribed, fond of freedom, and unacquainted with the Macedonian method of waging war, it is eaſy to judge. Beſides a number of large diſtricts totally depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants to the neighbouring deſarts, not leſs than ſeven great nations [3] were forced to accept whatever terms the conqueror thought proper to impoſe. And Muſicanus, one of their kings, who is ſaid to have been the moſt conſiderable of the princes of the country, having endeavoured to throw off the yoke, was purſued by his foe, taken, and crucified alive, in the midſt of his own territories, together with ſeveral of the Brachmans [4], or Indian ſages, who, in

Arrian, 6. 15. 16.

[3] Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, tells us, that this country, which he now ſubdued, was three times as large as what he had ſubdued before between the Hydaſpis and the Hyphaſis.

[4] Theſe Brachmans or Bramins appear to have been a very different order of men from what modern writers repreſent them. 'Tels,' ſays Abbé Raynal, 1. 4. 'ſont les deſcendans des anciens 'Brachmanes, dont l'antiquité ne parle qu'avec admiration, parce-'que l'affectation de l'auſterité et du myſtere, et le privilége de 'parler aux rois du ciel, en impoſe au vulgaire dans tous les 'ſiécles. C'étoit à eux que les Grecs attribuoient le dogme de 'l'immortalité de l'ame, les idées ſur la nature du grand être, ſur 'les peines et les recompenſes futures—On regardoit les Brach-'manes comme les amis des dieux, parcequ'ils paroiſſoient s'en 'occuper beaucoup, et comme les protecteurs des hommes, parce-'qu'ils ne s'en occupoient point du tout.' Both Strabo and Arrian ſpeak of them in another manner. Their chief employment was *the public good*; to obſerve the ſeaſons, and to communicate their obſervations to the people; and, on all occaſions of important and national concern, to deliver their advice with fidelity. The Brachman, who had thrice been guilty of giving counſel that had not proved ſalutary, was condemned to ſilence for life. Their diſcipline, beſides, was exceedingly ſevere; and their tenets concerning the Creator and Governor of the univerſe, the immortality

in their zeal for their antient liberties, had encou- Book I.
raged him to revolt. Sect. 3.

THE fleet had now entered the Indus, which, ——
says Arrian, after receiving the waters of all the Bef. Chriſt 326.
other rivers of this part of India, empties itſelf by two great channels into the Indian ocean. The mariners ſoon diſcovered, by the ſwell of the river, that the ſea was not far diſtant, and gave notice to the king, that they already perceived the breezes of the ocean. Alexander, rejoiced to find that he ſhould ſhortly behold the object of his wiſhes, encouraged his ſeamen to uſe their oars with redoubled efforts. As they were endeavouring to execute theſe orders, they found themſelves involved in a new diſtreſs, which their ignorance rendered exceedingly alarming. Accuſtomed to the gentle ebb and flow of the Mediterranean, they had no notion of the ſtrong ocean-tides.

tality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate, were not unworthy of the Grecian ſchool. Their reproof of Alexander is memorable. A number of them were aſſembled in a field as he paſſed, and at ſight of him began to ſtamp on the ground with great vehemence. He ſent to know the reaſon. 'To every man,' they anſwered, 'is ſuch a portion of the earth allotted, as we are meaſuring out 'with our feet. Thou, O king, ſhalt have no more: and yet, led 'on by an idle curioſity, and regardleſs of juſtice, art thou travel- 'ling from country to country, without allowing reſt either to thy- 'ſelf or to thy fellow-creatures.' He would have prevailed on Dandamis, the principal of the Indian ſages, to come to him, bidding his meſſengers tell him, that he was the ſon of Jupiter, and had it in his power to reward or to puniſh him. 'I am,' replied the ſage, 'the ſon of Jupiter as well as he. As to his re- 'wards, he has none to give, for he has not enough to ſatisfy him- 'ſelf; and as for his puniſhments, the utmoſt he can do, is, to re- 'lieve me from a body worn out with age, and to remove me to a 'ſtate of perfect happineſs.' However Calanus, another Brachman, was perſuaded to attend Alexander, and for ſome time accompanied him; but being ſeized by an acute diſorder, he raiſed a pile of wood, and burnt himſelf on it. It appears, nevertheleſs, that the Indian Brachmans condemned Calanus, both for departing from that ſimplicity of manners he had been accuſtomed to, in order to partake of the luxuries of the royal table, and for putting an end to a life over which he had no dominion.

See Strabo 15. 490 & ſeq. et Arrian, 7. 1, 2. et Hiſt. Ind. 11.

Accordingly,

Book I. Sect. 3. Accordingly, when they ſaw the current bear againſt them, and the waters to riſe on every ſide, and overſpread the banks, they imagined it was an indication of the anger of the gods, and that they were guilty of impiety in thus attempting to pry into the ſecrets of nature. This, however, was little to the conſternation that followed. The ſea, at the turn of the tide, retreating, their veſſels were left either aground, or ſtuck faſt in the mud, the keels and oars of many of them much damaged, and the ſhores covered with arms and baggage; ſo that the whole had the appearance of a wreck, and they began to deſpair of being ever able to get off. The return of the tide relieved them from their anxiety, and taught them what they were until this time ſtrangers to.

Bef. Chriſt 326.

Alexander ordered himſelf to be rowed into this vaſt ocean for the purpoſe of making new diſcoveries, and after doing little more than gratifying an unbounded curioſity, prepared to march his army back into Perſia, whilſt Nearchus was to continue his navigation along the coaſts of the Perſian gulph, and afterwards up the Euphrates, by which he was directed to return. It is ſuppoſed, that Alexander ſpent ten months [5], from the time of his embarking on the Hydaſpis, in this fruitleſs expedition. He cloſed his progreſs on this ſide with a prayer well worthy of remembrance. It marks ſtrongly the extravagant ſpirit of this adventurous and ambitious prince. He beſought the gods, 'that no man might paſs beyond the limits that he had reached.'

Plut in Alex.

The route, which he choſe for the return of his army, was of all others the moſt difficult. It lay moſtly through burning ſands, in many parts of

[5] Plutarch ſays ſeven only. Abp. Uſher ſhews he is miſtaken. See Uſſer. Annal. 371.

which

which no water was to be found, no ſupply of food to be obtained, nor the track of a traveller to be ſeen. The army ſoon experienced all the miſeries to be met with in ſuch a dreary march. Numbers of his men were either overwhelmed in the hot ſands, or periſhed from fatigue, or hunger, or both. Their carriages became no longer of uſe, the roads in ſeveral places not admitting them; their cattle periſhed, or were killed for food: ſo that the immenſe treaſure the army had collected together, at the price of ſo much blood, was now thrown away by the ſoldiers, as a painful incumbrance. This inhoſpitable tract was called Gadroſia. One might be at a loſs to conjecture what could prompt Alexander to ſuch a route, when a much better lay before him. Arrian accounts for it. According to the tradition of the Indians, Semiramis and Cyrus had paſſed this way; and whatever any great perſon had performed, the ſon of Philip was determined not to be exceeded in. Semiramis, as tradition bore, loſt her whole army in this deſart, twenty men excepted; and Cyrus had eſcaped with ſeven only. Alexander therefore had an advantage over them: the march coſt *him* but two months, and only three fourths of his men periſhed in this [6] wild expedition.

Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 326.

In the courſe of it, however, there happened an incident, which Arrian relates, much to Alexander's praiſe. Some ſoldiers had gone in queſt of water, and having diſcovered a little brook, with difficulty procured a ſmall quantity of the element, and brought it to the king: though oppreſſed with thirſt, he refuſed to accept a relief which he could not ſhare among his army, and with much com- 7. 26.

[6] He entered this part of India with an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and fifteen thouſand horſe, and did not bring back above one fourth part of them. Plutarch in Alexand.

mendation

Book I. Sect. 3. mendation of the zeal of thoſe who brought it, generouſly poured it on the ground. Every man found it leſs difficult to ſuſtain hardſhips, when he ſaw the king endure them equally with the meaneſt ſoldier. A like ſtory is related by Plutarch, which, poſſibly from miſtake, he aſcribes to another perſon.

Bef. Chriſt 326.

Bef. Chriſt 325. The Macedonians at length entered the plentiful country of Carmania, where they were ſupplied in abundance with proviſions of every kind; orders having been previouſly diſpatched to the neighbouring governors to furniſh all manner of refreſhments, together with carriages and beaſts of burden to replace thoſe that had been loſt. Here Alexander ſpent ſome days in celebrating public ſports, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving for the ſignal deliverance vouchſafed to him and his army. It is probably this ſolemnity, of which ſome antient writers have given us ſo romantic a deſcription. They would have us believe, that Alexander cauſed his ſoldiers to celebrate a feaſt to Bacchus for ſeven days, in memory of their prince having, like the god, returned victorious from the Indies; when his whole army, in imitation of the Bacchanals, exhibited a frantic proceſſion through the nations lately conquered, with ſhouts of uproar and riot, and all the ridiculous gambols of which the greateſt intoxication can be productive, the king in perſon leading the diſſolute dance. Had one thouſand ſober men, ſays Curtius, attacked this wild multitude, the defeat of the latter had been inevitable. But from Arrian it appears, that this account, though ſupported by no leſs an authority than that of Diodorus and Plutarch, is merely an idle fiction. An inſtructive leſſon, how cautious we ought to be in admitting what many antient writers have recorded.

Q. Curt. 9. 10.

Arrian, 6. 28.

Alexander,

ALEXANDER, no doubt, like all founders of a new empire, had pleaſed himſelf with the fond idea, that this vaſt fabric of power, which he was labouring to eſtabliſh, would laſt for ages. He now had the fulleſt evidence of the vanity of his hopes. It was but the eleventh year of his reign, and the fifth ſince the overthrow of Darius; and repeated accounts were brought to him from every quarter, of the confuſion which had already ariſen in many of his provinces; in ſome, from the unſubdued ſpirit of the people [7]; in moſt of them, from the oppreſſive and tyrannical exceſſes of the governors whom he had appointed over them. Theſe, it ſeems, expected not that Alexander was ever to return from the Indies, and therefore treated with contempt eſtabliſhments which he could no longer enforce. Alexander behaved on this occaſion with becoming firmneſs and reſentment. He enquired into the ſeveral complaints, and where guilt was found, puniſhed the delinquents with the utmoſt ſeverity. Proofs were exhibited of groſs dilapidations and acts of violence having been committed by Clitander, Sitalcas, and Heracon, who commanded in Media: they were all put to death. They had aſſiſted in the murder of Parmenio; on which account, hiſtorians tell us, the whole army, even many of the king's neareſt friends, witneſſed their execution with pleaſure. 'Vengeance for that 'innocent blood,' ſaid they, 'has juſtly overtaken 'them.' Abulites, and his ſon Oxathres [8], to whom the care of Suſa was intruſted, had proved unfaithful: they both ſuffered in like manner.

Bef. Chriſt 325.

Plut. in Alex.

Arrian, ubi ſup.

Q. Curt. 10. 1.

[7] Philip, whom he had appointed governor of Indoſtan, had been ſlain by his own guards. See Arrian, 6. 27.

[8] Arrian, 7 4. Plutarch calls him Oxyartes. According to this hiſtorian, Alexander was ſo enraged againſt him, that he ſtabbed him with his own hand. See Plutarch in Alexand.

Orxines

Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 325.

Orxines [9] had plundered the province of Perſia, of which he held the government, not ſparing even the temples, and putting to death all perſons, however innocent, who happened to be obnoxious to him: he was crucified. Even the tomb of Cyrus, which was filled with various treaſures of ineſtimable value, and in which the body of that conqueror lay incloſed in a caſe of gold, had not eſcaped the rapacious hand of violence. After much inquiry, it was diſcovered, that the plunderer was Polymachus, a Macedonian of diſtinction, born in Pella, Alexander's native city: regardleſs of his quality, the king ordered his execution. In this liſt of criminals, one of the moſt remarkable was Harpalus. Alexander, to whom he was particularly dear, on account of his attachment to him whilſt Philip was living, had appointed him guardian of the treaſures in Babylon. This important truſt was a temptation, which he was not capable of reſiſting. He abandoned himſelf to a ſhameful diſſoluteneſs, and ſquandered away a conſiderable portion of the wealth committed to his care. Accordingly when, contrary to his expectations, he found that Alexander was on his return to Babylon, he collected together a band of mercenaries, and taking five thouſand talents with him, fled into Greece. The fate, which he juſtly deſerved, ſoon afterwards overtook him. He was killed in Crete by ſome perſons in whom he confided.

Plut. in Alex.

Arrian, 3. 6.

After viſiting the adjacent provinces, and applying what remedies ſeemed moſt expedient in their preſent turbulent ſtate, Alexander directed his march to Suſa, where, upon his arrival, he married Statira, daughter of Darius. Arrian

Plut. in Alex. et Demoſt. Athenaei Deipnoſoph. 13. 594. Arrian, 7. 4.

[9] Arrian, 6. 30. Quint. Cur. 10. 1. gives a very different turn to this ſtory. We follow Arrian.

calls

calls her Barſine, or, according to ſome readings, Arſinoe. Her ſiſter Paryſatis, by ſome named Drypetis, he gave to Hephaeſtion, and at the ſame time diſpoſed of eighty of the principal Perſian ladies in marriage to his chief officers, on all of whom he beſtowed rich dowries ſuitable to their noble birth. In addition to the public joy, Nearchus, who had the command of the naval expedition, and of whoſe ſafety Alexander had deſpaired, returned to Suſa, with an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage, and of the diſcoveries he had made; which, in the preſent infant ſtate of navigation among the Greeks, were highly celebrated. Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 325.

That his whole army might ſhare in the general happineſs, he preſented every Grecian ſoldier, who had married Aſiatic women (and theſe amounted to ten thouſand in number) with conſiderable ſums of money. The debts likewiſe of his army he declared he would diſcharge, and deſired to have a ſtate of them laid before him. But finding many of his men were unwilling to diſcover minutely how their debts had been contracted, he demanded only the names of their reſpective creditors, and the ſeveral ſums at large; and in this manner diſcharged the whole, though the ſum amounted to twenty thouſand talents. Thoſe beſides, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any particular military exploit, he honoured with rich donatives, ſuch as crowns of gold, and other rewards of great value. Plut. in Alex. Arrian, 7. 5.

Alexander's generoſity appears here to advantage. He had beſides in view to ſmooth national prejudices, which kept the haughty Greeks at a diſtance from the Aſiatics, and as the Macedonians and Perſians were now governed by one common ſovereign, to make them by degrees

Book I. Sect. 3. coaleſce into one people: but he ſoon found this was not ſo eaſily to be accompliſhed.

Bef. Chriſt 325. Arrian, 7. 6. et ſeq. Plut. in Alex.

He had given directions to the ſeveral governors to train to military exerciſe a number of youths in their reſpective provinces, and to have them diſciplined after the Macedonian manner, in order that he might always have a ſupply of ſoldiers in readineſs, whenever caſualties or years ſhould render his own men unfit for ſervice. Thirty thouſand of theſe recruits having accordingly been brought to Suſa, he iſſued orders, that the ſame number of Macedonians, who were become leſs able to endure the fatigues of war, ſhould have permiſſion to return home. It had been eaſy to have given a favourable interpretation to this meaſure: but to the Greeks, who were already exaſperated at ſeeing the Aſiatics poſſeſs ſo large a portion of the royal favour, it appeared in the moſt odious light; and a general mutiny immediately enſued. 'Their former ſervices,' they ſaid, 'were no longer remembered—no account 'taken of the dangers they had encountered, and 'the toils they had undergone—the objects of 'Alexander's regard were now the effeminate 'Perſians—he imitated their dreſs, he ſpoke their 'language, he adopted their manners—their ſoldi-'ers were now to be inrolled among the Macedo-'nian veterans, and to carry away thoſe honours, 'which the latter had purchaſed at the price of 'their blood—let us all be diſcharged together—'we ſcorn to ſerve under the banners of a prince, 'who is now an alien to his country—and ſhould 'he have any more wars to carry on, let them be 'carried on by his father Hammon and himſelf.'

Alexander could contain himſelf no longer: for, it ſeems, theſe bold remonſtrances were made in his preſence. Starting from his tribunal, with his own hands he ſeized thirteen of the moſt guilty mutineers,

mutineers, whom he ordered to inſtant execution. Then taking advantage of the conſternation into which this act of vigour had thrown his army, in the moſt ſpirited manner he reproached them with the ungrateful return they made for all he had done for them; and at the concluſion of his ſpeech abruptly left the aſſembly, retired to his tent, and commanded, that his perſon ſhould henceforward be intruſted to Perſian guards, and that the different corps of Aſiatic troops ſhould hold the ſame rank, and enjoy the ſame privileges, which the Macedonians had lately poſſeſſed. Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 325.

The king's firmneſs on this occaſion had its full effect. The Macedonians were naturally attached to his perſon; and notwithſtanding the deep ſhades that darkened his character, his brighter qualities, which were moſtly of the popular kind, his bravery eſpecially and munificent ſpirit, were held in the higheſt eſtimation. Above all, they could not bear to be thus indignantly debarred from his preſence, and excluded from his favour and confidence. For three days, during which time he kept himſelf ſhut up, they remained immovable around his tent, bewailing in the moſt affecting manner their indiſcretion; they threw their arms from them, as if unworthy to carry them longer; and declared they would never quit the place, until reſtored to their ſovereign's favour and forgiveneſs. Alexander, at length, was prevailed on to ſhew himſelf. At ſight of their prince, the Macedonians burſt into the moſt affectionate lamentations. Alexander himſelf began to ſoften; he melted alſo into tears; he permitted his people to approach him, to embrace him. What had afflicted his countrymen moſt deeply, they told him, was, that he had withdrawn his regard from them, and admitted the Perſians to be

Book I. Sect. 3. his kinſmen. 'You are all my kinſmen,' replied Alexander, 'and from this day, it is the name by 'which I ſhall diſtinguiſh you.' By the laws of Macedon, the king's kindred had a right to ſalute him, and they were all accordingly admitted to that honour.

Ant. Chriſt 345.

A SUMPTUOUS banquet ſealed the reconciliation, the king entertaining nine thouſand gueſts at one time. From the order of the entertainment, of which we have an account in Arrian, it appears, that he had not loſt ſight of his favourite ſcheme of coalition. In the moſt honourable place were the Macedonians; next to them the Perſians; and after the Perſians, other nations. In conjunction with the Grecian ſoothſayers, the Perſian magi were employed in offering up vows for the proſperity and union of all the inhabitants of his empire. One common bowl was brought, out of which king and people performed their libations; and at the concluſion was ſung a paean, or ſong of praiſe to the immortal gods, Greeks, as well as Barbarians, joining in the chorus.

7. 11.

Arrian, 7. 12. Plut. in Alex.

IT was then ſettled, that as many Greeks and Macedonians as were become unequal to the fatigues of the field, ſhould have permiſſion to return home. This permiſſion was attended with every mark of diſtinction the old ſoldiers could poſſibly deſire. Not only their arrears were punctually cleared off; they likewiſe received a talent each, beſides money ſufficient to defray their expences to Greece. Inſtructions were, at the ſame time, diſpatched to Macedon, that at all ſolemnities they ſhould have places of pre-eminence aſſigned to them; that they ſhould be free from all impoſts; and that whatever privileges were conferred on them, ſhould, upon their death, be enjoyed by their children. This grateful remembrance of the ſervices of his brave veterans exhibits

bits Alexander to us in a very advantageous point of view. Book I. Sect. 3.

What rendered this notice of the king of greater value, was the choice of the perſon to whom his men were given in charge. Craterus was named to this ſervice, an officer of the firſt diſtinction in the Macedonian armies, and who was known to be highly eſteemed by Alexander. The appointment of ſuch an officer the veterans conſidered as a particular honour done to themſelves. Bef. Chriſt 325.

It was the king's intention, that Craterus, upon his arrival in Greece, ſhould ſucceed Antipater, and that Antipater ſhould paſs into Aſia. Many think, that the repeated complaints preferred by Olympias, whoſe ambitious and intriguing ſpirit was impatient of the controul under which Antipater held her, had occaſioned his being ſuperſeded, and that ſevere meaſures were actually in agitation againſt him. Whatever views Alexander had, he did not live to carry them into execution.

Soon after this tranſaction, he loſt Hephaeſtion, who died of a fever in Ecbatana, contracted by intemperance; a loſs which Alexander ſeems to have borne with great agitation of mind. In others he ſaw the dependents of his fortune, in Hephaeſtion he poſſeſſed a friend. 'Craterus 'loves the king,' he was wont to ſay, 'but Hephaeſtion loves Alexander.' This tender connection, ſubſiſting from their earlieſt years, had never ſuffered the leaſt diminution. Though he lived with the king on the moſt familiar terms, and was admitted to his moſt ſecret councils, he enjoyed the royal favour without inſolence, and (what is ſtill more extraordinary) without exciting envy. How temperately he uſed his power, may be gathered from the two following inſtances. A muſician, of Plut. in Alex.

whom

Book I. Sect. 3. whom he was fond, had poſſeſſed himſelf of certain quarters, to which Eumenes, an officer of note, and at this time ſecretary to the king, laid claim. Hephaeſtion ſupported his favourite; Eumenes had the ſpirit to oppoſe Hephaeſtion, and upon an appeal to the king, carried the point againſt him. Some time after, Hephaeſtion differed on ſome occaſion with Craterus, and this diſpute was conducted with ſuch heat, that, had not the king interpoſed his authority, it probably had ended fatally. Nevertheleſs it does not appear, that either Craterus or Eumenes were afterwards leſs in favour with Alexander, or that Hephaeſtion ever employed his influence to their prejudice. He ſeems indeed to have been much beloved by the whole army, not only for thoſe affable qualities which adorn the courtier, but alſo for his military abilities, having accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions, and been frequently employed by him in the moſt arduous enterpriſes.

Bef. Chriſt 325. Plut. in Eumene. Plutarch.

Arrian, 7. 14. Plut. in Alex.

The extravagances, however, of Alexander on this occaſion are not to be juſtified. When he found that Hephaeſtion had expired, in a paroxyſm of grief he threw himſelf on the dead body, from which his friends could ſcarcely remove him. Thoſe perſons who had attended his favourite in his laſt illneſs, became objects of his reſentment, as if it had been owing to them that Hephaeſtion died. In his phrenſy, he accuſed even the gods for not having preſerved a life ſo dear to him. The ſacred fires were extinguiſhed throughout all Aſia, which was never before done but upon the king's death; 'an omen of dark import,' the Aſiatics obſerved, 'to Alexander himſelf.' Not contented with celebrating Hephaeſtion's obſequies with all poſſible magnificence, and erecting a ſumptuous monument to his memory at an im-

menſe expence, he ſent to the temple of Hammon to enquire, whether Hephaeſtion ought not to be ranked among the demigods. The oracle, too complaiſant not to gratify the king, anſwered as Aſia's monarch wiſhed. Hephaeſtion accordingly was pronounced a demigod, and had ſuitable honours appointed to him [10]. Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 325.

ALEXANDER had now come to Babylon, where a number of embaſſadors from different nations, in conſequence of the fame of his atchievements, were expecting his return [11]. It might be imagined, that to a mind ſuch as his, naturally vain and fond of homage, this kind of pomp muſt have afforded the higheſt gratification. He notwithſtanding appears to have reliſhed it very imperfectly. The death of Hephaeſtion, together with certain anticipations of his own approaching fate, had made deep impreſſion on his mind. As he drew near to Babylon, he met certain Chaldean ſoothſayers, who beſought him not to enter the city, which then lay to the weſt of him; or, if he did, to go round, and to enter with his face to the eaſtward: otherwiſe ſome fatal deſtiny threatened to overtake him. But the line, which they had pointed out, being found impracticable, his pride would not ſuffer him to return back, and he ventured into Babylon by the very way which was forbidden [12]. Anaxarchus, the philoſopher, had Bef. Chriſt 324. Arrian, 7. 16.

[10] Alexander's extravagance upon the loſs of Hephaeſtion might have been ſuggeſted by his progenitor Achilles' behaviour on the loſs of Patroclus.

[11] It appears from Arrian, 7. 15. that two antient writers of Alexander's hiſtory, Ariſtaeus and Aſclepiades, related, that among the embaſſies to Alexander, there was alſo one from Rome. Other hiſtorians make no mention of it.

[12] The rich revenues belonging to Belus were enjoyed by the Chaldeans, until his temple was rebuilt; and therefore they endeavoured to keep Alexander from entering Babylon, leſt he ſhould urge on a work which it was not their intereſt to have finiſhed. As to the king's going round, and entering with his face to the eaſt, they well knew, that the fens on that ſide had made the road impracticable. See Arrian, 7. 17.

endeavoured

Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 324.

endeavoured to reaſon with his maſter againſt idle apprehenſions, and to ridicule the boaſted ſkill of theſe pretended diviners. The king ſeemed to liſten to him with ſome degree of attention: but it was evident, that his mind enjoyed neither eaſe nor compoſure.

In order to diſſipate theſe melancholy thoughts, Alexander began to meditate an expedition againſt the Arabians [13], who had been guilty of the inſolence of ſending him no embaſſy; and to ſet on foot a number of new works for beautifying Babylon, now intended for the ſeat of empire. Among other undertakings, he propoſed to confine the Euphrates to its natural bed. The waters of this river had, for ſome ages, been ſuffered to overflow its banks; the adjacent country was greatly damaged, and this province, once the loveliеſt of Aſia, was declining faſt into an inhoſpitable moraſs. That he might judge what works were neceſſary, Alexander had a number of veſſels prepared, proper for paſſing the guts, and ſailed himſelf along the ſeveral banks to the place where the breach, according to report, had firſt been made. This excurſion, far from adminiſtering to him that amuſement which he expected, took a very different turn. In the courſe of his expedition, a guſt of wind blew the royal fillet from the king's head to ſome diſtance, where the monuments of the antient Aſſyrian kings were erected, and it fell intangled among the reeds that grew round the ſepulchres. One of the ſailors

[13] It appears from Arrian, 7. 20. that his principal view in this expedition was, to compel the Arabians to acknowledge him for one of their gods. They had, he had been told, only two gods; *the heaven*, on account of its being the abode of that beneficent luminary the ſun; and *Bacchus*, on account of his exploits in the Indies: 'and therefore,' ſaid he, 'as my exploits have not been 'inferior to thoſe of Bacchus, I likewiſe have a right to be wor-'ſhipped by them.'

leaped

leaped into the river, and having recovered it, fastened it inadvertently round his own head [14], in order to bring it back with greater safety. Book I. Sect. 3.

These incidents, of little moment to a mind sound and properly instructed, the superstition of the times pronounced to be omens full of terror; and the king's imagination, already distempered, failed not to lay hold of them. Bef. Christ 324.

In this dejected state he re-entered Babylon, where a similar train of dire presages still pursued him. Over his head, as he approached the city, was fought a battle of crows, some of whom fell dead at his feet. One of the largest lions kept in Babylon had been kicked to death by an ass. The governor of Babylon had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning his sovereign, and the liver of the victim was found not to have a head. What threatened disaster more than all, the king having undressed, as was customary to him, for the purpose of partaking in some athletic sports, when his attendants went to fetch his clothes, they found a stranger (some lunatic probably, who had escaped from his keepers) sitting in profound silence on their master's throne, dressed in his royal robes, with the diadem on his head; who, upon examination, pronounced, that the god Serapis had conducted him thither, and had ordered him to array himself in that attire, and to sit there in solemn silence. This madman, by the direction of the soothsayers, was put to death. Bef Christ 323. Plut. in Alex. Arrian. 7. 18. et Plut. ubi sup.

From all these circumstances, the anguish of Alexander's mind encreased more and more, as if (to use Plutarch's words) in despair of the suc-

[14] To avert the omen of this casual usurpation of the diadem, the Chaldean soothsayers, according to some historians, directed, that the officious sailor should be rewarded with a talent, and afterwards put to death.

cours

Book I. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 323.

cours of heaven [15]. And ſo ſtrongly had fears and anxieties taken hold on him, that every thing which happened, in the leaſt degree ſtrange or unuſual, he converted into an evil ſign or prodigy.

What remedies the religious notions then prevailing directed the uſe of, expiatory rites and ſacrifices, were employed profuſely. The court ſwarmed with purifiers and prognoſticators, all exerciſing their talents in behalf of the royal perſon. But theſe affording little relief, he endeavoured to drown reflection in a courſe of banqueting and intemperance, to which he had of late been much addicted. He had ſpent one day and part of the night in this manner, and was returning home to reſt, when Medius, who was now much in his favour, requeſted the king to honour him at an entertainment he had juſt prepared. With Medius he continued carouſing the remainder of the night, and after a ſhort repoſe, renewed the ſame ſcene of riot. The conſequence of ſuch irregularity might have been eaſily foreſeen. Before Alexander left the company of Medius, he had contracted a fever. He however ſlighted it, and for ſome days continued to receive the reports of his chief officers, and to canvaſs with them the ſchemes he was meditating. On the ninth day the violence of his diſtemper had riſen to ſuch an height, that his recovery began to be deſpaired of. His principal officers, alarmed at their ſituation, preſſed him to name a ſucceſſor, in caſe it was their misfortune to loſe him. 'The 'worthieſt,' he anſwered; 'but he foreſaw, that 'his obſequies would be obſequies of blood.'

Arrian. 7. 24. et ſeq.

It being now ſpread abroad, that the king was dying, the ſoldiers inſiſted on being admitted to

[15] Δύσελπις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. In Alexand.

take

take a laſt farewel of their beloved maſter. He was unable to ſpeak, but raiſing himſelf up, offered his hand as they paſſed, expreſſing by his looks, notwithſtanding his melancholy ſituation, the pleaſure he took in theſe marks of their affection. On the eleventh day he expired, having, ſome minutes before, delivered his royal ſignet to Perdiccas, which by many was conſidered to be a tacit appointment of him as his ſucceſſor. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, being exactly twenty at the time of Philip's death. He left only one ſon, Hercules, by Barſine, daughter to Artabazus, and widow to Memnon. But his wife Roxana was far advanced in her pregnancy; and Statira alſo was ſuppoſed to be in the ſame ſituation.

Bef. Chriſt 323. May 22.

IT is highly deſerving of notice, how exactly what the prophet foretold of Alexander had its accompliſhment. This prince had been deſtined to overthrow the empire of the Medes and Perſians; which as ſoon as he had performed, we ſee his power brought to an end, and in the very way the prophet had predicted; *his kingdom broken, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled.* What is not leſs remarkable, it had been pronounced by the Almighty, that Babylon ſhould be a deſolation, and the temple of Belus *broken unto the ground*, never to riſe from its ruins. At the very time Alexander, with every thing in his power for executing what he deſigned, is preparing to raiſe the temple of Belus again, and reſtore Babylon [16] to its antient ſplendor, his

Daniel 8. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 22, and 11. 4.

Iſaiah 21. 9.

[16] In antient days, Babylon was famed for its commerce and naval power. Originally, the country was a flat moraſs, often overflowed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Semiramis, the ſuppoſed foundreſs of the Babylonian greatneſs, has the glory of having improved the country, by cutting a number of drains through it,

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his purpose is defeated, and the breath of life taken from him.

Bef. Christ 323.

The opinion, that this conqueror was taken off by poison, which several of the antient writers have adopted, appears from Arrian to be altogethers groundless. Probably, the precarious state of Antipater's affairs at this juncture, from the suspicions said to be conceived of him, and the powerful inducements he might be supposed to have, to attack a life from which he had every thing to fear, first gave rise to this report; and

it, and raising embankments to confine the Euphrates within its channel: by these labours the river was rendered navigable; and she is said to have had on it a fleet of three thousand galleys. Nebuchadnezzar carried the improvement much farther. He caused two canals to be cut an hundred miles above the city; the first on the eastern side, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris, so that the city was supplied with the produce of the whole country to the north of it, as far as the Euxine and Caspian seas, and enjoyed also the trade of the Persian gulph, into which the Euphrates opened; this canal was called Naharmalea, or *the royal river*: the other canal was on the western side, and was called Pallacopas, or Naharaga, *the river of the pool*, by which the redundant waters were carried into a vast lake, forty miles square, contrived not only to lessen the inundation, but also as a reservoir, to water the barren country on the Arabian side. Cyrus, in his siege of Babylon, by turning the whole river into the lake by the Pallacopas, laid the channel, where it ran through the city, almost dry, so that his army entered it both above and below by the bed of the river. From the great quantity of water admitted into the lake, the sluices and dams were much damaged. The Persian monarchs, residing in their own country, paid no attention to the inconvenience: and besides, to prevent any invasion by sea on that part of their empire, they purposely obstructed the navigation of both rivers, by making cataracts in them, that is, by raising dams across the channel, and making artificial falls. Alexander began to restore the navigation of the rivers, by removing the cataract upon the Tigris, and repairing the breaches in the Pallacopas; but did not live to finish his great designs. From his time, the Euphrates, which in summer always swells from the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia, has been suffered to waste its waters on the neighbouring country: so that this province, once the loveliest and richest part of Asia, has by degrees declined again into an inhospitable morass, in which not the least vestige of its former splendor is to be found. So exactly has the word of the Almighty had its completion. See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, 202, 207, 208. See also Huet, Histoire du Commerce, ch. 11. and Arrian 7. 21.

the

the report might be encouraged afterwards by Olympias, who held Antipater and his houſe in utter deteſtation, and who wiſhed his deſtruction. Bef. Chriſt 323.

Of all the great perſonages of antiquity, whoſe fortunes and exploits have ſo frequently employed the hiſtorical pen, and of whom romantic, and often oppoſite accounts have been delivered to poſterity, there is none more diſtinguiſhed than Alexander. The chaſteſt and moſt conſiſtent of his hiſtorians appears to be Arrian; and yet in him there are matters liable to objection. It is remarkable too, that Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs chiefly Arrian compiled his hiſtory, and who attended Alexander in perſon in all his expeditions, are not always agreed about facts, of which they might be ſuppoſed to be well informed. Poſſibly they ſought to caſt a ſhade over ſome tranſactions, which, for obvious reaſons, they wiſhed had never exiſted.

What judgment is to be formed of him, may be gathered from the preceding pages. Military glory was certainly his ruling paſſion. Accordingly, the virtues, or to ſpeak more properly, the ſhining qualities, for which he is celebrated, appear to have been moſtly ſuch as belong to the military character—boundleſs munificence—an open frankneſs of diſpoſition—generous attention to the ſituation and wants of his men—an excellent foreſight—daring courage—admirable preſence of mind in the midſt of danger—and a wonderful quickneſs to ſeize every advantage in the day of battle.

Together with theſe qualities, he poſſeſſed all the advantages of body, which florid health, natural ſtrength of conſtitution, and conſtant exerciſe, are wont to beſtow. He was patient of fatigue; and in agility, horſemanſhip, dexterity in the

Book I. Sect. 3. the management of every warlike weapon, and in capacity for enduring hunger and thirſt, heat and cold, he ſtood without a rival.

Bef. Chriſt 323. Nor was he wanting in the ſofter virtues, which embelliſh the human character. He was capable of all the tenderneſs of friendſhip; of an eaſy, cordial, affectionate deportment to all who approached him: and notwithſtanding the roughneſs of martial life, he retained, for a conſiderable time, that elegance of ſentiment, which Grecian manners, and the early ſtudy of philoſophy, were calculated to inſpire. He proved his refined feelings in the delicacy with which he treated the princeſſes of the houſe of Darius. He ſhewed it in the extraordinary care he took to protect the Aſiatic nations, whom he conquered, from that rapacity and licentiouſneſs of which the lower military orders are frequently guilty.

But the Macedonian prince was ſoon to degenerate from theſe promiſing beginnings, was to become inſolent, oppreſſive and vain, barbarous, cruel, and the ſport of intemperance and puſillanimity.

It was Alexander's misfortune, that conqueſt was his darling paſſion; and the ſucceſs he met with encouraged him to proceed. His firſt expedition againſt Darius bore an air of juſtice. The ſervitude to which the Grecian coloniſts had been reduced, the repeated attempts made by the Perſian monarchs againſt the liberties of Greece, and when the ſuperiority of the Grecian arms had forced them to deſiſt from avowed hoſtilities, the artful manner in which they had endeavoured, by intrigue and corruption, to divide the Greeks among themſelves, and thus to bring the whole nation into a ſtate of humiliation and dependence, furniſhed at leaſt a pretext for retaliation. According, therefore, to the uſual maxims of human policy,

policy, his invaſion of Perſia might be vindicated. But when he had a fair opportunity of confining the Perſian monarch within narrower bounds, and of giving independence to all the nations of the Lower Aſia; when he even overthrew the Perſian monarchy, and ſaw himſelf ſeated on the throne of Cyrus; he had not wiſdom to ſtop at this point; the luſt of conqueſt hurrying him from nation to nation, and from climate to climate, where he had not even the pretence of wrongs to vindicate, or of injuries to redreſs. And probably, had his life been ſpared, there was not a part of the globe to which he would not have carried his arms, and involved it in the ravages of war; and 'had he 'not found a man left to contend with,' ſays Arrian, 'he had fought with himſelf.'

THERE is reaſon to believe, that this martial diſpoſition grew up the ſtronger in Alexander from the impreſſions he received in his youth. The reign of Philip had been a ſeries of wars; and the manners of his court, and even the language ſpoken in it, were all in the military ſtile.

ALEXANDER, beſides, had taken an early predilection for the character of Achilles, which, even in his riper age, appears to have operated powerfully on his mind. Ariſtotle, to whom the care of his education was intruſted, had with great judgment recommended to him to make the writings of Homer his particular ſtudy, as containing the moſt uſeful precepts, both for forming a prince and for the government of a people. But unluckily, among the many illuſtrious perſonages whoſe manners the father of poetry has delineated, the young prince fixed upon Achilles for his model. He did not conſider, that it was far from the poet's intention to propoſe to us 'the violent, 'implacable warrior, to whom every claim is juſt 'that can be ſupported by force of arms,' as a perfect

Book I. Sect. 3. perfect model for imitation. The poet only meant to ſhew, what devaſtation the fierce paſſions make in the nobleſt minds, and of what fatal ills to the human ſpecies in general they are productive. But Achilles, Alexander had been told, was one of his progenitors; and therefore he viewed theſe exceſſes with partiality. Poſſibly alſo it may be ſaid, that he was the more ſtruck with his character, on account of the reſemblance it bore to his own. They were the features of Alexander, which he admired in Homer's hero.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

But whatever were the cauſes that contributed to ſtrengthen in him this turn to military glory, it is certain, that indulging it in the wanton manner he did, and the repeated ſcenes of carnage it engaged him in, produced by degrees that fierceneſs of diſpoſition and character, which is the reproach of his latter years. Accuſtomed to have ſubmiſſion yielded to the terror of his name, he began to look on every reſiſtance to his arms as treaſon, which he was authorized to puniſh, putting frequently whole nations to the ſword, merely becauſe they had families whom they ſtrove to defend, and rights which they were unwilling to ſurrender. The ſervility alſo, with which he was treated by thoſe whom he had brought into ſubjection, inſpired him with a vanity of which Greece had ſeen no example. It was the cuſtom of eaſtern nations to adore their princes; and Alexander would be adored. Some of the heroes of old had been deified by their uninſtructed followers. The Macedonian would be deified alſo; and becauſe his Grecian veterans, who were accuſtomed to other manners, and were ardent ſupporters of liberty, oppoſed theſe inſolent pretenſions, he forgot he was their king, he attempted to become their tyrant. His temper, naturally violent, became impetuous. All who would not ſubmit

ſubmit to abject ſervility and compliance, he pro- Book I.
nounced diſaffected; and ſacrificed to his ſuſpici- Sect. 3.
ons, and to his jealouſy, the moſt faithful and moſt
worthy of his ſervants. Bef. Chriſt 323.

WHAT appears moſt extraordinary, in a prince conſpicuous, as the ſon of Philip was, for courage and firmneſs of mind, is the vulgar ſuperſtition which marked the latter period of his days. It has been obſerved by ſome authors [17], that he was always ſuperſtitious; and certainly he was, if revering the gods of his country, and endeavouring to conciliate their favour by thoſe means which he had been taught to think of moſt efficacy, can properly be deemed ſuperſtition. What affected his lateſt days was of a different nature, and ſeems to have ariſen from another cauſe. Appalling fears had ſeized his imagination, and in ſpite of all his efforts, had ſubdued his mind. What theſe were, antient writers have not informed us. It may not perhaps be too bold a conjecture, that the outrages which he had committed upon his own ſubjects, embruing his hands in the blood of Clitus, the baſe and more criminal aſſaſſination of Parmenio, and the death of the virtuous Calliſthenes, had a conſiderable ſhare in exciting thoſe horrors, to which in the end he fell a victim; for to them, ſurely, was owing that intemperance in which he at laſt fatally took refuge.

SHOULD it be aſked, if civilization and happineſs was the reſult of his exploits to thoſe nations whom he ſubdued? or, if any advantages accrued from them, at leaſt to Macedon? Even here muſt hiſtory, if ſhe bears faithful record, decide againſt him. This is not the place for

[17] See St. Evremond Jugement d'Alexandre et de Céſar.

Book I. Sect. 3. producing proofs in ſupport of this deciſion: they will be ſeen in the ſubſequent pages of this work.

Bef. Chriſt 323. An important inſtrument [18] he doubtleſs was in the hand of Providence, for executing that vengeance on Babylon and her dependent provinces, which their oppreſſions and crimes had long provoked, and which the Almighty had by his prophets denounced againſt them, and for opening a more free communication [19] between the eaſtern and weſtern worlds, in order to the gracious purpoſes of eternal wiſdom. But at the ſame time he was, in his day, a ſcourge to mankind; a ſcourge to the Macedonians themſelves, whoſe intereſt and proſperity he pretended to have in view.

It may therefore juſtly be eſteemed matter of wonder, that ſuch a character ſhould ever have been thought a fit model for princes; and that comparing them to Alexander ſhould have been numbered among thoſe exalted compliments, which flattery is wont to pay to greatneſs and power. This propenſity ſeems to have taken its riſe in the days of chivalry, when a frantic exertion of valour, ranging from country to country in queſt of exploits and adventures, was ſuppoſed to conſtitute the higheſt degree of perſonal merit. Alexander might have been the hero for ſuch an age. But more civilized times muſt often regard his character in a different, and leſs favourable light.

[18] 'Howbeit, he doth not ſo purpoſe,' may we juſtly ſay of him, as the prophet, 10. 7. ſaid of the Aſſyrian, 'neither doth his 'heart ſo intend; but to deſtroy is in his heart, and to cut off na-'tions not a few.' Iſaiah by Biſhop Lowth.

[19] See Biſhop Lowth on Iſaiah 19. 18. and 24. 14.

THE

THE death of Alexander was followed by that of Sisygambis. When she heard that he was no more, she refused to live. She had survived the fall of Darius, and the ruin of her royal house: but so noble was the treatment she had received from Alexander, that losing him seemed to her to be the filling up of the measure of her afflictions; and she put an end to her life by voluntary abstinence. BOOK I. Sect. 3. Bef. Christ 323. Q. Cur. 10. 5.

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

IT is time to return to Greece, in order to view the ſtate of affairs there, during the period of which we have been ſpeaking. Book II. Sect. 1.

THE important changes that had taken place in the fortunes of Macedon, and the bold ſchemes of ambition which Philip firſt, and Alexander afterwards, were ſeen to purſue, had produced a conſiderable alteration in the intereſts and political views of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. Long before this period, the Perſian power had ceaſed to be that object of terror it formerly had been, when Bef. Chriſt 323.

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

when Greece found it neceſſary to exert her utmoſt ſtrength againſt that empire for the preſervation of her liberties. To the generous diſplay of patriotiſm and diſintereſted ſpirit, which marked thoſe illuſtrious times, other principles had ſucceeded. Greece was compoſed of a number of independent ſtates. No longer alarmed with apprehenſions from Aſia, they began to contend for domination among themſelves. Athens and Sparta eſpecially, who both poſſeſſed the higheſt ſplendor that the wiſdom of laws and the glory of great atchievements can confer, diſdained to be any thing leſs than the rulers of all Greece, and carried on the conteſt for ſovereignty and preeminence with all that virulence which is generally the reproach of domeſtic wars. The Perſian monarchs beheld with pleaſure contentions, from which they derived ſecurity. They employed all the arts of intrigue, in which they appear to have been well ſkilled, to keep alive theſe diſſenſions. They had their emiſſaries in every corner of Greece. They excited jealouſies againſt the powerful; they ſupplied with means of defence thoſe ſtates who ſeemed to be exhauſted; and at length accuſtomed the people, who had diſclaimed all ideas of peace *with them*, to court their friendſhip, and to accept of pecuniary aids.

This plan indeed at different times ſuffered interruption, particularly under the vigorous reign of Ageſilaus. But theſe interruptions were ſhort, and without material conſequences. Popular orators alſo, occaſionally, in order to recommend themſelves to public favour, ſtill affected to call Perſia's kings the natural enemies of the Grecian people, and uſed to recite the glorious exploits their forefathers had atchieved againſt them. Yet the general policy was, to conſider the Perſian monarch as a prince, from whoſe corrupted and unwieldy

unwieldy empire Greece had nothing now to apprehend, and to whoſe influence and treaſures it was not diſreputable to have recourſe. Book II. Sect. 1.

When the Macedonian princes grew formidable, and their ſubtil ſchemes began to unfold themſelves, theſe friendly diſpoſitions towards the Perſian king acquired additional ſtrength; and what had been probably, in many caſes, the ſuggeſtions of a narrow ambition, were now found to be the dictates of ſound policy. The Greeks ſaw evidently, that their exiſtence as a nation was immediately connected with the ſupport of the Perſian monarch; that Perſia was the only power that could balance the Macedonian; and if the former was once overthrown, their liberties muſt ſoon ſhare the ſame fate. Bef. Chriſt 323.

This explains tranſactions, from which otherwiſe we might be tempted to draw improper inferences. Some of the ableſt ſtateſmen and firſt leaders of Greece appear, at this juncture, to have been ſtrongly attached to the Perſian monarch, to have kept up a conſtant intercourſe with his miniſters, and to have received frequently large remittances from them. Demoſthenes, among many others, countenanced theſe principles, and adopted this practice; but we are not to imagine they were betraying their country. It was, in fact, their attention to her real intereſt that produced theſe meaſures. The cauſe of Perſia was become the cauſe of Greece. Plut. in Demoſt.

Philip poſſeſſed too much ſagacity, not to perceive the tendency of this political ſyſtem; and was too able a ſtateſman, not to counteract it. *He* alſo employed his emiſſaries. He availed himſelf of thoſe popular prejudices againſt the Perſian name, which had ſtill poſſeſſion of the multitude. His orators took every opportunity of diſplaying, with ſtudied aggravation, all the hoſtile attempts ever

Book II. Sect. 1. ever made againſt Greece by Perſia, and of pouring out invectives againſt thoſe baſe betrayers of their country, who had ſold themſelves to their ſworn enemy. At the ſame time he aſſumed the ſpecious character of 'aſſertor of the independence 'of the Grecian people.'

Bef. Chriſt 323.

THESE popular acts, aided by a variety of intrigues, and ſupported by the vigour and ſucceſs of his military operations, had their effect. Notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions entertained of him by many of the ſtates of Greece, and the formal oppoſition of ſome of the moſt conſiderable, he had the addreſs to carry the point he had long in view, and to procure himſelf to be elected, in the great council of the nation, GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS. What uſe this profound politician would have made of this nominal ſovereignty, is left to our conjectures. He died before he could execute the extenſive projects he had formed.

THE Greeks imagined, his ſchemes had expired with him; that they had now little to fear from an unexperienced and raw youth, who neither poſſeſſed the depth of thought, nor the ability for execution, by which his father had been diſtinguiſhed. Their contempt of him was their ruin. Before they entertained any ſuſpicion of Alexander's deſigns, he appeared in the midſt of their national council, and firmly demanded his father's appointment of generaliſſimo, urging his plea with all the plauſibility of argument that the moſt practiſed ſtateſman could have employed. The ſteadineſs with which he made this requiſition, and his perſuaſive manner of enforcing it, joined to their own ſurpriſe and embarraſſment, extorted from them a conſent, in which their affections had little ſhare. Alexander ſaw what interpretation he was to give this act, and to confirm their ſervitude, determined

determined they ſhould be taught to know, it was not an uſeleſs weapon they had put into his hands. The Thebans ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity. They, as we have ſeen, endeavoured to ſhake off the Macedonian yoke: the Macedonian king treated them as rebels, who had riſen againſt their lawful ſovereign, laying their city in ruins, and almoſt exterminating their nation. Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

The conſternation, into which this act of ſeverity threw all Greece, anſwered Alexander's purpoſe effectually; and he was already in Aſia, before they had recovered from their panic. Antipater had inſtructions to obſerve their motions with a jealous eye, and by keeping a reſpectable force in readineſs for action, to prevent, if poſſible, their diſaffection from breaking out into open hoſtilities. But beſides the impreſſion which the dread of Antipater and the fate of Thebes might have made on the minds of the Greeks, there were alſo many other conſiderations, not leſs powerful, to reſtrain them from taking an active part at this conjuncture. They were no longer the noble-ſpirited people they had been: corrupted by diſſipation and pleaſure, their citizens were without ſtrength for war, their leaders ignorant or timid. Far from conſpiring together in any generous or beneficial purpoſe, their ſeveral ſtates were diſunited from each other by diſtruſts, by jealouſies, by reſentment of former injuries. In many of the Grecian cities, the creatures of Macedon predominated, and directed every public act: and where the real friends of Greece retained any ſhare of power, ſuch was the confuſion of the public councils, from the diffidence and heſitation of one party, and the conteſts and perplexing arts of the other, that it was not poſſible their deliberations ſhould terminate in any meaſure vigorous and effectual.

Sparta

Book II. Sect. 1. Sparta alone seemed to testify a real concern for the prosperity of Greece. Less exposed, from the nature of her government, to the influence of Macedonian intrigues, she enjoyed, besides, the advantage of having on the throne a prince active and intrepid, Agis, grandson of the great Agesilaus, who had an early insight into the schemes of the kings of Macedon, and beheld with indignation the Grecian liberties falling before them. To him may be ascribed the opposition made to Alexander by the Spartan deputies, in the general convention of the states of Greece, notwithstanding the tame compliance of the other members of which that assembly was composed. Even before he was seated on the throne, Agis had been remarkable for his spirited behaviour at the court of Philip. He had been dispatched *alone* on an embassy to that court; and the Macedonian, who saw himself attended by a number of embassadors from every other Grecian state, displeased that Sparta had been thus deficient, observed with a contemptuous sneer, 'What! from Sparta but 'one!'—'Why,' replied Agis, 'I was sent but to 'one.'

Bef. Christ 323.

Plut. in Apophthegm.

The advanced age of Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, not permitting him to attend to the more laborious offices of government, the military department devolved on Agis; a task to which his genius and abilities were well suited. He infused new vigour into the Spartans. He formed a powerful confederacy throughout the Peloponnesus. He excited an insurrection in Crete. He kept up a strict connection with Darius, at whose court he had embassadors, and of whose motions and counsels he had regular intelligence. It was with Agis that Memnon had concerted the important diversion of carrying the war into Macedon; a plan

a plan which, as we have already obſerved, was prevented by Memnon's death.

THE diſaſtrous ſtate of Darius' affairs after the battle of Iſſus encreaſed the apprehenſions of Agis. He perceived there was no time to be loſt; and the conjuncture ſeemed favourable. Alexander was employed in the diſtant provinces of Aſia; a rebellion in Thrace had obliged Antipater to turn his attention thither; and a conſiderable body of Greek mercenaries, who had eſcaped from Iſſus, had, after a variety of fortune, made their way into Greece, and joined the Spartans. Encouraged by theſe ſeveral incidents, he took the field, and marched againſt Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponneſus that held out for the Macedonians. Antipater was alarmed; he compoſed matters in Thrace in the beſt manner he was able, and haſtened to oppoſe an enemy, whoſe attempt, if ſucceſsful, might have been followed by a general defection of the reſt of Greece. The Macedonian fortune once more prevailed. Agis was overpowered by the ſuperior numbers of Antipater, and fell pierced with wounds. His men would have ſecured his retreat; but he refuſed to ſurvive the expiring liberties of his country, and continued fighting to the laſt.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

Bef. Chriſt 332.

Diod. Sic. 17. 6. Q. Cur. 6. 1. Juſt. 12. 1.

THIS victory was of eſſential ſervice to Alexander. It diſſipated the Peloponneſian confederacy, which might have led to dangerous conſequences. It provided effectually for the ſecurity of his hereditary dominions, and left him at leiſure to purſue his ſchemes of foreign conqueſts. Jealous, however, of the glory Antipater derived from his victory, Alexander affected to make light of what he had performed. 'Whilſt our arms have been 'employed againſt Darius,' ſaid he, 'there has, it 'ſeems, been a battle of mice in Arcadia.' Had the Perſian monarch furniſhed Agis with ſeaſonable

Plut. in Ageſilao.

Book II. Sect. 1. able and ample ſupplies, and enabled him, before it was too late, to make that diverſion, which ſuch a prince properly ſupported might have made; and had the Grecians, at the ſame time, ſenſible of their ſituation, and animated with the virtue of their anceſtors, exerted themſelves in conjunction with him; Alexander had probably found it a very different war from what *he* had to wage againſt the ill-diſciplined and effeminate Aſiatics.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

ATHENS had not joined in the confederacy with Agis. The hoſtile wiſhes, however, and private intrigues of Demoſthenes and his party were no ſecret to Antipater; and he determined they ſhould ſhare in the humiliation to which Greece was now reduced by his victorious arms. Demoſthenes had long been the moſt formidable enemy the Macedonian intereſt had to contend with in Athens, and the ſtates connected with her. His powers of eloquence it were ſuperfluous to enlarge upon. They have been long the ſubject of univerſal panegyric; and the applauſe they obtained from a people, who, in high ſpirit, exquiſite taſte, and quickneſs of apprehenſion, have never been excelled, if ever equalled, and the amazing effects they often produced among them, arreſting every ear in the midſt of their moſt impetuous purſuits, and compelling men to adopt ſchemes they were moſt adverſe to, abundantly declare the vaſt extent of his oratorial powers. But, how exalted ſoever he ſtands deſervedly as an orator, his character as a ſtateſman and a patriot, in which lights we are at preſent to conſider him, challenges infinitely more our admiration. He has the merit of having made the earlieſt diſcovery of Philip's real deſigns; he intuitively ſaw into his very ſoul, and with a ſagacity almoſt prophetic, pointed out to his fellow-citizens the ſeveral

ral objects of the ambition of that aſpiring prince, when he could hardly be ſuppoſed yet to have formed them. The love of eaſe which now prevailed among the Athenians, the natural conſequence of voluptuous manners, together with the contempt with which they were accuſtomed to look down on Macedon and her kings, rendered them at firſt inattentive to the warnings of this faithful counſellor. He was not diſcouraged. The more his countrymen were immerſed in pleaſures, the louder and the more active was his zeal. He attacked their indolence and degeneracy with the keeneſt ſeverity. He tore them from their favourite amuſements. He forced open the miſer's purſe, and drove the voluptuary to the field of battle. He rouſed, in like manner, the other Grecian ſtates from their inactivity. He watched Philip's motions in Thrace, in Illyricum, in Theſſaly; and, ſubtle as the Macedonian was, often counteracted his beſt concerted plans. He baffled him at Byzantium; he baffled him at Thermopylae; and at laſt forced him to venture all on the caſt of a battle at Chaeronea. Philip was indeed victorious; but he owed this victory to cauſes in which Demoſthenes had no concern. Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

That fatal event was ſoon followed by the ſignal ſucceſſes which attended Alexander's arms, firſt in Europe, then in Aſia; all which rendered any oppoſition to the Macedonian power exceedingly difficult and hazardous. Demoſthenes nevertheleſs ſtill perſiſted, neither gained over by hopes of perſonal advantage, nor intimidated by the perils with which he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded. He withſtood the creatures of Macedon on all occaſions. He ſupported the Perſian intereſt, as far as the antient prepoſſeſſions of the multitude permitted him; and there is reaſon to believe, that if Agis had proved ſucceſsful againſt Antipater,

Book II. Sect. 1.

ter, he would have endeavoured, and probably with effect, to make Athens declare in his favour.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

What makes the character of Demoſthenes more remarkable, and ſerves to ſhew how ſtrong his feelings for his country muſt have been, was his conſtitutional cowardice. Intrepid as he was, when pleading the cauſe of Athens, in the field of battle he had not even the firmneſs of a common ſoldier.

In one point, however, Demoſthenes ſeems to have been miſtaken. His deſign was, to reſtore to the Athenian conſtitution its priſtine vigour, and to recal that ſpirit which had formerly produced ſuch wonderful effects. But that ſpirit was not to be recalled. The ſource of it, Athenian virtue, was no more.

Phocion, an illuſtrious Athenian of theſe times, who had all the integrity, though none of the enthuſiaſm, of Demoſthenes, oppoſed him upon this principle. 'Since the Athenians,' ſaid he, 'in their preſent degeneracy, are no longer 'able to fill their antient glorious ſphere, let them 'adapt their counſels to their abilities, and rather 'court the friendſhip of that power, which they 'cannot provoke but to their deſtruction.' Demoſthenes could not forbear looking back to the age of a Themiſtocles and a Cimon. His deſigns argued indeed nobler ſentiments, and a greater elevation of mind. But the temperate patriotiſm of Phocion had doubtleſs the advantage in point of wiſdom.

Plut. in Phocione.

Greece now humbled by Antipater's arms, the enemies of Demoſthenes ſoon found an opportunity, which they had long ſought for, of bringing him to diſgrace and public condemnation. Harpalus, of whom mention has already been made, having plundered the treaſures which Alexander had

Bef. Chriſt 325.

had committed to his care, fled to Athens, in hopes of protection. Demoſthenes was one of the firſt men to urge to the people the expediency of refuſing ſhelter to ſuch a traitor, conjuring them not to draw on themſelves Alexander's reſentment in a cauſe ſo diſreputable. But Harpalus, who knew well how to diſtribute his gold, had ſecured a number of orators on his ſide, and might probably have continued in Athens without farther moleſtation, had not the report of Alexander's ſending a formidable fleet to chaſtiſe the Athenians for giving him ſhelter obliged them to expel him from their city. This act of juſtice was followed by another. An enquiry was inſtituted concerning thoſe perſons who had received preſents from Harpalus, and directions were given that they ſhould be proſecuted. This was the engine, which Antipater's creatures employed ſucceſsfully againſt Demoſthenes. He was charged with having taken the gold of Harpalus, and upon trial before the Areopagus was condemned, and fined fifty talents, which being unable to pay, he was forced into exile. Plut. in Demoſt.

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

The circumſtances of this charge, as related by Plutarch, carry nevertheleſs, upon the face of them, an air of fiction and abſurdity. Demoſthenes, we are told, was preſent when Harpalus was landing his treaſure; and a gold cup of great value and elegant workmanſhip having caught his eye, Harpalus, who obſerved him admiring it, deſired he would poiſe it in his hand, in order to gueſs at the weight; Demoſthenes aſked what it might amount to, 'To you,' replied Harpalus, 'it ſhall bring twenty talents;' and accordingly ſent it with twenty talents to the orator's houſe. Demoſthenes was next day to have appeared againſt him before the aſſembly of the people; but the gold cup having ſhewn him the cauſe in a different

Book II. light, he excuſed himſelf upon pretence of a ſud-
Sect. I. den cold.

Bef. Chriſt 323. So coarſe and ſhameleſs a traffic almoſt exceeds belief, and argues an indelicacy, ſuch as we can hardly ſuppoſe an Athenian would have been guilty of, much leſs a Demoſthenes, who had an exalted character to maintain, and who muſt have known the difficulty of concealing ſuch a tranſaction from public obſervation. The conduct of ſuch a man muſt, in policy, have been more guarded, had he even been capable of the meanneſs to ſell himſelf to Harpalus.

Pauſan. in Corinthiacis, 76. But not only is this whole narrative highly improbable; there is direct proof from Pauſanias, that the accuſation was altogether the device of malice. Harpalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he was ſlain by his own ſervants; and his principal manager having fallen into the hands of Philoxenus, he compelled him by torture to inform againſt thoſe Athenians who had received bribes from Harpalus. From his confeſſion, which Philoxenus himſelf atteſted, appeared the innocence of Demoſthenes. Philoxenus was a naval officer in the ſervice of Alexander, who had a perſonal enmity to Demoſthenes. His teſtimony therefore deſerves the fulleſt credit [1].

Antipater was too experienced a politician to appear avowedly in this proſecution; it is, however, eaſy to judge at whoſe inſtance, and by whoſe intrigues, it was carried on. And it muſt be acknowledged, the artifice was well adapted to

[1] Even Plutarch's account ſupplies us with evidence in behalf of Demoſthenes. From that hiſtorian's own confeſſion, Demoſthenes appears to have been the very perſon who moved for an order that the affair ſhould be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all perſons puniſhed, who ſhould be found guilty of having taken bribes. Plut. in Demoſthene. Would Demoſthenes have done this, had he been conſcious of being himſelf among the guilty?

the

the purpoſe. To have attacked Demoſthenes for what was really his crime in the eyes of the Macedonians, his unalterable zeal for the liberties of his country, had been invidious even in the preſent ſituation of things. But to impeach his integrity, to ſhew to Athens, that the man who was her pride had a corrupted heart, and that his boaſted ſuperiority of virtue was nothing more than a greater depth of hypocriſy, was injuring the cauſe of which he was the champion, and, as it were, ſtriking at Athenian patriotiſm through the ſides of Demoſthenes. The ſcheme was worthy of Antipater; and ſo dangerous are the wounds of calumny, that to this day this great man is ſpoken of, by the ſuperficial enquirer, as having fallen a victim to his own avarice. Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

The condemnation of Demoſthenes affords a melancholy view of the debaſement, into which the moſt reſpectable of the tribunals of Athens had been ſunk by that deſpotic power now poſſeſſed by Antipater. The deciſion of THE CAUSE OF THE CROWN had happened about two years before this period; and it will be proper to explain the nature of that celebrated trial.

Cteſiphon had propoſed a decree, by which a golden crown was to be preſented to Demoſthenes for his ſervices to his country, and particularly for having rebuilt ſome part of the Athenian walls at his own expence. Aeſchines, another Athenian orator, who had devoted himſelf to the Macedonian intereſt, had indicted Cteſiphon for this propoſal, alledging, among other things, that Demoſthenes, far from deſerving any honours from his country, was in reality the enemy of Greece. The complaint againſt Cteſiphon was preferred on the year of the battle of Chaeronea, a ſeaſon of great humiliation to Athens, and probably choſen by Aeſchines and his party on that

Book II. Sect. 1. account. Demoſthenes undertook the defence of Cteſiphon. But from various incidents, the hearing of the cauſe was poſtponed until [2] ſome months after the final overthrow of Darius.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

The importance of the queſtion, in which the diſcuſſion of the claims of Macedon, the independence of Athens, and indeed of every other Grecian ſtate, were evidently involved, together with the great reputation of both the orators, excited univerſal attention; and from the remoteſt parts of Greece multitudes crowded to Athens, to attend the intereſting conteſt [3]. The partiſans alſo of Macedon were not inactive, and every kind of ſolicitation was employed to gain the judges, by whom ſentence was to be pronounced. Demoſthenes, nevertheleſs, proved victorious. And Aeſchines, not having a fifth of the ſuffrages in his favour, was, according to the law in ſuch caſes, ſeverely fined, and upon non-payment obliged to retire into baniſhment. This extraordinary ſucceſs, which was in reality the triumph of liberty over oppreſſion, ſerves to ſhew, that Athens was not yet broken to the yoke of bondage. Demoſthenes' performance on this occaſion has certainly the higheſt degree of merit. Even to us, who have only a diſtant and aſſumed intereſt in the matters agitated, it has ſuch faſcinating powers, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to read it, without feeling ſome portion of what every honeſt Athenian muſt have felt on that important day. His ſucceſs, however, is not to be altogether aſcribed to the force of his eloquence; the circumſtances of the times operated alſo in his fa-

[2] In the Archonſhip of Ariſtophon, bef. Chriſt 329.—See Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Graec. 656.

[3] Ὅσους ἰδεῖν; πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους: ſays Aeſchines in Cteſiph. § 21. Dubl. 1769, a Stock.—The cauſe was heard in the court of Heliaea, of which ſee Potter, b. i. c. 21.

vour. Alexander, at that time, was engaged in the remote provinces of Aſia, 'almoſt,' ſaid the public voice, 'beyond the utmoſt limits of the 'habitable world [4],' from whence it was not thought he could ever return: ſo that whether Greece was to preſerve or loſe her liberties, was a point not yet decided. The emiſſaries of Macedon could only ſolicit, they could not dictate. Two years later, perhaps, Demoſthenes and Aeſchines had changed fortunes.

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

DEGRADED as Greece appears now to have been, Alexander thought there was ſomething wanting to complete her humiliation. During the firſt of his victories in Aſia, he affected to treat the Greeks with moderation. To Athens he had paid particular regard; whether he reſpected the antient glories of that illuſtrious city, or whether he felt his vanity intereſted in the judgment which her writers ſhould form concerning him. The latter conſideration had probably moſt weight. As he was paſſing the Hydaſpis, in order to attack Porus, 'What dangers am I encountering, O 'Athenians,' was he heard to ſay, 'in order to 'be celebrated by you!' But his ſpirit, naturally imperious, and elevated by his repeated ſucceſſes, and the proſtrate ſervility with which the Aſiatic nations approached him, was now become impatient of contradiction; and every ſtruggle for liberty he conſidered as an inſolent invaſion of his right of ſovereignty. In moſt of the Grecian ſtates there had long ſubſiſted a contention for power, the body of the people claiming the adminiſtration of affairs, and the higher order of citizens endeavouring to wreſt it from them. Whatever party prevailed, the chief leaders in oppoſition were driven into exile. This had filled

Plut. in Alex.

[4] Ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου, καὶ διϊκνουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης. Aeſch. ibid. 51.

Book II. Sect. 1. Greece with exiles from almoſt every city, and their number, at this period, is ſaid to have amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand. Alexander quickly ſaw what advantage might be reaped from this contingency. If reſtored to their privileges through him, they were ſo many of his creatures, of whoſe devotion he might reſt aſſured: at the ſame time, the convulſions, into which every ſtate would probably be thrown by the revolutions of power and property which ſuch an act of indemnity muſt introduce, would leave the different commonwealths of Greece at his mercy. The popular government alſo had been victorious in moſt of the ſtates; and his undertaking the cauſe of the exiles furniſhed Alexander with the very opportunity he wiſhed for, of depreſſing that party, whoſe bold and ungovernable zeal for freedom rendered them exceedingly obnoxious. Actuated by theſe motives, he commanded proclamation to be made at the Olympic games, 'that 'all the exiles, thoſe excepted who had been 'guilty of atrocious crimes, ſhould be forthwith 'reſtored to their reſpective cities;' declaring, that whatever cities refuſed to receive them, ſhould be compelled by military force.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

Diod. Sic. ub. ſup.

THERE is a degree of oppreſſion, that will rouſe the moſt abject. Alexander's pretending to divine honours had provoked the ridicule [5] of ſome of the Grecian ſtates, and the indignation of others. The Athenians had the courage to fine one of the citizens for propoſing to inrol him among their gods, and pronounced ſentence of death againſt another, who, when on an embaſſy, had been

[5] The decree of the Spartans, on this occaſion, is memorable, and ſhews what a ſpirited people they ſtill were, notwithſtanding their late humiliation by the defeat of Agis: Επειδὴ Αλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἐγω θεὸς: 'Since Alexander will be a god, let 'him be a god.'—Aelian. 2. 19.

mean

mean enough to pay him divine honours [6]. Theſe, however, were but the faint efforts of a people who had not yet forgotten their days of liberty, and no inſurrection had followed. But his uſurping a controul over their municipal privileges, the exerciſe of which was to the Greeks an object of ſupreme importance, was more than they could bear. The Athenians, eſpecially, were fired with indignation; they refuſed to obey; and immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to all the neighbouring ſtates, in order to excite a general inſurrection. The Aetolians were warm in the ſame cauſe, having been lately exaſperated by certain menacing declarations Alexander was ſaid to have employed againſt them [7]. Whilſt this ferment was at the higheſt, intelligence arrived, that Alexander was dead. Now it was ſeen, what were the real ſentiments of the Greeks. Moſt of them ran to arms, and having driven out the friends of Macedon, haſtened to join the Athenians, who had already a conſiderable force collected under the command of Leoſthenes. Bef. Chriſt 323.

IT was on this occaſion, that Demoſthenes was recalled. Though in exile, he ſtill retained unabated zeal for what he thought to be the cauſe of his country. He attended the Athenian embaſſadors in their progreſs through Peloponneſus, and

[6] Demades propoſed a law, 'that to the twelve great gods of 'the Athenian ritual Alexander ſhould be added.' Incenſed at which inſolent propoſal, the people fined him ten talents, 1,937l. 10s (ſays Athenæus, 6. 126. 251. Caſaub.) an hundred talents, 19,375l. (ſays Aelian, 5. 12. 415. Gron.) Evagoras, who, when deputed by the Athenians to Alexander, had, in compliance with the vanity of that prince, worſhipped him, they condemned to death. Athen. ub. ſup.

[7] They had ſacked the city of the Oeniadae on the Achelous; and Alexander having been informed of it, 'The children of the 'Oeniadae,' ſaid he, 'need not avenge their cauſe; I will execute 'vengeance on the Aetolians.'—Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. 18. 1.

by

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

by his eloquence prevailed on many of the cities to unite with Athens in endeavouring to deliver Greece from the yoke of Macedon. In one of the Arcadian cities he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to Pytheas, an eminent orator, and a principal inſtrument of the Macedonian faction; his reply to whom was much celebrated. 'The Athenians,' ſaid Pytheas, 'may 'be likened unto aſs's milk: when brought into 'any houſe, it is a certain indication of ſickneſs 'there; ſo, whenever they appear in any city, we 'may ſurely pronounce that city to be diſtem-'pered.'—'True,' anſwered Demoſthenes; 'but 'as aſs's milk is the reſtorative of health, ſo are 'diſtempered ſtates reſtored to vigour by Athenian 'counſels.' This timely exertion of loyalty, together with the change that had taken place in the Athenian government, pleaded effectually in his behalf. He was reſtored in the moſt honourable manner. A galley was fitted out to fetch him from Aegina; and as he came from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens, even prieſts and magiſtrates, went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was ſtill liable to the fine, which, by the laws of Athens, could not be remitted; but they contrived to indemnify him. They aſſigned to him the office of preparing and adorning the altar on the feaſt of Jupiter the Preſerver, with an appointment of fifty talents, the ſum to which his fine amounted.

Plut. in Demoſt.

Leosthenes had commenced his military operations with great ſucceſs. He had marched againſt Antipater at the head of a numerous army, had defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Lamia in Theſſaly, of which he had immediately formed the ſiege. Theſe proſperous beginnings elated the Athenians; they had already, in their ſanguine expectations,

Diod. Sic. 18. 1, 2.

driven

driven back the Macedonians within their antient boundaries; and in a ſhort time, they imagined, Athens was to be raiſed once more to her former ſplendor. Phocion thought otherwiſe. He to the utmoſt of his power oppoſed the giddy humours of the people, who, though poſſibly victorious at firſt, he knew, had neither ſteadineſs nor ſtrength ſufficient to maintain a war of any continuance againſt Macedon. 'What will then be 'the proper time, do you think, for the Athenians to go to war?' ſaid one of the popular leaders to him. 'When the young men,' replied Phocion, 'keep within the bounds of order; 'when the rich are liberal in their contributions, 'and the orators ceaſe to rob the ſtate.' Even the preſent flaſh of ſucceſs did not miſlead his ſound judgment. When ſucceſſive meſſengers were arriving with tidings of farther advantages obtained over the enemy, 'When ſhall we have 'done conquering?' ſaid Phocion. Plut. in Phocione.

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

He was juſtified by the event. Leoſthenes having fallen before Lamia, the Athenians continued the war under the command of Antiphilus, and even defeated and killed Leonnatus, who had marched to the aſſiſtance of Antipater. But here ended their good fortune. Antipater contrived to get out of Lamia; and Craterus, who had charge of conducting the Macedonian veterans back to Europe, at the time of Alexander's death, having received advice in Cilicia of the difficulties of Antipater, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and joining forces with him, advanced to Cranon, a town in Theſſaly, attacked the Greeks, and worſted them. What the unproſperous iſſue of this battle began, the intrigues of Antipater completed. The Grecian confederacy crumbled to pieces, every ſtate making terms for itſelf, and leaving the Athenians to provide, as they could, for their own ſecurity.

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 322.

rity. Having therefore no enemy to oppoſe them, the Macedonian generals directed their march towards Athens. Arrogant as the Athenians had been when victorious, much more were they depreſſed by a reverſe of fortune. They laid aſide all thoughts of defence, and ſent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the conquerors, offering to ſubmit to whatever conditions they ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. Demoſthenes and Hyperides, another Athenian orator in the ſame intereſt, were the firſt victims demanded. Their faithful and active zeal in the ſervice of their country deſerved this diſtinction. The other conditions were not leſs humiliating: the Democracy was to be aboliſhed; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; and the adminſtration was to be lodged in the hands of the rich; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garriſon, and to defray the whole expences of the war. Phocion, who might juſtly claim ſome merit with Antipater, laboured much to ſave Athens from the ignominy of a Macedonian garriſon; but the victor, oppreſſive and relentleſs in his nature, was not to be ſoftened. Plutarch informs us, that by this treaty upwards of twelve thouſand Athenians were diſfranchiſed, moſt of whom were afterwards removed to Thrace, the Siberia of Greece, where they had lands aſſigned to them.

Diod. Sic. lib. ſup. Plutarch in Phocione et Demoſt.

Demosthenes, knowing what treatment his ſtrenuous efforts for liberty might expect, had left Athens upon the approach of Antipater, and fled to Calauria, a ſmall iſland oppoſite to Troezene, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, to whom the iſland was particularly ſacred. But Antipater having diſpatched meſſengers thither, they beſet the temple, and ſeemed diſpoſed not to pay regard to any ſanctuary. In this emergency,

Demoſthenes

Demoſthenes ſwallowed poiſon, which he had provided for the occaſion, and expired before the altar of the god. Book II. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 322.

Such was the cataſtrophe of Demoſthenes, according to general tradition. But Plutarch tells us, that Democharis, who attended him in his laſt moments, affirmed that his ſudden death was not by any procurement of his own, but altogether owing to a decay of nature, rendered probably more rapid by the anguiſh, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, he muſt have felt for himſelf and for his country. 'A gracious Pro-'vidence,' ſaid Democharis, 'ſnatched him away 'from the cruelty of the Macedonians.' In Demoſt.

It deſerves notice, that when Athens loſt Demoſthenes, her ſpirit for liberty ſeems to have finally expired; her annals from this period being remarkable for little more than the ſervile adulation, with which ſhe fawned on the ſeveral tyrants that ruled over her. After Antipater, his ſon Caſſander held her in ſubjection. He was diſpoſſeſſed by Aridaeus and Polyperchon; and ſo wretchedly baſe were the Athenians grown, that, to pleaſe their new maſters, they condemned to death the excellent Phocion, merely becauſe he had been in favour with Caſſander and his father. The ſame degenerated character the Athenians appear to have retained through the various revolutions that followed, the irruption of the Gauls excepted. On that occaſion, ſome portion of their antient vigour revived; but, the danger over, they ſoon relapſed. There was no government, however oppreſſive, to which they did not tamely ſubmit, nor any governor, however profligate, whoſe great virtues they were not ready to extol, transferring their homa e from tyrant to tyrant during all the viciſſitudes of power. Diod. Sic. 18. 5. Plut. in Phocione.

We

Book II. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 322.

We ſhall find frequent inſtances of this ſervility in the hiſtory of the Macedonian princes, with whoſe affairs thoſe of the Athenians will generally be found connected; their tranſactions from this time being too inconſiderable to have a particular place aſſigned to them.

We now paſs over to Aſia, to view the changes of the Macedonian empire in that quarter from the period of Alexander's death.

BOOK II.

SECTION II.

THE death of Alexander offered a wide field to the ambition of the ſeveral commanders who had ſerved under him. He had left no ſon who might fill the throne; the incapacity of his brother Aridaeus was generally admitted; and his laſt words ſeemed to open the ſucceſſion to the pretenſions of every claimant. Theſe were flattering circumſtances, to men who ſaw themſelves at the head of powerful armies, and inveſted with the government of the richeſt provinces of Aſia. Many of them too were reſpectable by their birth, all of them high in military reputation, and poſſeſſed of much treaſure; and they had for ſome years moved in a ſphere not inferior to that of ſovereign princes. Alexander, in his laſt moments, had delivered his ſignet to Perdiccas. This tacit appointment (for in that light it was conſidered by this general and his dependents) ſerved only to

Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 323. Olymp. 114. 1. Plut in Alex. Diod. Sic. 18. 2. et ſeq. Juſt. 13. 1. Pauſan. in Atticis.

Book II. Sect. 2.

to mark him out as an object of envy to the rest, and the most certain means of being frustrated in his claims had been to avow them. When therefore it was proposed that Aridaeus, and the child to be born of Roxana, in case it proved a son, should share the government, all the competitors, after some contestations of little moment, concurred in the measure, not from any regard to the memory of their late master, but because the nominal sovereignty of *a fool* and *an infant* left each of them at liberty to pursue the purposes of his ambition. Aridaeus is, from this period, generally known by the name of Philip Aridaeus. The soldiers gave him that appellation, in honour of his father.

Bef. Christ 323.

Perdiccas acted the part of an artful politician. He had at first vigorously opposed the election of Aridaeus; but, from the moment he found himself unable to prevent it, he affected to appear devoted to his interests, and so effectually insinuated himself into his confidence, that he soon got possession of the power of which that weak prince had but the name; he even contrived, with Aridaeus' approbation, to destroy the very persons who had appeared most strenuous in promoting his election. With a view to secure the favour of the Macedonian soldiery, who retained a strong affection for the family of Philip, he effected the prince's marriage with Eurydice, the grand daughter of that monarch, though he himself had been the murderer of her mother [1].

Diod. Sic. 18. 1. Just. 13. 4.

[1] The mother of Eurydice was called Cynane. She was daughter of king Philip, by a lady of Illyricum, and had been disposed of by him in marriage to Amyntas, who was son to his eldest brother, and consequently had a prior right to the throne of Macedon. This princess was put to death by Perdiccas, on pretence of certain reasons of state; but in fact, to gratify the wishes of Olympias.

It

It ſoon became neceſſary to unite his intereſts with thoſe of Roxana, whoſe new-born ſon, Alexander, was aſſociated in the kingdom with Aridaeus; and the favour of this princeſs was purchaſed by the moſt criminal ſacrifices to her jealouſy and apprehenſions. Statira, the daughter of the unfortunate Darius, and wife of Alexander, was put to death, leſt a child ſhould be born of her, who might one day diſpute the throne with the ſon of Roxana; and Paryſatis, Statira's ſiſter, who had been married to Hephaeſtion, ſhared the ſame fate. Plut. in Alex. Bef. Chriſt 323.

Though Perdiccas now poſſeſſed the ſole adminiſtration of affairs, he had ſtill, he thought, much to fear from men who had lately been his fellow-commanders, and who might either ſupplant him in the royal favour, or raiſe a party againſt him in the army. To remove theſe therefore from too near a connection with the court, he cauſed the ſeveral governments and great offices of ſtate to be diſtributed among them, in the name of the kings. The hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and the countries dependent on it, together with all Greece, were aſſigned to Antipater and Craterus. To Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt. Antigonus, Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Lyſimachus, Thrace and the Cherſoneſe, with all the adjacent countries to the Euxine ſea. Seleucus was placed at the head of the royal cavalry. And the others had ſimilar appointments. Perdiccas contented himſelf with the title of captain of the houſehold troops, whilſt, in fact, under the ſanction of the regal authority, all acts of government were performed by him. Diod. Sic. Juſt. ub. ſup.

This meaſure, though politic in appearance, proved in the end the deſtruction of its author. While he hoped, by placing the generals at a diſtance

Book II. Sect. 2. distance from each other, to have an opportunity of crushing those who were most obnoxious to him, he seems to have forgotten, that they were men, who with great abilities, had ambition equal to his own; and that few of them would fail to grasp at a sovereignty, which their present situation put within their reach. Antigonus was one of the first who disclaimed all dependence. Antipater and Craterus prepared to take up arms; and Ptolemy had soon established his power in Egypt, in a manner that plainly indicated his aspiring views. Perdiccas determined to begin by attacking this last; and having left Eumenes to make head against Antipater and Craterus, he, together with the kings, directed his march towards Egypt. After repeated attempts, however, it was found impracticable to make impression on the Egyptian frontier; and the soldiers, disgusted with ill success, and exasperated by the severe and haughty manners he had assumed, mutinied, and assassinated him.

Bef. Christ 323. Bef. Christ 322. Bef. Christ 321.

Whilst Perdiccas [2] was employed in this expedition, Eumenes, who was unalterably true to the interests of Perdiccas, because he believed them to be the interests of the son and brother of his late royal master, had made a vigorous opposition to the party of Antipater and Craterus, and defeated them in two engagements, in one of which Craterus fell.

Plut. in Eumene.

This last victory was obtained altogether by the artful management of Eumenes. Craterus was so highly beloved by the national troops, that, had

[2] It is said, that he had at first courted the alliance of Antipater, in order to gain him over to his ambitious views; but that afterwards, through the management of Olympias, who hated Antipater and his family, he had been induced to turn his thoughts to Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of the king of Epire. Just. 13. 6.

the

the Macedonians on the ſide of Eumenes found out they were marching againſt this general, they had probably gone over to his ſtandard. But Eumenes, who was aware of this circumſtance, carefully concealed the fact from them, and when he was to join battle, contrived to oppoſe with foreigners alone that part where Craterus commanded: ſo that the Macedonians had no ſuſpicion of his being in the field, until he was found expiring. Bef. Chriſt 321.

Eumenes, indeed, appears to been the only one of the ſervants of Alexander, whoſe integrity was without reproach. Though by birth a Thracian, he had been much intruſted by that prince, and had ſerved him with fidelity, both in the army and in the cloſet. After his death, he continued firmly attached to the princes of his family, whoſe cauſe he defended with great bravery to the laſt.

This honourable conduct availed him little. As the friend of Perdiccas, he had, after the murder of that general, been proclaimed a public enemy. And Antipater having been elected protector of the kingdom in Perdiccas' ſtead, gave orders to Antigonus to proſecute the war againſt him.

Antigonus gladly received orders, which ſo exactly correſponded with his own views. He immediately prepared to attack Eumenes, and, by the treachery of one of his officers, obtained a complete victory over him. Eumenes, nevertheleſs, had the ſkill to make this diſaſter contribute to his glory. He collected the ſcattered remains of his army, ſtruck off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy were purſuing him, paſſed by them unperceived, returned to the field of battle, burnt the dead bodies of his ſoldiers on one pile, and thoſe of his officers on another, covering the aſhes of each with a large mount of earth; and then, Bef. Chriſt 320.

Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 320.

then, detaching all his ſick and wounded, retired with ſix hundred [3] choſen men to Nora, a ſtrong caſtle on the borders of Cappadocia, in which, with no other proviſions but corn, ſalt, and water, he held out againſt Antigonus a whole year; and that general found himſelf at laſt under the neceſſity of allowing him honourable terms.

It was during this ſiege, that he put in practice his memorable expedient for keeping his men and horſes in proper exerciſe. He perceived the inconveniences they were likely to ſuffer from confinement; the whole incloſure being only about two furlongs in circumference, and moſt of the ground occupied by buildings. He therefore aſſigned to the men the largeſt room in the fort, about twenty-one feet in length, in which they were obliged every day to uſe the exerciſe of walking during a certain portion of time, mending their pace gradually, until they went at full ſpeed. The horſes he ſecured by ſtrong halters faſtened to the roof of the ſtable; and then, raiſing their heads and fore parts by a pulley, and at the ſame time taking care that they ſtood firm on their hind feet, he made the grooms excite them with the whip and voice: the horſes bounded on their hind feet, and ſtrained to get their fore feet to the ground, till they were out of breath and in a foam; and after their exerciſe, they had their barley given to them boiled, that they might the more eaſily digeſt it. By this means he provided effectually for the health of the whole garriſon, rendering them fit for ſervice whenever an opportunity for action ſhould offer.

[3] Seven hundred, ſays Plutarch (in Eumene); ſix hundred, ſays Diodorus, 18. 4.

Mean-

MEANWHILE, all was confuſion in Macedon. Antipater was dead, and Polyperchon who ſucceeded him, contrary to the prudent maxim of his predeceſſor, had yielded the reins of government to Olympias, whoſe violent and vindictive paſſions knew no bounds. The wiſeſt meaſure of her adminiſtration ſeems to have been employing Eumenes. She was fully ſenſible of his loyalty, and that he was the only truſty ſervant the royal family had among the Aſiatic governors, to oppoſe to Antigonus, whoſe power was becoming every day more formidable. Letters accordingly were diſpatched, conſtituting him general for the kings in Aſia.

Bef. Chriſt 319. Olymp. 115. 1. Plut. in Phocione et Eumene.

HE ſhewed himſelf worthy of the confidence repoſed in him. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior intereſt of Antigonus, he took effectual meaſures for augmenting his forces. By gratifying the avarice or the ambition of the principal officers in the different provinces, he drew many of them over to him. He had even the art to gain the Argyraſpidae, a veteran body of Macedonian troops, ſo named from their ſilver ſhields, who were held in great eſtimation on account of their gallant atchievements in the late wars, and of the diſtinction of armour with which Alexander had honoured them. He particularly avoided affecting any ſuperiority over men, every one of whom thought himſelf too great to obey: and at the ſame time, to preſerve order among them, he erected, in conſequence of a dream he pretended to have had, a royal pavilion, and in the midſt of it a throne, ſuch as Alexander was wont to be ſeated on, adorned with all the enſigns of regal power, around which the officers, when in council, ſhould take their places indiſcriminately, as if Alexander were in perſon among them. By this artifice, he put a ſtop to all diſputes concerning precedency,

Bef. Chriſt 318.

Book II. Sect. 2. and ſuppreſſed certain jealouſies, which were on the point of breaking out into a flame.

Bef. Chriſt 318. THUS, without any reſources but thoſe which his own ſagacity ſuggeſted, he was enabled to keep the field againſt Antigonus, and in ſome engagements gained advantages over him.

Bef. Chriſt 315. Olymp. 116. 1. DURING three years, an undeciſive war was carried on between them. At the end of this period, Antigonus, who had taken much pains to corrupt thoſe who ſerved under Eumenes, and who had intelligence of the diſſenſions and frequent conteſts which prevailed among his principal officers, determined to attack him in his winter quarters. Eumenes was appriſed of his intention, and prepared to receive him as he could, with an army ſeditious and impatient of controul.

Plut. in Eumene. But Peuceſtes, who commanded the horſe, had ſold himſelf to Antigonus: ſo that, although Eumenes, at the head of the infantry, routed the phalanx of the enemy, his cavalry was rendered uſeleſs. Antigonus improved the advantage, and wheeling round the army of Eumenes, fell upon the baggage. When the infantry returned therefore from the field of battle, and ſaw that they had loſt every thing, their wives, their children, the rich plunder they had acquired in the courſe of the Aſiatic wars, they were tranſported with rage, not only againſt the enemy, but againſt Eumenes, in whoſe ſervice they had ſuſtained ſo great a loſs; and, as if at the mercy of Antigonus, they ſent to requeſt he would reſtore them what he had taken. This was what Antigonus looked for. His anſwer was, that they ſhould have all they had loſt, with the addition of any farther boon they ſhould aſk, on condition only of their delivering up Eumenes, 'who,' ſaid he, 'is not even a Macedonian, and has been de-'clared a public enemy.'

THE

Bef. Christ 315.

The Argyraſpidae immediately cloſed with the infamous propoſal; they ſeized their general, pinioned his arms behind him, and prepared to deliver him up in that ſituation to Antigonus. Eumenes earneſtly deſired that he might be heard, and in the moſt affecting manner repreſented to the ſoldiers the folly of their conduct, and the reproach it muſt bring on them, recapitulating the many watchings and toils he had ſuſtained for their defence and glory, and beſeeching them, if his fate was determined, at leaſt to inflict the blow with their own hands, and not commit him to the vengeance of his inveterate enemy. But all was in vain. They conducted him in the manner deſcribed to Antigonus' camp, the minority of the army lamenting the fate of their illuſtrious general. After confining him for ſome days, Antigonus put him to death.

It is worthy of notice, that Antigonus afterwards ſhewed particular favour to thoſe who had remained faithful to Eumenes, taking, on the other hand, every opportunity of cutting off the perſons who had ſhared in the treachery. As to the Argyraſpidae, he ſent their whole body to the extremities of Aſia, into the province of Arachoſia [4], under pretence of keeping the barbarian nations in awe, but with private inſtructions, that they never ſhould be ſuffered to return to Greece. Plut. in Eumene.

Whilst theſe things were tranſacting in Aſia, Olympias purſued the moſt ſanguinary meaſures in Macedon, and had cauſed both Philip Aridaeus and his wife Eurydice to be murdered. Aridaeus' death happened ſome months before that of Eumenes. From that time, the regal dignity and titles had been confined to Alexander, the ſon of Roxana; but the regency was in the hands of Diod. Sic. 19. 3.

[4] A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

Book II. Sect. 2. Olympias. We ſhall have occaſion to mention theſe tranſactions more fully in the hiſtory of Macedonian affairs.

Bef. Chriſt 315. ANTIGONUS had, by the removal of Eumenes, a free career before him. The governors of provinces, who had formerly been hoſtile to his intereſts, now made their ſubmiſſion, and even permitted their troops to be incorporated into his army: ſeveral of them he, nevertheleſs, ſacrificed afterwards to his ſuſpicions, or his reſentment.

Diod. Sic. 19. 4. One powerful commander ſtill remained, Seleucus, who held the government of Babylon, to which he had been appointed during the adminiſtration of Antipater. He was the avowed friend of Antigonus, had rendered him eſſential ſervices, and ſeemed to have joy in his ſucceſs. But Antigonus, in the pride of victory, could not bear that any man ſhould hold authority in Aſia independent of him. In this ſpirit he advanced to Babylon, and notwithſtanding the frank and magnificent reception he met with from Seleucus, demanded of him an account of the revenues of his province. To this Seleucus, who looked on Antigonus only as his equal, replied, that the province of Babylon had been conferred on him by the court of Macedon for his ſervices, and that he could not conceive why ſuch an account was demanded. But immediately after, conſidering in what manner Antigonus had treated other governors, and how unable he was to reſiſt his power, he with a ſmall party of horſe made his eſcape from Babylon, and fled to Egypt. Antigonus would have purſued him, but Seleucus had been too expeditious.

ACCOUNTS of the ſucceſſes of Antigonus had by this time ſpread through all the neighbouring countries; and Ptolemy, finding the report confirmed by Seleucus, engaged Lyſimachus and Caſſander

ſander to enter into a confederacy with him for their mutual defence, and to endeavour to ſtop the progreſs of this enterpriſing chief. Caſſander, though after Antipater's death in great danger from Olympias and her party, from whoſe violence he was obliged to take refuge in Aſia, had now re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in Greece. Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 315.

Antigonus was not intimidated. Inſtead of waiting till his enemies ſhould attack him, he reſolved to begin by aſſailing them. Entering therefore the provinces of Coeleſyria and Phoenicia, he reduced a conſiderable part of them; and having in the courſe of this expedition experienced much diſtreſs from the want of a fleet, undiſmayed by the difficulty of the undertaking, he ſet about building veſſels of his own, and before the end of ſummer, had fitted out five hundred ſhips of war. With theſe he ſailed to Tyre, laid ſiege to it, and took it, after a reſiſtance of ſeveral months. Bef. Chriſt 314. Bef. Chriſt 313.

Whilst he was thus employed, Caſſander had made a deſcent on the coaſts of the Lower Aſia, which obliged Antigonus to haſten thither.

Ptolemy alſo had advanced from Egypt to Gaza, at the head of a formidable army, and having attacked Demetrius, whom his father Antigonus had left to command in his abſence, defeated him, and forced him to abandon the provinces lately conquered. Demetrius, however, ſoon wiped off the diſgrace of this overthrow by a ſignal victory obtained over Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, in Upper Syria; and being afterwards joined by Antigonus, recovered Coeleſyria and Phoenicia. The reduction or the loſs of theſe frontier provinces ſeems, from theſe frequent revolutions, to have been a matter of little conſequence; their fate, ſome few places of ſtrength excepted, depending on the iſſue of a battle. Bef. Chriſt 312. Plut. in Demetrio. Diod Sic. 19. 6.

Notwith-

Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 312.

NOTWITHSTANDING this turn of affairs in favour of Antigonus, the battle of Gaza proved exceedingly fatal to his intereſts, as it enabled Ptolemy to grant ſuccours to Seleucus, with which, though inconſiderable, the latter immediately marched to attempt the recovery of Babylon. The ſucceſs which attended this expedition gives us an high idea of his reſolution, and his abilities for war, as well as of his capacity for government Not deterred by the ſuperior power of Antigonus, and the numerous parties that might be expected to oppoſe his progreſs, with only about thirteen hundred men he penetrated through all that extent of country, which ſtretches from the coaſt of Phoenicia to Babylon: the farther he advanced, the more friends he found; and approaching the city, the whole body of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and to welcome his return with joyful acclamations. So much had the lenity of his adminiſtration, during his former government, endeared him to theſe Aſiatic nations.

FROM this time, the fortunes of Seleucus flouriſhed. Soon after his return, he defeated Nicanor, governor of Media; whom he ſlew in a ſecond engagement; and not only reduced the diſtrict of Babylon, but Media alſo and Suſiana, and by degrees many more of the adjacent provinces. Demetrius indeed got poſſeſſion of Babylon again, whilſt Seleucus was abſent on an expedition into Media, yet he found it impoſſible to hold it: and neither his father nor he could ever afterwards diſpoſſeſs Seleucus of that government.

Bef. Chriſt 311. Clyn. p. 117. 1.

THE war between Antigonus and the confederates continued, however, to rage through moſt of the countries under the Macedonian empire. In one part of Greece, the Aetolians and Epirots,

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either in league with Antigonus, or encouraged by his intrigues, were up in arms. In the other parts of it, his creatures and emiſſaries were buſy in ruining the power of Caſſander. Under pretence of ſupporting the cauſe of liberty, they excited diſaffection and revolt, and prepared the way, upon the firſt opportunity, for a total revolution. Ptolemy had carried the war into Lower Aſia, where he had made conſiderable conqueſts. At the ſame time, his fleets were employed in reducing ſuch of the Aegean iſlands as were in the intereſt of Antigonus; whilſt the provinces that lay on the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus were expoſed to the depredations of Lyſimachus and Caſſander; the one from Macedon, the other from Thrace, committing repeated ravages. Theſe ſeveral enemies Antigonus oppoſed with a vigour that might almoſt be deemed incredible. Notwithſtanding the extent of the ſcene of operations, he attended to every part, he was aware of every danger. Defeated in one attempt, he immediately formed a new enterpriſe; and whatever he loſt in one engagement, he generally ſoon recovered in another. Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 311.

In the mean time, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was frequently propoſed, and terms of accommodation ſeemed often to be nearly agreed upon; but theſe treaties either were not concluded, or were of ſhort continuance. It were ſuperfluous to mention them particularly. There is indeed reaſon to believe, that the overtures of peace were nothing more than mere political ſemblances, and arts to gain time. A deep-rooted jealouſy poſſeſſed every one of theſe ambitious princes, which was not to be removed but by the extermination of their rivals.

It is obſerved by hiſtorians, that, when theſe chiefs were negotiating any treaty of peace, mention

Book II. Sect. 2.

tion was always made, that the ſeveral provinces, to which they laid claim, were only to be held in truſt for the young king Alexander. But even this thin veil to their ambitious views was ſoon to drop; for it became difficult for them longer to pretend regard for a royal family, whoſe blood they were ſhedding in every place without remorſe. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had been ſome time before this period murdered by Caſſander; Cleopatra, his ſiſter, had lately been deſtroyed by Antigonus [5]. The young king himſelf, whoſe name they affected to uſe in their public acts, was not conſidered as ſuch by any of them. It was well known that Caſſander, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Macedon, had impriſoned Roxana and her ſon; not ſuffering the young prince to retain even the pageantry of royalty, but commanding that he ſhould thenceforth be treated as a private perſon. It was eaſy to conjecture, what Caſſander's farther intentions were. Accordingly, in a ſhort time, both the king and his mother were put to death by his directions. About two years after his death, Hercules, the ſon of Alexander by Barſine the daughter of Artabazus, the only remaining prince of the royal line of Macedon, was, at the inſtigation of Caſſander alſo, murdered in a like perfidious manner.

Bef. Chriſt 311.

Diod. Sic. 19 3 Juſt. 14. 6 Diod. Sic. 20. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 310.

Diod. Sic. 20. 2.

It was high time therefore to throw off a diſguiſe, which it was now ridiculous to uſe. Antigonus led the way. His ſon Demetrius had made a powerful impreſſion on Greece, and taken Athens; from thence he had paſſed over to Cyprus, and had reduced the whole iſland: he had

Bef Chriſt 306.

[5] We have mentioned her already. She reſided at Sardis, where Antigonus had her ſtrictly obſerved. But finding, or pretending to have found, that ſhe meant to eſcape to Ptolemy, who had at this time invaded the Lower Aſia, he cauſed her to be put to death; though afterwards he endeavoured to caſt the odium of this execution on thoſe, who had been only the miniſters of his orders; and he honoured her remains with a ſumptuous funeral.

alſo

alſo beaten the Egyptian fleet commanded by Ptolemy; a victory the more ſplendid, as the Egyptians were eſteemed one of the firſt nations of the world for ſkill in naval affairs. When tidings therefore were brought to Antigonus, that Ptolemy was defeated, and Cyprus taken, the old man was ſo much elated, that he immediately gave orders that he and his ſon ſhould be ſaluted kings of Syria. Bef. Chriſt 306. Olymp. 118. 2.

THE example was ſoon followed by Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Ptolemy for the preſent declined the honours of royalty, which his ſubjects preſſed him to accept. Mortified by his late defeat, he choſe to wait till he could be exalted to the rank of king with more ſplendor. Caſſander alſo affected not to aſſume the regal title himſelf, though he was not diſpleaſed that others ſhould uſe it in their addreſſes to him.

THE royal diadem did not inſpire Demetrius and his father with moderate views. They now talked of nothing leſs than annexing to Syria whatever kingdoms Alexander had lately held, and actually prepared for the conqueſt of Egypt. Antigonus put himſelf at the head of the land forces, and Demetrius commanded the fleet. They found, however, that their mighty purpoſes were not to be eaſily effected. On the Phoenician coaſt they met with a ſtorm, which deſtroyed or diſabled moſt of their ſhips. Their land-troops had not better ſucceſs. From Gaza to Egypt they were to paſs through deſarts. After a painful march of ten days, and after contending with all the diſpiriting circumſtances of that hot and ſultry climate, they at length reached the Egyptian frontier. There they found new and greater difficulties: their fleet was miſerably ſhattered; the entrances into Egypt were effectually ſhut againſt them; even the mouths of the Nile were ſecured, and

Book II. Sect. 2. and the whole coaſt lined with troops, diſpoſed in the moſt judicious manner. Ptolemy beſides had a ſtrong naval force at ſea, and an army of obſervation on land; and had ſpread diſaffection and diſtruſt among the Syrians, by offering large rewards to all who ſhould come over to him.

Bef. Chriſt 305.

Antigonus ſoon perceived his perilous ſituation, and haſtened back with the remainder of his fleet and army as expeditiouſly as he could.

Nov. 6. It was on this occaſion that Ptolemy, who now accounted himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Egypt, permitted the title of king, which he had hitherto refuſed, to be given to him[6].

To reſtore reputation to his arms, which had ſuffered much diſgrace in the late expedition, Antigonus judged it neceſſary that ſome ſignal enterpriſe ſhould immediately be attempted. It was accordingly determined, that Demetrius ſhould undertake the conqueſt of Rhodes. The Rhodians were a people famed for their proweſs and naval ſkill; and from their extenſive commerce, as well as from the fertility of their ſoil, they derived great opulence. Such a conqueſt therefore, bringing with it an equal acceſſion of wealth and power, could not fail to render Syria more formidable than ever. The Rhodians had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the part they had lately taken in favour of Ptolemy; ſo that there was a pretence of injuries, for which ſatisfaction might be demanded.

Bef. Chriſt 304.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, 20. 3. and Plutarch (in Demetrio) ſuppoſe Ptolemy to have taken the title of king two years before this, at the ſame time with Antigonus; and Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians prevailed on him to aſſume it upon his return from Cyprus, 'that he might not appear diſpirited with his late defeat.' But from Ptolemy's Chronological Canon it is evident, that his reign is only to be computed from this date (the 4th year of the 118th Olympiad) when he was now firmly ſettled on the throne, nineteen years after Alexander's death. Probably, the affectionate attachment of the Egyptians to this prince might have prompted them to give him the title at the time Diodorus and Plutarch mention; but Ptolemy himſelf was unwilling to aſſume it, until this diſperſion of his enemies relieved him from all farther apprehenſions.

Demetrius

DEMETRIUS having made the neceſſary prepa- Book II.
rations, landed on the iſland, and laid ſiege to the Sect. 2.
capital city.

OF all the princes of his time, Demetrius is ſaid Bef. Chr. 11
to have been the firſt in military abilities: he was 304.
particularly expert in the conduct of ſieges, and had himſelf contrived a number of machines of ſingular conſtruction, and of amazing efficacy; on which account he obtained the name of Poliorcetes, *the ſtormer of cities*. All his ſkill ſeems to have been employed on this occaſion: but by the indefatigable perſeverance and valour of the Rhodians, by the advantages they derived from their numerous fleets, and by the large ſupplies of men and ſtores of every kind furniſhed by moſt of the Grecian ſtates, but principally by Ptolemy, who exerted himſelf remarkably in their behalf, he was baffled in every attempt.

WHAT diſcouraged him moſt, was the failure of his Helepolis, or *City-taker*; a machine ſo called from its powerful operation. It is deſcribed as a moveable tower, framed of timber exceedingly ſtrong, and girt with plates of iron; of a height ſufficient to command the walls of the beſieged city, and leſſening gradually, ſo that the top was much narrower than the baſe: the inſide was divided into floors open towards the enemy, each of which was filled with combatants, and a number of machines for the diſcharge of various kinds of miſſive weapons: it was covered principally with raw hides, and on the top was a layer of mud, that the enemy might not have it in their power to ſet it on fire. It moved on wheels, or rather caſters, by means of which its operations could be varied with leſs difficulty.

DEMETRIUS had prepared one of theſe engines, the moſt formidable, ſay hiſtorians, that had ever been ſeen. We may judge of its weight, and the force

Book II. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 304.

force with which it was impelled, from the number of men employed to move it. They amounted, Diodorus tells us, to three thouſand four hundred of the ſtrongeſt that could be found. A Rhodian undertook to render this vaſt machine uſeleſs. Unobſerved by the enemy, he contrived to undermine the ground over which it was to paſs; and the Helepolis having ſunk into the earth, could never, from its enormous weight, be raiſed again. The ſiege had now laſted a whole year, and the vigour of the beſieged had not in the leaſt degree abated. Such unexpected reſiſtance diſpoſed Demetrius to yield to the ſolicitations of the ſtates of Greece, who had all been earneſt in their mediation in favour of the Rhodians: and the affairs of that country alſo afforded him a plauſible pretence for abandoning his preſent enterpriſe. Urgent repreſentations had been made to him of the oppreſſions of Caſſander, and of the diſtreſſed ſtate of Athens, which was in danger of falling into his hands. Demetrius reſolved to attempt the relief of that city, and concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Rhodes. His engines of war he alſo preſented them with; the value of which was ſo conſiderable, that from the ſale of them they were enabled to raiſe their famed Coloſſus, or brazen ſtatue of the ſun, which, from its extraordinary ſize, has been ranked among the wonders of the world.

Vegetius de re militari.

It was on account of the important ſervices performed by Ptolemy to the Rhodians during this ſiege, that they gave him the name of Soter, the *Deliverer*, by which he is known in hiſtory. They alſo erected a number of ſtatues to him, and, in the exceſs of their gratitude, are ſaid to have even paid him divine honours [7].

The

[7] They ſent, Diodorus ſays, 20. 5. to inquire of the oracle of Hammon, whether they ſhould worſhip Ptolemy as a god. In the preſent

THE ſiege of Rhodes has been alſo rendered memorable by a circumſtance related of Protogenes, one of the moſt eminent painters of Greece. He was at this time employed in painting his Jalyſus (a fabulous hero, ſaid to be the founder of the Rhodian people) a piece eſteemed one of the wonders of antiquity. His houſe was in the ſuburbs; and, as if inſenſible of the din of war, he calmly continued his work whilſt Demetrius' troops were carrying on their operations on every ſide of him. Demetrius, amazed at his apparent intrepidity, aſked him why he did not, like others, retire to a place of greater ſafety: 'Princes like you,' replied the painter, 'never war againſt the arts.' The prince, who was himſelf a perſon of high accompliſhments, and naturally generous, was ſo well pleaſed with the anſwer, that he appointed a guard for his protection. Bef. Chriſt 304.

ONE of the moſt admired figures in this piece was a dog, which had coſt the painter immenſe labour, without his being able to expreſs the idea he had conceived. He meant to repreſent the animal in a panting attitude, foaming, ſo that the foam ſhould appear actually to iſſue from his mouth. After retouching it frequently, and ſtill without ſucceſs, he at laſt, in the rage of diſappointment, darted at the picture the ſponge, with which he uſed to wipe off his colours; and 'chance,' ſays Pliny, 'accompliſhed what art had not the power 37. 10.
'to perform.' In the ſame piece was alſo repreſented a thruſh on the top of a column, ſo admirably well executed, that, when the picture was expoſed to public view, certain bird-catchers with thruſhes, having ſtopt to admire it, the birds,

preſent ſituation of affairs, we may eaſily judge what the oracle pronounced. And accordingly a grove, encompaſſed with a ſtately gallery, was conſecrated to him.

miſtaking

Book II. Sect. 2.

miſtaking the painted bird for a real one, began to ſing to it.

Bef. Chriſt 304.

When Apelles ſaw this picture, he was ſo tranſported, it is ſaid, with admiration, that his ſpeech failed him: recovering from his aſtoniſhment, he exclaimed, 'prodigious work! wonderful performance!—however,' added he, 'it 'has not all the graces the world admires in my 'works.' If the anecdote be true, this laſt obſervation, apparently the language of envy, proves, perhaps more ſtrongly than the moſt laviſh praiſes, the extraordinary merit of the piece.

Bef. Chriſt 303.

Demetrius' expedition into Greece was attended with better ſucceſs than he had of late met with. Caſſander had inveſted Athens: Demetrius forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and taking advantage of the broken condition of his army, preſſed him with ſuch vigour, that he was under the neceſſity of abandoning all he held to the ſouthward of Theſſaly, and of withdrawing his troops into Macedon. Even his retreat he effected with difficulty; Demetrius having attacked him in his march, and obliged him to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate flight.

Plut. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. 20. 5.

The reduction of the greater part of Greece immediately followed. Not only the ſeveral cities from the ſtreights of Thermopylae to the iſthmus of Corinth, but alſo moſt of thoſe of Peloponneſus, ſubmitted to Demetrius; the Macedonian garriſons having evacuated all the places of which they were in poſſeſſion. He now ſaw his power exceedingly augmented, while at the ſame time he enjoyed the glory of being conſidered as the *reſtorer of the liberties of an oppreſſed people*. And that no honours might be wanting, the ſolemn convention of the Grecian ſtates at the iſthmus proclaimed him general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had formerly been.

This

THIS flow of proſperity, hiſtorians obſerve, proved the ruin of Demetrius. He had now no enemy near him. And, naturally diſpoſed to the purſuit of pleaſure, he was but too much encouraged to it by the effeminate manners of the Greeks; who, on their part, to teſtify their gratitude to their protector, ſought every opportunity of adminiſtering to his amuſement and gratification. The Athenian orators, in particular, contributed much to corrupt his mind. They offered him the moſt fulſome adulations. They made him almoſt forget he was a man [s]. Bef. Chriſt 303.

THIS change of fortune had likewiſe its influence on Antigonus, greatly encreaſing the arrogance which had always marked his character. He ſcrupled not even to avow his hopes of eſtabliſhing his power on the ruins of that of all the other princes. And inſtead of taking this opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace with Caſſander, who condeſcended to aſk it in the moſt ſuppliant language, he required him to ſubmit at diſcretion, and to leave the kingdom of Macedon entirely at his diſpoſal. Bef. Chriſt 302.

CASSANDER applied to the confederate princes, who, willing to humble a pride from which they themſelves had much to fear, reſolved to employ their moſt vigorous efforts againſt Antigonus and his ſon, and, if poſſible, to try the iſſue of a general engagement. Accordingly Seleucus began to move from Babylon, as did Lyſimachus from Thrace; and theſe princes, having received conſiderable reinforcements both from Macedon and from Egypt, advanced, after ſome operations of little importance, into the province of Phrygia, where Antigonus and Demetrius were preparing to Bef. Chriſt 301.

[s] Plut. ub. ſup. See more at large the exceſſive flatteries of the Athenians to Demetrius, in book 3. ſect. 1. of this work.

meet

Book II. Sect. 2. meet them. Near to Ipſus, an inconſiderable town in this province, the battle was fought, which terminated the empire and life of Antigonus. The Syrians were totally defeated, and Demetrius made his eſcape with only nine thouſand men, out of above eighty thouſand, of which his army had conſiſted. The victory is ſaid to have been obtained chiefly by the ſuperior addreſs of Seleucus, who took advantage of Demetrius' warmth, in purſuing too far a body of the enemy, which he had broken.

Bef. Chriſt 300.

Antigonus was aged eighty-four years [9] when he fell. He appears to have been a prince of great perſonal courage and abilities in war, but of a ſpirit exceedingly haughty and imperious. Leſs ambitious, and more moderate in the uſe of power, he might have ended his days in the peaceable poſſeſſion of a rich and mighty kingdom.

What were the latter fortunes of Demetrius, is an enquiry that belongs not to this place. As they are, however, much connected with the preceding narrative, it will not be improper to bring them together into one view.

With the ſlender remains of his army he retired to the ſea-coaſt, in order to paſs over to Athens, where his principal dependence was. He now found how hollow are the profeſſions of flattery. The Athenians, who had been extravagant in their praiſes, when he was attended with victory, refuſed even to receive him into their city, under pretext of ſome late edict, by which they were forbidden to admit a crowned head within their walls. But this was not the time for revenge. Having therefore obtained from them his gallies, together with his queen and royal retinue, which he had left behind him when he went laſt to

Plut. in Demetrio.

9 Eighty-one, according to Lucian in Macrobiis.

Aſia,

Aſia, and having viſited certain places in Pelo- Book II.
ponneſus in which he ſtill had garriſons, he ſailed Sect. 2.
to the coaſt of Thrace, where, to wreak his ven-
geance on Lyſimachus, he made deſcents on ſeve- Bef. Chriſt 299.
ral parts, and committed great devaſtation.

Whilst he was in this wandering condition, Seleucus, who had heard much of his daughter Stratonice, reputed the moſt beautiful woman of her time, ſent to demand her in marriage. Amazed at this turn of fortune in his favour, Demetrius failed not to avail himſelf of it, and immediately ſhaped his courſe towards Syria with the princeſs. On his way, having landed in Cilicia for ſome refreſhments, and finding an opportunity favourable, he plundered the caſtle of Cuinda, which had formerly belonged to Antigonus, but was now the property of Pliſtarchus, brother to Caſſander, the confederate princes having beſtowed it on him, together with the whole province. He then purſued his voyage, and delivered his daughter to Seleucus; who celebrated his nuptials in the moſt ſplendid manner, and entertained his new father-in-law with much ſhew of regard and confidence, having even prevailed on Ptolemy to give him his daughter Ptolemais in marriage. On his return, Demetrius determined to make a ſecond deſcent in Cilicia; and finding it without defence, got entire poſſeſſion of that province. Seleucus interpoſed, and threatened; but Demetrius would not reſign ſo valuable an acquiſition.

Strab. (Caſaub.) 14. 462.

He was now, he imagined, ſtrong enough to revenge himſelf on the Athenians. Paſſing over therefore into Greece, he laid cloſe ſiege to Athens, which he reduced to ſuch extremity, that a *modius* of wheat (about a peck) was ſold for three hundred drachms. Lachares, a turbulent demagogue, had, under the aſſumed character of *cham-*

Sl. 115. tod. h.

Book II. Sect. 1. *pion of the people*, invaded the adminiſtration, and directed all public meaſures with abſolute ſway; and to him were owing the preſent counſels. Reduced by famine, the Athenians were at laſt obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, Lachares having firſt ſaved himſelf by flight. Demetrius accepted their ſubmiſſion, and far from puniſhing them for their ingratitude, preſented them with an hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat, requiring only, that they ſhould receive a garriſon into their city. Plutarch relates, on this occaſion, a whimſical circumſtance, which ſtrongly marks the turn of genius both of Demetrius and of the Athenian people. Upon his entering Athens, he had ordered them to repair to the theatre, and after keeping them for ſome time in expectation of their fate, he on a ſudden made his appearance on the ſtage, deſcending from above, in the manner of the players, when repreſenting the pagan divinities. He began to harangue them, not with anger, but in a ſet ſpeech, filled with ſoothing expoſtulations and flowers of oratory, in which he was fond of being thought to excel. In the midſt of his harangue, an Athenian ſtarting up, informed him, that the phraſe he had juſt made uſe of, was incompatible with the purity of the Attic language. 'I give you fifty thouſand meaſures of wheat 'more,' cried Demetrius, 'in acknowledgement 'of the improvement I have received from that 'Athenian's friendly information.'

Bef. Chriſt 299.

In Apophthegm.

From Athens he marched into Peloponneſus, with a view to make himſelf maſter alſo of Sparta; and the Spartans, led on by their king Archidamus, having advanced to oppoſe him, he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory.

The conſequence might have proved fatal to Lacedæmon. But as the victor was preparing to purſue this ſucceſs, his affairs ſuddenly took a different

ferent turn. He received advice, that Seleucus and Lyſimachus had diſpoſſeſſed him of all he held in Aſia [10]; and that Ptolemy had invaded Cyprus, and reduced the whole iſland, Salamis excepted, which he was then beſieging. Probably the progreſs of Demetrius in Greece had awakened the apprehenſions of theſe princes. Bef. Chriſt 298.

Discouraged by this unexpected reverſe, he had given up all for loſt, when a new and unlooked-for proſpect opened to him.

Cassander king of Macedon was dead, and his two ſons, Antipater and Alexander, had each laid claim to the kingdom. The former was ſupported by Lyſimachus, whoſe daughter he had married; and the latter applied to Demetrius, who haſtened to his aſſiſtance. But having, in the mean time, obtained ſuccours from Pyrrhus, Alexander would have declined the interpoſition of Demetrius, of whom he began to entertain ſuſpicions; and, finding himſelf under conſiderable embarraſſment on that ſcore, intended to get rid of him by violent means. So, at leaſt, Demetrius wiſhed to have it underſtood; for, under colour of this conviction, he cauſed Alexander to be aſſaſſinated at an entertainment to which he had invited him. Having then laid before the Macedonians the perfidious intentions of Alexander, and the juſt claim he himſelf had to the crown in right of his wife Philla, daughter to Antipater, he contrived to gain a party over to his intereſts, and got poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Juſt. 16. 1, 2, 3. Plut. in Demetrio. Bef. Chriſt 297. Bef. Chriſt 294.

He might have held the ſcepter of Macedon many years, had the experience of misfortunes taught him wiſdom. But, inſtead of endeavouring to repair the waſte and devaſtation which this

[10] Seleucus, as appears from Plutarch (in Demet.) had offered him a ſum of money for Cilicia; and, upon his refuſal, had inſiſted on having Tyre and Sidon given up to him.

Book II. Sect. 2. unhappy kingdom had suffered from constant wars, as soon as he was seated on the throne, he immediately engaged in new military operations on the side of Greece, on the side of Aetolia, on the side of Epire, on the side of Thrace. At the same time, by his profuse luxury, his vanity, and haughtiness, it seemed as if he industriously sought to render his government odious. In his dress he affected an excess of magnificence nearly theatrical, such as no prince who reigned after him was ever vain enough to imitate. His court was a continued scene of dissipation and riot; and though of free access to the ministers of his pleasures, he scarcely would suffer any other of his subjects, or even the ministers of foreign states to approach him. As if this folly had been too little, either from a restless ambition, or, as some writers say, that the Macedonians might not have leisure to form designs against him, he maintained formidable armaments both by sea and land, to recover, he pretended, the dominions which his father and himself had formerly possessed in Asia.

Bef. Christ 294.

Plut. in Demetrio.

Alarmed at these preparations, and probably solicited by the Macedonians themselves, Ptolemy and Lysimachus determined to prevent him. The former sailed with a powerful fleet to invade Greece by sea, the latter entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; whilst Pyrrhus, whom they had engaged in their alliance, advanced from Epirus. Never was Demetrius in a more critical situation: he was encompassed by enemies; and the Macedonians, to a man, disaffected, were on the point of declaring against him. He saw no resource left, but to save himself by flight. Having accordingly put on the habit of a private soldier, he, under

under that diſguiſe, quitted the camp, and eſcaped to Caſſandria [11].

Bef. Chriſt 287.

He had ſtill hopes, that he ſhould find the Athenians faithful to him; but thoſe days, when misfortunes were a recommendation at Athens, were long ſince paſſed. Olympiodorus, now the popular leader, perſuaded the citizens to avail themſelves of the opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke that diſgraced them; and it was reſolved that their gates ſhould be ſhut againſt him. Demetrius would have had recourſe to vindictive meaſures; but the interpoſition of the philoſopher Crates, according to ſome hiſtorians, or, which is more likely, the want of means, induced him to deſiſt.

Plut. in Demetrio.

Notwithstanding all theſe humiliating events, the ſpirit of enterpriſe had not yet forſaken Demetrius. After making what proviſion he could for the ſecurity of the few places he ſtill held in Greece, he planned a new expedition, purpoſing nothing leſs than to recover the provinces of Lydia and Caria from Lyſimachus. The whole force he could muſter, when he left Europe, amounted only to eleven thouſand men, all of them, like their leader, of deſperate fortunes, and ripe for any adventure. This plan proved as unſucceſsful as it was raſhly formed. Agathocles, ſon to Lyſimachus, was prepared to receive him at the head of a ſuperior army; an advantage which he improved with great ability, carefully avoiding a general engagement, but waſting the ſmall force Demetrius had brought with him, by frequent ſkirmiſhes, by conſtant harraſſing, by depriving them of ſubſiſtence: ſo that at length, after ſhifting his quarters from place to place, and

[11] Subdued by this overthrow of all her hopes, his wife Philla, in a fit of deſpair, poiſoned herſelf.—Plut. in Demetrio.

having

Book II. Sect. 2. having seen the greatest part of his troops consumed by fatigue and famine, he was forced to retreat to Tarsus in Cilicia, which now belonged to Seleucus, from whence he sent to his son-in-law, entreating his compassion in the most humiliating terms.

Bef. Christ 287.

Seleucus was disposed to afford him shelter in his dominions, and to supply both him and his troops with necessaries; but his ministers opposed it. They represented the many dangers to be apprehended from a prince like Demetrius, ambitious, experienced, active, fertile in resources, and not to be subdued by misfortunes. Seleucus at last yielded to their remonstrances, and marched against him. In this situation, Demetrius is said to have done all that valour and military skill could perform. But overpowered, and having no expedient left, he found himself under the necessity of surrendering to Seleucus.

Seleucus was once more inclined to have acted nobly towards him. He had even thoughts of bringing him to his court, and of entertaining him there in royal splendor. But his ministers would not permit it; and at last obtained of the king, that he should be sent under a strong guard to a place of safety in the Syrian Chersonesus. Seleucus however took care, that he should have every indulgence, that could render his captivity less irksome; the use of a spacious park, a number of fine horses, a princely table, with whatever other amusements he appeared to desire. But what are these without liberty? He lived about three years in this state of confinement; and died at last of a distemper, brought on partly by the reflections which his melancholy situation must have suggested to him, and partly by excess in wine, to which he had recourse in order to drown recollection.

Bef. Christ 284.

From

FROM what Plutarch [12] relates, there is reaſon to believe, that during his captivity he recovered, in a great meaſure, that excellent underſtanding which he had received from nature. The manner in which he wrote to his ſon Antigonus ſpeaks him a better father, and a wiſer prince, than from his former conduct we ſhould be apt to think him. He recommended it to him, 'to attend eſpecially 'to the preſervation of the places he ſtill occupied in Greece, and not to yield up the poſſeſſion 'of any of them to any perſon, or on any pre'tence whatever; but to look upon him as dead, 'and, from that day, not to give credit to any 'letter or order that ſhould come from him, 'though written with his own hand, and ſealed 'with his own ſignet.'

ANTIGONUS, to his honour, employed every ſolicitation in his power to obtain his father's liberty, conjuring the other kings to interpoſe in his behalf, and offering to give up all his poſſeſſions, and even his own perſon as a ſecurity. But no terms could be accepted. Demetrius was ſtill too formidable. Lyſimachus, it is ſaid, offered a vaſt ſum, on condition he ſhould be put to death; a propoſal which Seleucus rejected with indignation.

HAD not Demetrius ſuffered the blandiſhments of pleaſure to prevail over him, he had been the firſt of all the princes of his time. Poſſeſſed by nature of uncommon powers of mind, he had improved them highly by cultivation. He had, at the ſame time, all the advantages that external grace and elegance of form can beſtow; and ſo inimitably beautiful was his countenance, if Plutarch may be believed, that neither painter nor ſtatuary could ever execute an exact portrait of

[12] Ubi ſupra. See his directions at length in Plutarch.

him;

Book II. Sect. 2. him; 'the animated air of youth being blended, 'in him, with the awful majeſty of the hero and 'the king.' In his behaviour, the ſame happy aſſociation appeared. In his hours of leiſure, he was a moſt agreeable and captivating companion; in his entertainments, the moſt ſumptuous of princes; yet, when buſineſs called, hardly to be equalled in activity and application. In addition to all this, he was brave; of conſummate ſkill in military affairs; and, until corrupted by proſperity and adulation, humane and generous. His affectionate and dutiful attention to his father, in the midſt of all his diſſipation, has been alſo juſtly celebrated by every writer that has mentioned him.

Bef. Chriſt 284.

Two remarkable inſtances of his generoſity of ſpirit have been tranſmitted to us by hiſtory. He employed his utmoſt endeavours to ſave the life of Eumenes; and probably would have ſucceeded, had not his father's miniſters impreſſed him with gloomy apprehenſions of what that gallant chief might afterwards attempt againſt him. The life of Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, he actually ſaved. This Mithridates was a young Aſiatic nobleman of unblemiſhed manners, and the conſtant companion of Demetrius. But Antigonus had conceived a jealouſy of him. He dreamed, that he had entered a fair and ſpacious field, and ſowed it with filings of gold, from which in a ſhort time there had ariſen a golden crop; but that, ſoon after, returning to viſit it, he found it cut down, and heard the people ſay, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harveſt, and had carried it off towards the Euxine ſea.

Plut. in Eumene.

Plut. in Demetrio.

DISTURBED at this dream, he communicated it to Demetrius, with his reſolution of deſtroying Mithridates; binding, at the ſame time, his ſon by

by an oath, that he ſhould not ſpeak to him either of the dream or of its conſequences. The enſuing day, Mithridates came as uſual to attend the prince in his amuſements; when, taking an opportunity of drawing him aſide, Demetrius with the point of his ſpear wrote on the ground, 'Fly, Mithridates.' He fled accordingly that night into Cappadocia: and fate ſoon accompliſhed for Mithridates the thing which Antigonus dreaded; for he conquered a rich and extenſive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight ſucceſſions, until it was at laſt deſtroyed by the Romans [13].

Book II. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 284.

[13] Beſides a number of children by other wives and concubines, Demetrius left by Philla, daughter of Antipater, and widow of Craterus, a ſon named Antigonus, afterwards king of Macedon, and the famed Stratonice; and by Ptolemais, another ſon, called Demetrius, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to make mention hereafter.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK III.

SECTION I.

THE reign of Alexander, though accounted the aera of glory for the Macedonian people, was far from advancing the internal happineſs and proſperity of their country. A nation deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, at a ſeaſon of life when his activity and vigour of mind might have been of important benefit, exhauſted [1] of their moſt valuable citizens to repair

Bef. Chriſt 324.

[1] It appears from Diod. Sic. 18. 1. that when Antipater marched againſt Leoſthenes, it was not poſſible for him to muſter more than thirteen thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. *Such*, ſays the hiſtorian, *was the ſcarcity of ſoldiers in Macedon, in conſequence of the frequent draughts to recruit the armies in Aſia.*

the

BOOK III. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

the waſte of diſtant wars, and diſtracted by that conflict of factions to which a delegated government is generally expoſed, muſt ever find much real cauſe, amidſt all the faſcinating glare of conqueſt, to lament the boundleſs ambition of their prince. Such was Macedon during this boaſted period. Whilſt the treaſures, which poured in from every part of Aſia, proved no compenſation for theſe accumulated evils, they corrupted the ſimplicity of the Macedonian manners. This hardy people, who, under the preſſure of poverty, had preſerved their independence, now ſunk into luxury, debility, and ſervitude.

ANTIPATER, whom Alexander had appointed to the adminiſtration of Macedonian affairs, appears to have been well qualified for the ſtation his maſter had aſſigned him. He was to reſtrain within their limits thoſe fierce borderers, by whom a conſiderable part of Macedon was ſurrounded: he was to obſerve the motions, and counteract the deſigns of the ſeveral commonwealths of Greece, who entertained an avowed jealouſy of Alexander, and were prepared to ſeize the firſt opportunity of re-aſſerting their ancient liberties: he was to introduce at home a more abſolute government, and bend the Macedonians to a ſubjection hitherto unknown to them. At the ſame time, he had to ſupport himſelf againſt the intrigues of ſome of the principal of the Macedonian nobles, who beheld with jealouſy and indignation a man, lately their equal, now exalted above them; and who were encouraged in their diſaffection by the countenance and artifices of Olympias, the king's mother, a woman of violent temper, fond of power, and therefore impatient of the controul which Antipater's authority impoſed upon her.

ANTIPATER

ANTIPATER poſſeſſed all the qualifications requiſite for theſe various purpoſes. To great military abilities he joined the ſubtilty and reſerve of the ſtateſman; he was vigilant, vigorous, and ſteady; with a firm hand he held the reins of government, notwithſtanding the repeated attempts of Olympias to wreſt them from him; he ſuppreſſed every commotion, he baffled every confederacy; the turbulence of the Macedonians he awed; the Greeks he humbled; he was implacable when provoked, and ſanguinary in gratifying his reſentments. His treatment of the two Athenian orators, Demoſthenes and Hyperides, proves how dangerous it was to offend him. It is affirmed, that he cauſed the tongue of the latter to be cut out, in revenge for the invectives it had uttered againſt him. BOOK III. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 323.

IF we conſider him as the confidential ſervant of a prince, whoſe object was the ſubverſion of all liberty, he was an uſeful miniſter; if as the magiſtrate of a free ſtate, who was bound to pay regard to the rights of mankind, he was a tyrannical and mercileſs oppreſſor. Accordingly, both theſe characters he bears in hiſtory, agreeably to the different principles of the ſeveral writers by whom he is mentioned.

HE was to have been removed, had Alexander ſurvived. It is thought, that the intrigues of Olympias and her faction had at length prevailed, and that his prince began to ſuſpect him of views inconſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject. Perhaps his expreſſing too freely his ſentiments concerning the execution of Parmenio had reached the king. For upon hearing the fate of that gallant general, in aſtoniſhment he cried out, 'if Parmenio has 'conſpired againſt his maſter, whom are we to 'truſt? and if he has not, how are we to act?' Words pregnant with ſo much meaning, had they Plut. in Apophthegm.

come

BOOK III. come to Alexander's knowledge, would hardly have been forgiven.

Sect. 1. WHEN tidings of Alexander's death reached Greece, moſt of its ſtates, as we have ſeen, roſe up in arms. Antipater was not diſconcerted. Precarious as his ſituation was on the ſide of Macedon, and with numbers far inferior to the enemy, he met them in battle, and, though worſted, had the art to collect together the broken remains of his army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of Lamia in Theſſaly, a place capable of defence. Leonnatus, one of Alexander's captains, advanced to his aſſiſtance, and was defeated and ſlain. This incident, however diſaſtrous in appearance, Antipater improved likewiſe to his advantage. The death of Leonnatus had delivered him from a rival, of whom he was jealous. He found means to eſcape from Lamia, whilſt the Greeks were engaged with Leonnatus, whoſe troops having been little more than diſperſed, he contrived to recover moſt of them, and to incorporate them into his army, by which he was enabled to look the confederates in the face; whilſt Craterus, having in the mean time arrived from Aſia, joined him alſo with conſiderable ſuccours. This general was to have ſucceeded him in the government of Macedon: but as Alexander's appointments had all ceaſed with his life, Craterus was now contented to ſhare the government with Antipater; who, to attach him more ſtrongly to his intereſts, gave him his daughter Phila in marriage, one of the moſt accompliſhed women of her time. Soon after, was fought the battle of Cranon, which, as has been already obſerved, proved fatal to Greece, obliging the Athenians to ſurrender their liberties to the Macedonian leaders, and to receive a garriſon from them. The Aetolians, though not leſs active in promoting the war, obtained peace on eaſier terms.

Bef. Chriſt 323.

Bef. Chriſt 322.

terms. The bold enterprises of Perdiccas had by this time roused the jealousy of the other commanders; and Antipater hastened to settle the affairs of Greece, in order to be at leisure to oppose that leader in Asia. BOOK III. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 322.

THE succeeding events were not unfavourable to Antipater's fortunes. Craterus having fallen in battle against Eumenes, he found himself again in possession of the whole government of Macedon. And Perdiccas, as we have related, being slain in Egypt, he was appointed regent [2], and Philip Aridaeus, and the young king Alexander, were consigned to his protection. Bef. Christ 321.

FROM this period, the power of Antipater over Greece and Macedon was uncontrouled; but his authority in other parts of the empire was little more than nominal.

WHAT seems most extraordinary in Antipater's conduct, is the last act of his life. On his death-bed he named Polyperchon, one of Alexander's captains, but no way distinguished by any particular merit, to succeed him in the government of Macedon, and in the office of protector; to the exclusion of his own son Cassander, whom he only appointed to the post of chiliarch, or captain of a thousand men. It has been said, that Augustus bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, that in the violences of his successor the Romans might forget the crimes of which he himself had been guilty. A similar suspicion might, with as good reason, be entertained of Antipater; for never man seemed less fitted than Polyperchon for the discharge of this arduous trust. Without vigour, Bef. Christ 319.

[2] Upon the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy appointed Aridaeus and Python, two of Alexander's captains, to the protectorship; but meeting with a formidable opposition from Eurydice and her friends, they resigned, and the Macedonians chose Antipater. See Diod. Sic. 18. 3.

without

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without firmneſs; mean, cruel, perfidious; a dupe to thoſe who had the art to gain his confidence, he knew not how to render his authority reſpectable, or to conciliate the affections of men. What conſiderations could have moved Antipater to this appointment, hiſtory does not diſcloſe. Whether he thought, that Caſſander's impetuous temper was ill ſuited to the preſent times; or that, vain and high-ſpirited, power in his hands might produce his deſtruction; or whether he had conceived diſguſt at his ſon, on account of his private life; are the conjectures of different writers—but of the truth it is not poſſible to determine.

Bef. Chriſt 319.

WHAT ſeems however moſt probable, is, that, for ſome time before Antipater's death, Polyperchon, having entertained hopes of ſucceeding him, had employed the uſual intrigues for accompliſhing his ambitious views. This Antipater having diſcovered, and finding that the ſtrength of Polyperchon's party, aided by the friends of Olympias, would, in oppoſition to his own views, infallibly prevail in the iſſue, he choſe to have himſelf the merit of the appointment, in expectation of ſecuring to his family a protector, where they might otherwiſe have found an enemy. It appears from Diodorus, that he dreaded the influence which Olympias was likely to obtain under the new adminiſtration, and endeavoured to guard againſt it. His laſt charge to Polyperchon was, to keep her at a diſtance from the adminiſtration of affairs, which if ſhe engaged in, her paſſions would ſoon throw it into confuſion.

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POLYPERCHON paid little regard either to the inſtructions of Antipater, or to the obligations he might be ſuppoſed to owe to his predeceſſor, had he conſidered his appointment as the act of his choice. His firſt ſtep was to recal Olympias from Epire, whither ſhe had retired. But her enemies were

were ſtill too formidable, and the minds of men too much exaſperated, for her to venture immediately. She deferred accepting the invitation, until ſhe could enjoy a full exertion of power. And it is believed, that whatever meaſures Polyperchon, from this period, purſued, were in obedience to her directions. He removed every perſon who had been in the intereſts of Antipater, and reſtored throughout the Greek cities the democratical form of government, which had been aboliſhed. A general confuſion, as might be expected, enſued. The popular faction, naturally violent in their reſentment, fell almoſt every where on thoſe who were ſuſpected of being inſtrumental in their diſgrace. At Athens particularly, though the Munychia and Piraeus were ſtill held by Antipater's garriſons, they ſeized on Phocion, and as many of his friends as they could find, whom they ſent to Philip Aridaeus and Polyperchon, to anſwer for the ſhare they were ſuppoſed to have had in the late adminiſtration. Polyperchon pronounced their condemnation, and remitted them to Athens, where they were put to death. Phocion has been already mentioned. He was a man of the greateſt probity of his time, and had with unwearied endeavours ſtudied the happineſs of his country. Probably his integrity made him more obnoxious in the eyes of Polyperchon. Similar diſtractions prevailed in moſt of the other cities; and becauſe the Megalopolitans declared themſelves ſatisfied with the form of government Antipater had eſtabliſhed, and refuſed to change it, Polyperchon marched his army againſt them.

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Bef. Chriſt 319.

Bef. Chriſt 316. April.

Plut. in Phocione.

MEANWHILE, Caſſander, who ſaw there was no ſafety for him in Macedon, fled to Antigonus, who at this time was employed in proſecuting his plan of empire in Aſia. He was received with cordiality and kindneſs, and Antigonus ſoon enabled

Diod. Sic. 18. 4.

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abled him to return with effectual ſuccours. Affection, nevertheleſs, had no ſhare in this attention. Antigonus hated Polyperchon, was jealous of the authority he derived from acting under the royal ſanction, and was glad of the opportunity of raiſing enemies againſt him at home, and of preventing him from interfering in the Aſiatic provinces.

THUS ſupported, Caſſander ſailed back to Athens, and entered the Piraeus, of which Nicanor, the governor appointed by his father, had ſtill poſſeſſion. Polyperchon, upon the firſt alarm, immediately turned his attention thither. He attacked him by land and ſea, yet proved unſucceſsful in both. His fleet, after obtaining at firſt ſome inconſiderable advantages, was totally defeated by that of Caſſander. Athens, already partly in the hands of the enemy, and without proſpect of relief from Polyperchon, was forced to ſubmit, and to accept a governor named by Caſſander. He appointed Demetrius Phalereus, the famed diſciple of Theophraſtus, of whoſe principles he was aſſured, from his intimate connection with Phocion, and whoſe philoſophical turn of mind ſeemed well adapted to the genius of the people he was to govern.

THE reduction of Athens completed the ruin of Polyperchon's affairs in Greece. The Peloponneſian ſtates were already in the intereſts of Caſſander. In moſt of the other cities likewiſe, the friends of the houſe of Antipater were beginning to ſhew themſelves: ſo that Polyperchon judged it moſt prudent to relinquiſh what he could not hold, and to content himſelf with ſecuring Macedon.

BUT the ſame ill conduct, by which he had loſt Greece, was alſo to deprive him of Macedon. Polyperchon, now avowedly the creature of Olympias,

Juſt. 14. 5, 6.

pias, beſought her to take the young king under her guardianſhip, imagining her preſence might add ſtrength to his adminiſtration. Her arrival produced a contrary effect. All who had the moſt diſtant connection with Antipater, beheld with terror a revolution, which, from a woman of her fierce and vindictive ſpirit, was probably to end in their deſtruction: Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen, were more particularly affected by it. Aridaeus, the ſon of Philip by a concubine, had been the object of her averſion from his infancy; and the infirmity of his underſtanding was ſuppoſed to be the effect of a potion he had received from her. Eurydice, his wife, was the daughter of the unfortunate Cynane, whom Philip had by an Illyrian lady, and whom Perdiccas, to pleaſe Olympias, had put to death. Her father, Amyntas, ſon to Philip's elder brother, had, by Olympias' contrivance, been already deſtroyed: ſo that neither Eurydice nor her huſband could think of her but with abhorrence; and ſhould ſhe once poſſeſs power, they had cauſe to dread her utmoſt violence. Accordingly, when Eurydice was appriſed of her intended return, ſhe endeavoured to provide for her ſecurity, by aſſembling forces, and by preſſing Caſſander to haſten to her aſſiſtance; commanding, at the ſame time, Polyperchon not to interfere farther in the adminiſtration, but to reſign it to Caſſander upon his arrival.

Bef. Chriſt 316.

This precipitate ſtep furniſhed Polyperchon with an excuſe for executing what he wiſhed to perform. With Olympias at the head of his army, he immediately marched againſt Eurydice; who, animated by her wrongs, led out her forces alſo. But her ſoldiers, either from treachery, or according to ſome hiſtorians, ſtruck with the majeſty of Olympias, in whoſe perſon they recollected the mother of Alexander and the wife of

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Philip, having refuſed to fight, the wretched Eurydice and her huſband fell into the hands of this relentleſs woman, who uſed her power with an inhumanity inſeparable from her character. The king and queen ſhe committed to a cloſe priſon, ſcarcely large enough to contain them, with an opening only left for the purpoſe of conveying to them a wretched ſuſtenance, leſs with the view of preſerving life, than of prolonging miſery. But finding that theſe indignities ſerved only to excite the compaſſion even of their enemies, ſhe ordered ſome Thracian ſoldiers to diſpatch Aridaeus, after he had nominally reigned ſix years and four months. This done, ſhe ſent meſſengers to Eurydice, with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poiſon, commanding her to chuſe which of them ſhe pleaſed. They found Eurydice binding up and covering, in the beſt manner ſhe could, the bleeding corſe of her royal huſband. She received the meſſage without uttering any expoſtulation or womaniſh complaint; and, after praying the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like preſent, with great compoſure ſtrangled herſelf.

Bef. Chriſt 316. Diod. Sic. 19. 1. Bef. Chriſt 316. Sep. 22. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

Olympias' luſt of revenge was not yet ſated. She cauſed Nicanor, brother to Caſſander, to be alſo ſlain, and the tomb of Iolas, another brother, to be broke open, and his body expoſed upon the public highway: and having ſeized a hundred Macedonians of quality, ſuppoſed to have been friends to Caſſander, ſhe put them all to death.

These violent proceedings had turned the greater part of Macedon againſt her, when Caſſander appeared. Upon the firſt advice from Eurydice, he had left Peloponneſus; and was on his way to her aſſiſtance, when the melancholy tidings of her fate reached him. A body of Aetolians, in the ſervice of Polyperchon, had poſſeſſed themſelves

Diod. Sic. 19. 2, 3.

ſelves of the defile of Thermopylae, in order to diſpute the paſſage. To avoid delay, he went on board his fleet, which he had ordered to follow him, and was on the confines of Macedon, before either Polyperchon or Olympias were aware of his approach: then having divided his forces, he ſent one detachment to employ Polyperchon; with the other, he marched in perſon againſt Olympias. She, with the young king, and Roxana his mother, ſeveral of the royal family, and Macedonian nobility, were ſhut up in Pydna, in full aſſurance, that both Polyperchon and Aeacidas king of Epire, her kinſman, were marching to her relief. But Caſſander had taken his meaſures more effectually: ſeduced by a party he had artfully formed in Epire, the Epirots refuſed to follow their king, and upon his attempting compulſion, depoſed him. Polyperchon, ſharply preſſed by the forces ſent againſt him, with difficulty provided for his own defence. Olympias nevertheleſs held out with firmneſs, till, compelled by famine, ſhe was at laſt obliged to ſurrender. She ſtipulated only for her life; but, the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe murdered, demanding juſtice, Caſſander pretended, that this ſtipulation related only to military execution, and that ſhe was ſtill amenable to the laws of her country. Her condemnation followed of courſe; and ſhe was accordingly put to death. The young king Alexander, and Roxana, Caſſander confined in Amphipolis. And Theſſalonice, who was alſo made priſoner at the ſame time, the daughter of Philip by a lady of Theſſaly, he married.

Bef. Chriſt 316.

Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

THE inveterate hatred, with which Olympias purſued Caſſander and his houſe, ſeems to account for the reports ſpread to his diſadvantage concerning Alexander's death. They probably originated with Olympias, in order to procure the deſtruction of

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of a family she abhorred. And indeed Cassander himself gave much strength to them, by the detestation in which he confessedly held his master's memory, and the extreme cruelty with which he treated his nearest connections. It appears from Plutarch, that, long after the death of Alexander, he retained such a deadly enmity to his memory, that he could not bear the recollection of him without horror; a remarkable instance of which that historian has presented to us. After he had been some years in possession of the kingdom of Macedon, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of the statue of Alexander struck him with such dread, that he trembled all over, and with difficulty recovered from the giddiness it occasioned. According to Plutarch, he had once burst into a laugh in Alexander's presence, at the sight of some barbarians prostrating themselves before him; when, enraged at the insult, the king caught him by the hair, and with both his hands dashed his head against the wall. Upon another occasion, as he attempted to vindicate his father, whom certain persons had accused, Alexander with loud menaces bade him beware of misleading him by his sophisms, denouncing vengeance against Antipater, if he did not fully answer the charge against him. Such was his terror from the king's violence, continues Plutarch, that, as long as he lived, he never was able to overcome the impression. It must be owned, Cassander remembered but too faithfully the passionate excesses of his master, and took ample revenge for them. His shedding the blood of Olympias, violent as she was, is hardly to be justified. But his treatment of the young princes, Alexander's sons, which we shall have immediate occasion to mention, is altogether without excuse. There is even reason

Bef. Christ 316. Plut in Alex.

reaſon to ſuſpect, that his pretended kindneſs to the Thebans was in fact a kind of triumph over Alexander. Alexander had exterminated the Thebans. Caſſander made it his firſt care, after he had compoſed the affairs of Macedon, to collect together their remains, and to raiſe their city from its ruins, reſtoring it, as far as he could, to its former ſplendor. He had a pride, perhaps, in oppoſing Alexander, and in rearing up what he had demoliſhed. Bef. Chriſt 316.

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CASSANDER had now ſucceeded, ſeemingly, to the utmoſt of his ambitious hopes. He was in full poſſeſſion, the title excepted, of the regal dignity; Polyperchon, unable to oppoſe him, had taken refuge in Aetolia; Greece was in ſubjection; Epire was under his dominion; and however iniquitous the means were by which he had acquired this power, yet theſe ſeveral nations, exhauſted by continual wars, ſubmitted patiently to a domination which promiſed them *ſome* repoſe. This interval of peace was of ſhort duration. Antigonus, as already mentioned, had made conſiderable progreſs in Aſia; and the other generals of Alexander, jealous of a power which might ſoon prove fatal to their own, called upon Caſſander to unite in humbling this formidable rival. This produced new troubles in Greece. Alexander, ſon to Polyperchon, had retired to the court of Antigonus; who immediately diſpatched him to Greece, with a large ſupply of money, in order to make a diverſion in Peloponneſus. And Caſſander having bought him off, by reſigning all his rights in Peloponneſus, Antigonus had recourſe to other methods, encouraging, under pretence of a zeal for liberty, the popular faction throughout all the Grecian cities to riſe againſt Caſſander's government. All Greece was again in commotion. The Aetolians having Bef. Chriſt 315. Bef. Chriſt 314. Diod. Sic. 19. 4.

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having also taken up arms, and Aeacidas at the same time making an attempt to recover his kingdom, Cassander found himself involved in very extensive military operations; which he nevertheless maintained with great spirit, not only resisting his different adversaries, but even making an impression on the Asiatic coasts, and distressing Antigonus at home. It were of little moment to enter into a detail of these desultory wars, which, as often as the parties found themselves weakened by their mutual losses, were interrupted by some kind of convention, to be violated as soon as a favourable opportunity offered for renewing hostilities.

Bef. Christ 314.

WHAT Cassander experienced in the course of these convulsions, probably impelled him to a crime, which, steeped in blood as he was, he had not before dared to execute. Young Alexander, Roxana's son, he held, as we have related, in confinement at Amphipolis; and though he had stripped him of all the trappings of sovereignty, and ordered him to be treated as a private person, he had not attempted his life. Among many acts of violence, with which Antigonus had charged Cassander, he reproached him for disloyal treatment to his sovereign; and, as if *he* had a mighty regard for the royal line, threatened to rescue the prince out of the hands of his oppressors, and to vindicate his rights. The Macedonians, many of whom were not well-affected to Cassander, complained likewise of the shameful imprisonment of their king, and required that he should be no longer withheld from their sight. Cassander perceived at once where these murmurs might terminate, and as a decisive step for his security, sent orders to Amphipolis to destroy both the prince and his mother. Young Alexander was aged about twelve years at the time of his death. Upon the

Bef. Christ 311.

the diſcovery of his aſſaſſination, the Macedonians would have riſen againſt the aſſaſſin; but they wanted a leader. And Antigonus and the other great generals were little diſpoſed to revenge a crime, which was advantageous to themſelves, and which, circumſtanced as Caſſander was, they would have had as little ſcruple to commit. Diod. Sic.

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THERE yet remained one male branch more of the royal family; Hercules, the ſon of Alexander by Barſine, widow of Memnon and daughter of Artabazus, now aged ſeventeen, who had hitherto reſided in Aſia. Polyperchon, who was ſtill in Aetolia, and who imagined the preſent opportunity was favourable for reviving his pretenſions in Macedon, while the minds of men were irritated againſt Caſſander, conceived the ſcheme of making this young prince the inſtrument of his ambition. Having aſſembled therefore a conſiderable body of troops, he invited Hercules to paſs over into Greece; had him acknowledged, wherever he could, as heir of the imperial houſe of Macedon; and declared his reſolution of eſtabliſhing him on the throne of his anceſtors. Caſſander was alarmed. He had one reſource, however, in Polyperchon himſelf. He knew him to be baſe, perfidious, and mercenary; and hoped to make ſuch overtures as would be able to detach him from the intereſts of his new competitor. He was not diſappointed. The offer of aſſociating him in the adminiſtration, and of yielding to him the entire ſovereignty of Peloponneſus, put an end to his aſſumed loyalty; nay, to quiet all further fears of Caſſander, the infamous Polyperchon undertook and accompliſhed the murder of the young king, of whom he had juſt avowed himſelf the protector. This aſſaſſination of Hercules took place about two years after that of Roxana's ſon. 20. 1, 2. Bef. Chriſt 309.

CASSANDER,

BOOK III. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 309.

CASSANDER, as we have before obſerved, had ceded Peloponneſus to the ſon of Polyperchon: but the poſſeſſion of it was attended with many difficulties, and he was at laſt killed in an inſurrection at Sicyon. Polyperchon's ill-acquired ſovereignty had nearly the ſame iſſue: he met with vigorous oppoſition from the ſeveral nations of which it was compoſed; and being obliged to retire, was deſervedly deſtined to end his days in the utmoſt wretchedneſs.

CASSANDER poſſeſſed, in his exalted ſtation, but little enjoyment or peace of mind. In Macedon he was not popular. In Greece he was deteſted. While allied abroad to doubtful friends, Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, with whom he had no other connection but the precarious one of preſent intereſt, he was ſurrounded by formidable and inſidious enemies, the Aetolians and Epirots on the one ſide, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, who watched the opportunity of wreſting from him a prize, which had coſt him many crimes. Even the death of Alexander's children, from which he had hoped to derive ſecurity, had added to the importance of his rivals in empire; and, without ſharing in his guilt, they had acquired from it rank and independence.

HE ſoon felt the fatal effects of his miſguided policy. The diſaffection of the moſt conſiderable of the Greek republics preſented Antigonus with the opportunity he had long ſought, the means of carrying the war into Caſſander's dominions; and Demetrius Poliorcetes was detached to attempt Athens, which if reduced would open a way to the reduction of the reſt of Greece. The execution of this ſcheme was attended with little difficulty. When Poliorcetes appeared before Athens, the proſpect of a revolution occaſioned a general joy; and, far from receiving him as an enemy, they

Bef. Chriſt 306.

they hailed him as their protector, compelling Demetrius Phalereus, whom Caſſander had appointed over them, to abdicate the government. This appears more ſtriking, as Demetrius Phalereus had been remarkable for the lenity of his adminiſtration. He was, beſides, highly accompliſhed, of the moſt captivating deportment, and, which at Athens was no ſmall merit, a celebrated ſpeaker; though, according to Cicero, the firſt of the Greeks, who, inſtead of the nervous ſeverity and bold reſiſtleſs ſpirit, to be found in the earlier orators, particularly in Demoſthenes, ſubſtituted a milder and more pathetic ſpecies of eloquence, but as much inferior to that of former days in its manner and powers, if we are to believe the Roman [3] critic, 'as the gently-gliding ſtream is to the thundering torrent.'

He had governed Athens ten years, and apparently ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the people, that they had erected to him three hundred and ſixty ſtatues. But, ſuch is the value of popular favour! theſe ſtatues were now thrown down, his acts arraigned, his adminiſtration declared iniquitous and oppreſſive, and himſelf and all perſons connected with him pronounced worthy of death. Phalereus indeed eſcaped by flight, in which he was aſſiſted by Poliorcetes himſelf, and after various fortunes, took refuge in Egypt, where we ſhall have occaſion to mention him in the hiſtory of the affairs of that kingdom. That which rendered him eminently obnoxious was not ſo much, in all probability, what *he* had actually done, as his

[3] Hic primus, ſays Cicero (Brut. 9) inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit, et ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis; ſed ſuavitate eâ, quâ *perfunderet* animos, non *perfringeret*.

ſerving

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ſerving under a prince exceedingly odious, and his being the miniſter of a government founded in force, that had riſen on the ruins of democracy, to which the Athenians, of all the nations in Greece, were moſt paſſionately attached.

Bef. Chriſt 306.

POLIORCETES, inſtructed by the fate of his predeceſſor, employed every art to gain the affections of the Athenians. He obliged the Macedonian garriſon to evacuate the Munychia, which they had held ever ſince the days of Antipater, and demoliſhed the fortreſs: he avoided entering Athens with a military force, for fear of giving umbrage: he reſtored the popular government in its full extent: he promiſed, in the name of his father, an hundred and fifty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and timber ſufficient for building an hundred galleys—aſſuming the character only of *aſſerter of the public liberty*, without pretending to interfere in the adminiſtration, though by his agents he was directing all public operations.

Plut. in Demet. et Diod. Sic. 20. 3.

THE extravagant adulation, with which the Athenians expreſſed their gratitude, ſhews what a change had taken place in the character of that once-illuſtrious people. In their days of glory, an olive-wreath was the only reward a Miltiades laid claim to; and even in this he met with oppoſition. Now the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, ſuch as Athens was wont to pay only to her gods, were proſtituted to ſooth the vanity of a young adventurer, whom they ſcarcely knew; who had ſerved them, merely becauſe it ſerved his own intereſts; and who, they could not but be ſenſible, owed the power, of which he was poſſeſſed, to perfidy and uſurpation. They conſecrated the ſpot where Demetrius firſt alighted from his chariot when he entered Athens, and erected an altar upon it to *Demetrius*

Bef. Christ 306.

Demetrius the alighter [4]. A law paſſed, that, when he condeſcended to come to Athens, he ſhould be received with the ſame honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever ſhould ſurpaſs the reſt of the Athenians in the magnificence with which they received Demetrius, ſhould have money from the public treaſury to enable him to conſecrate ſome pious memorial of his ſucceſs; that Antigonus and Demetrius ſhould be honoured with the appellation of GODS PROTECTORS; and that, inſtead of denominating the year, as formerly, from the archon, they ſhould create annually a prieſt of theſe *gods protectors*, whoſe name ſhould be prefixed to all their public acts; that the portraits of theſe *gods protectors* ſhould be wrought in the holy veil, with thoſe of the other gods; that thoſe who ſhould be ſent upon public buſineſs from the commonwealth of Athens, to Antigonus and Demetrius, ſhould not be ſtyled embaſſadors, but THEOROI, *viſiters of the gods*; a title appropriated to the meſſengers, who on ſolemn feſtivals carried the accuſtomed offerings to Delos and Delphi. They even complimented their deliverers with an important alteration in the conſtitution, adding two to the number of their tribes, and calling them Demetrias and Antigonis; ſo that the ſenate, which before conſiſted of five hundred members, now conſiſted of ſix hundred, each tribe ſupplying fifty. What almoſt exceeds belief, they not only declared Demetrius to be a god; they alſo voted, that his

[4] Βωμὸν Δημητρίου καταςάτου. Plut. in Demet.—According to Diodorus 20. 3. the Athenians ſet up golden ſtatues of Antigonus and Demetrius next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, adorned with golden crowns, each of two hundred talents weight, and erected an altar in honour of them, by the name of *the Altar of the* SAVIOURS.

words,

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words, being the words of a god, ſhould be received as divine oracles. Accordingly, at the dedication of certain offerings at Delphi, concerning the form of which ſome doubts had occurred, a decree paſſed, that application ſhould be made to this oracle, and that whatever it pronounced ſhould be obſerved. Plutarch has preſerved to us this curious monument. 'In a fortunate hour 'be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of 'Athens be appointed to go to THE GOD PROTECTOR, and after due ſacrifices offered, to demand 'of *Demetrius, the God Protector*, what will be the 'moſt pious, the moſt honourable, and expeditious 'method of conſecrating the intended offerings; 'and it is hereby enacted, that the people of 'Athens ſhall obſerve what *the oracle* ſhall have 'dictated.' Strange, that Athens ſhould ever have fallen thus low! and not leſs ſtrange, that there ever ſhould have been found a human mind ſo intoxicated by vanity and ſucceſs, as to have pleaſure in theſe fulſome adulations!

Bef. Chriſt 306.

THE next exploit of Demetrius Poliorcetes was the reduction of Megara; from which, as at Athens, he ejected the Macedonian garriſon: and probably all Greece had ſoon acknowledged him ſovereign, moſt of the cities being diſpoſed to open their gates to him, had not the orders of Antigonus obliged him to paſs over to Cyprus, where Ptolemy's power was now become ſo formidable, as to threaten all the adjacent parts of Aſia. His expedition thither, together with the Egyptian war, and the ſiege of Rhodes, on which we have already inſiſted, diverted for a time his attention from Grecian affairs. This interval was not neglected by Caſſander; he employed himſelf in re-eſtabliſhing his intereſts in the ſeveral cities of Greece, and in quelling that ſpirit of revolt, which

which appeared to animate moſt of them; and had ſat down with his army before Athens, when Demetrius, urged by the earneſt ſolicitations of his friends, haſtened from Rhodes to their aſſiſtance. His ſucceſs we have already mentioned. Bef. Chriſt 304.

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WHATEVER ſtrains of panegyric the Athenians had before indulged, they now ſurpaſſed them all. Orders were given, that Demetrius ſhould be lodged in the Parthenon, or virgin-temple of Minerva, on account, doubtleſs, of the ſumptuouſneſs of the edifice; though there could not be a groſſer inſult to the ſuppoſed purity of their goddeſs, than to give her for a gueſt a man of his coarſe and diſſolute manners. They were not aſhamed however to ſee this ſacred place made the receptacle of courtezans, and the ſcene of the lewdeſt debaucheries. They were even mean enough to become panders to his luſt. They proſtituted the honour of their families to his impure deſires; and as if they had been apprehenſive poſterity might imagine that theſe were the private crimes of ſome ſervile individuals, to which government gave no ſanction, an edict paſſed, importing, 'it was reſolved by the people of Athens, 'that whatever Demetrius was pleaſed to com-'mand, ſhould be accounted holy in reſpect of the 'gods, and juſt in reſpect of men.' An edict of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it were unneceſſary to quote further inſtances of the debaſement of this degenerate people. Plut. in Demet.

THE baneful influence of flattery ſoon ſhewed itſelf in the change wrought on Demetrius. Licentious as he was, he had hitherto been diſtinguiſhed by his affability and gentle demeanor. He now became imperious and arrogant; affected a ſuperior carriage, and a loftier tone of language; and ſeemed to expect that other princes ſhould bend

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bend before him, regarding them as perſons in ſubjection to him, who exiſted by his favour, and were to yield up their governments at his nod. Ptolemy he affected to call his admiral; Bef. Chriſt 304. Lyſimachus, his treaſurer; Seleucus, the maſter of his elephants. A conduct exactly ſimilar had been remarked alſo in Antigonus; and the ſucceſſes of his ſon had not helped to humble him. This haughty turn of mind appeared remarkable Bef. Chriſt 303. in their treatment of Caſſander. He had ſued for peace, and would willingly have ſubmitted to the moſt humiliating conditions; but nothing leſs than Diod. Sic. 20. 5. the abſolute reſignation of all his dominions would ſatisfy Antigonus and Demetrius. Such an intemperate uſe of fortune was attended with its uſual conſequences. Moved by Caſſander's ſituation, and alarmed at an inſolence, which ſhewed Bef. Chriſt 300. what they had to expect, the reſt of Alexander's ſucceſſors formed an alliance againſt Demetrius and his father, which terminated in the fatal battle of Ipſus.

Bef. Chriſt 298. THE ſequel of Demetrius's fortunes we have already related. Caſſander died ſome years afterwards, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Macedon and Greece, a few cities excepted, of which Demetrius, and after him his ſon Antigonus, retained the ſovereignty. A judgment ſeemed nevertheleſs Juſt. 26. 1, 2. to purſue this unhappy houſe. He left three ſons. Philip, the eldeſt, having died ſoon after his father, Alexander and Antipater, the ſecond and third, both claimed the kingdom. Alexander was ſupported by the intereſt of his mother Theſſalonice, whoſe favourite he was; Antipater, by Ly- Bef. Chriſt 294. ſimachus, whoſe daughter he had married. Antipater, reſenting the preference of his mother for Alexander, had the impiety to imbrue his hands in her blood; and flying afterwards to Lyſimachus, was,

was, upon ſome difference betwixt them, impri- BOOK
ſoned, and put to death. And, Alexander having III.
called in Demetrius to his aſſiſtance, the latter, as Sect. 1.
before related, pretending a deſign againſt his life, Bef. Chriſt
had him taken off by violence. 294.

In Theſſalonice and her ſons ended the royal lineage of Macedon. Twenty-eight years only had elapſed ſince Alexander's death, and not a ſingle branch of his houſe remained to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his ſon had acquired at the price of great exertions, and much toil and bloodſhed.

And it is worthy of obſervation, as theſe princes, in the purſuit of their ambitious ſchemes, exceeded in violence and cruelty, ſo by violence and cruelty was their family cut off, not one branch of it (thoſe who died in their infancy, and Alexander excepted) expiring peaceably, or even bravely in the field, but all by treachery and aſſaſſination. Philip periſhed by domeſtic treaſon. His daughter Cynane was ſlain by Perdiccas. Amyntas her huſband, heir of the Macedonian crown, had been put to death earlier, ſome ſay by Olympias, ſome, by Alexander. Theſſalonice, one of Philip's daughters, was, as we have juſt related, aſſaſſinated by her own ſon. Cleopatra, ſiſter to Alexander, by Antigonus. Aridaeus, ſon to Philip, by Olympias. And Eurydice his wife, daughter to the unhappy Cynane, by Olympias alſo. Caranus and Europa, Philip's ſon and daughter by Cleopatra, his laſt wife, were likewiſe murdered by Olympias, the latter in her mother's arms.

Olympias herſelf was ſlain by Caſſander. Statira, daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, to whom ſurely on both accounts reſpect was due, was deſtroyed by Roxana, together with

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Alexander's unborn child. Roxana, in her turn, was treated in the ſame manner by Caſſander, who murdered her and her ſon. And Hercules, ſon alſo to Alexander, and the laſt male branch of the royal houſe, fell by the perfidy of Polyperchon.

Bef. Chriſt 294.

SUCH, to the family of Alexander, were the fruits of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Aſia, and Africa, and had ſpread ſuch dreadful and extenſive devaſtation.

IT may indeed be ſaid, that theſe ſanguinary actions were not the reſult of war, but were merely domeſtic crimes, and therefore not to be imputed to the military ſpirit which Philip and his ſon called forth. It is however evident, that they in a great meaſure proceeded from that ferocity of character, and relentleſs ſpirit, which conſtant wars and continued ſcenes of blood had introduced: they were the offspring of thoſe deadly animoſities, generally excited in civil diſtractions, and of the decay of that loyalty towards their princes, for which the Macedonians at one time were celebrated, but which the miſeries they had ſuffered had totally extinguiſhed.

THE military atchievements of Philip's reign were doubtleſs of ſome benefit to Macedon: they improved the courage and diſcipline of her ſoldiers; they gave her ſecurity and independence; they enabled her to aſſume a rank and ſtation among her neighbours, to which, before this period, ſhe had never attained. And, had Alexander *completed the plan*, and no more, which his father ſeems to have traced out; had he contented himſelf with driving the Perſians out of the Lower Aſia, and freeing the Macedonians on that ſide from all future dread of invaſion; had he taken care

care to confirm and render permanent that sovereignty over the Greek commonwealths, which their fears or their affections had yielded to him; he probably had rendered Macedon flouriſhing and powerful. But his ambition was her ruin. He drained his country of her ſtrength, in making conqueſts, not only uſeleſs but pernicious to her; and he left her a prey to the ravages of war, and the rage of civil conteſt, for nearly forty years after his death. Bef. Chriſt 294.

BOOK III.

SECTION II.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 293. Juſt. 16. 3. Pauſan. in Atticis. Plut. in Pyrrho.

THE expulſion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon was of little ſervice to that unhappy kingdom. Pyrrhus of Epire, and Lyſimachus of Thrace, who had acted in concert in the late revolution, now ſet up oppoſite claims to the ſucceſſion, each of them demanding it as a recompence due for his ſervices; and they prepared to ſupport their pretenſions by force of arms. An accommodation was at length brought about, of which, however, the diſmembering of Macedon was the fundamental article; the Upper[1]

[1] *The Upper* Macedon, that is, the eaſtern part, towards the Aegean ſea; as by *the Lower* we are to underſtand the weſtern, towards the Ionian or Adriatic. In former times, when Macedon was confined within narrower limits, by *the Upper* Maeedon were generally meant, as appears from Thucydides, 8. the mountainous parts of it, and by *the Lower*, the vallies and plain country; but the Macedonians having by degrees extended themſelves from ſea to ſea, the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts had the appellation of *Upper* and *Lower* Macedon given to them. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. 1. 14.

Macedon

Macedon being allotted to Lyſimachus, and the lower to Pyrrhus. But even this accommodation was only the temporary expedient of ambition. Upon the final ruin of Demetrius' fortunes in Syria, Lyſimachus began to execute what he had doubtleſs meditated from the beginning, and either by open violence, or by ſecret practices, ſoon ſtripped Pyrrhus of all his Macedonian poſſeſſions. Bef. Chriſt 286.

UNDER a wiſe adminiſtration, this reunion of the kingdom might have added to its ſecurity and ſtrength. Under Lyſimachus, it only aggravated its miſeries. Violent and ſanguinary in his diſpoſition, and no longer controuled by the apprehenſion of an enemy near him, he now diſplayed the whole ferocity of his character. His own family were the firſt victims. In the decline of life, he had married Arſinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy of Egypt, by Berenice his favourite queen. And ſome years before, Lyſandra, another of Ptolemy's daughters, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, had been married to Agathocles, Lyſimachus' ſon. Berenice and Eurydice, jealous of each other, had long diſtracted the Egyptian court by their mutual animoſities; and Berenice had taken care to inſpire Arſinoe with the ſame hatred of Eurydice and her children, with which ſhe herſelf was animated. Juſt. 17. 1.

ARSINOE left Egypt therefore with the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt Lyſandra and her huſband, which, on her arrival in Macedon, were not leſſened by the high reputation of the young prince. He was looked up to by all with a ſort of adoration: his military abilities and his amiable manners had endeared him equally to the army and to the people: and to his valour and conduct, his father ſtood confeſſedly indebted for ſome of the fineſt provinces of his kingdom. Filled as Arſinoe

was

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was with hereditary enmity, ſuch accompliſhments, ſtrengthened by the conſideration of his being heir apparent to the throne, were of a nature too diſtinguiſhed not to encreaſe the averſion and the jealouſy of that reſentful and ambitious princeſs. They afforded, at the ſame time, many dangerous and ſpecious arguments to an artful woman, whoſe lovely form and captivating powers carried her inſinuations with irreſiſtible force into the ſuſpicious mind of a doating and inhuman deſpot. She ſoon brought over Lyſimachus to her fatal purpoſe [2], Agathocles was ſuſpected, impriſoned, and put to death [3].

Bef. Chriſt 286.

Bef Chriſt 283.

THE murder of Agathocles threw Macedon into great confuſion. His melancholy fate occaſioned a general indignation, and called to remembrance his many virtues; whilſt Lyſimachus, whoſe temper became every day more diſtruſtful, and who looked upon the honours paid to his ſon's memory as ſo many inſults offered to himſelf, wreaked his vengeance on all who ſeemed even to lament him: ſo that the moſt virtuous of the Macedonians ſaw themſelves expoſed to the vindictive paſſions of this gloomy and cruel tyrant.

LYSANDRA alſo knew well, that the ſame hand which had deſtroyed her huſband was raiſed

[2] Some have ſaid (ſee Pauſ. Xyland. in Atticis, 9.) that ſhe had conceived a paſſion for the young prince; and that, finding her inceſtuous ſolicitations rejected, ſhe purſued him with implacable hatred.

[3] There happened alſo at this time an incident, which appears to have precipitated the fate of the young prince. Ptolemy, the eldeſt ſon of Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Lyſandra's brother, had, upon the preference in the ſucceſſion being given to Philadelphus, brother to Arſinoe, left Egypt, and retired to the court of Agathocles; which, it is likely, made Arſinoe apprehenſive that he would endeavour to engage Agathocles in his intereſt, and through him recover the crown, of which he had been deſpoiled.

likewiſe

likewiſe againſt her life, and that her enemies only waited the opportunity of involving her and her dependents in one general ruin. Exaſperated therefore by her wrongs, and doubtful of her ſafety, this unhappy princeſs, accompanied by her brother Ptolemy, and ſuch of the nobility as had been moſt attached to Agathocles, fled to Aſia, and implored the protection of Seleucus. This prince, pleaſed perhaps with the opportunity, readily granted the noble fugitives all they aſked, and having fallen directly upon the province of Lydia, made himſelf maſter of Sardis, and was preparing to croſs the Helleſpont, when Lyſimachus prevented him. He had foreſeen the ſtorm that was gathering againſt him; and, too brave to decline the conteſt, or unwilling to hazard the iſſue in Macedon, (where, beſides the power of a formidable enemy, he ſhould have to encounter the diſaffection of an injured people) he had paſſed into Aſia, and was advancing towards Seleucus. Bef. Chriſt 283.

THE armies, headed by the two only ſurviving generals of Alexander, met on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called *the field of Cyrus* [4]. Seleucus was aged ſeventy-ſeven years, and Lyſimachus eighty. Both of them were hardy and experienced warriors, who, during a long period of years, had been bound to each other by all the ties of friendſhip, if ſuch a thing as friendſhip can indeed be known to the ambitious. Notwithſtanding their advanced age, they both acquitted themſelves with all the vigour and activity of youth: but the fortune of Seleucus prevailed, and Lyſimachus fell. Bef. Chriſt 281.

[4] Κύρου πεδίον—Strab. Caſaub. 3. 432. It appears from Arrian, 2. 4. that it was the place of encampment of Cyrus the younger, near the gates of Cilicia from Cappadocia: he calls it Κύρου στρατόπεδον.

SELEUCUS

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Bef. Chriſt 281.

SELEUCUS now conſidered the kingdom of Macedon as a prize belonging to the victor, and having reſigned his Aſiatic dominions to his ſon Antiochus, ſeemed to pleaſe himſelf with the expectation of ſpending the remainder of his days, after a variety of revolutions, in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. He little thought, that he was to receive his death from one of thoſe perſons, in whoſe behalf he had employed his arms. Lyſander's brother, Ptolemy, one of the moſt flagitious characters to be met with in hiſtory, had caſt an eye on the throne of Macedon, and had determined, whatever crime it ſhould coſt him, to poſſeſs himſelf of it. Seleucus, too generous and unſuſpicious, lived with him in the moſt familiar manner, and ſoon afforded him the opportunity he wiſhed for. As he was on the point of entering Macedon, Ptolemy, watching the convenient moment, treacherouſly came behind, and ſtabbed his benefactor, about ſeven months after the death of Lyſimachus.

Bef. Chriſt 280.

THE ſucceſs that attended this perfidious action ſhews us the abject condition, not only of Macedon, but alſo of the adjacent ſtates of Greece and Aſia, at this juncture. Ptolemy, deteſted as he muſt have been, bathed in the blood of his benefactor, the murderer of a prince univerſally reſpected and beloved, found it, nevertheleſs, an eaſy matter to ſeat himſelf on a throne, to which he had no pretenſions but what were founded on the atrocious action he had juſt committed. It is plain, it was to their exhauſted ſituation he owed his ſecurity. Worn out by continual wars, they dreaded a contention, which was to renew their miſeries. Antigonus, ſon to Poliorcetes, attempted indeed an oppoſition, but of little moment: and Antiochus himſelf, the ſon of Seleucus, was forced to put off to a future day the revenging

venging of his father's blood, the ſituation of his Aſiatic affairs requiring his immediate preſence. BOOK III.

THE title, by which the Egyptian prince held the crown, was odious; and the public hatred was encreaſed by ſucceeding enormities. Arſinoe, his half-ſiſter, Lyſimachus' widow, retained ſtill a portion of Upper Macedon, in the chief city of which, Caſſandria, ſhe had her reſidence, together with the ſons whom ſhe had borne to Lyſimachus. This was a mortifying circumſtance to Ptolemy. He held but a mutilated kingdom, whilſt this part was wanting. The young princes, beſides, were ſons to a king of Macedon, and might in time ſet up claims, which he ſhould find it difficult to defeat. Should he attempt Caſſandria by force of arms, and fail, it muſt lay open his deſigns, and might prove his ruin. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed by art and ſubtilty. Pretending to be captivated by the charms of Arſinoe, he offered to ſhare the throne of Macedon with her, and as a farther inducement, to ſettle the ſucceſſion upon her ſons. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 280. Juſt. 24. 2, 3.

MATERNAL tenderneſs, and perhaps yet more her vanity and ambition, were too much flattered by theſe offers for her to reject them. She wanted, however, further aſſurances of his ſincerity. This was an eaſy taſk. The moſt ſacred oaths were employed on the occaſion; Ptolemy, before the altar, imprecating on himſelf the ſevereſt vengeance of the gods, if he was not moved to this ſuit by the firmeſt and moſt ardent affection, and promiſing, whilſt life remained, never to depart from his preſent regard and profeſſions. The ſolemnity of the marriage, which was celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor, was followed by the pomp of Arſinoe's inauguration; on which occaſions Ptolemy ſo ſucceſsfully maintained the character of a tender lover, that his wife, baniſhing every

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

every ſuſpicion, gave herſelf up to the fond belief of her huſband's truth and conſtancy, and commanded the gates of the city of Caſſandria, where her children reſided, and her treaſures were lodged, to be opened for his reception.

Bef. Chriſt 280.

THIS was the grand object, for the ſake of which he had been practiſing every hypocritical art. No ſooner had he entered the gates, than he ordered his troops to poſſeſs themſelves of the citadel; and the young princes, one aged ſixteen, the other thirteen, who had appeared to attend his entry, and do him honour, to be immediately put to death. Upon the firſt notice of what was deſigned againſt them, they had fled to Arſinoe for protection; but the wretched mother could afford them none: the aſſaſſins not only ruſhed into her preſence, but regardleſs of her ſhrieks, murdered both the princes even in her arms, whilſt ſhe in vain endeavoured to cover them from the ſtrokes of the inhuman executioners. As if all this barbarity had not been ſufficient, ſtripped of her royal attire, and cloathed in a mean garb, this unhappy princeſs was dragged out of the city, and ſent into exile to Samothrace.

Bef. Chriſt 279. Pauſan in Phocicis. Juſt. 24. 5, & ſeq.

SUCH enormous guilt ſeemed to invoke on its author ſome exemplary puniſhment; and it ſoon overtook him. A vaſt body of Gauls, amounting to three hundred thouſand, had left their native home in queſt of new ſettlements, and after following the courſe of the Danube for a conſiderable way, had divided into three bodies, one of which had broken into Macedon. Ptolemy had not force ſufficient to cope with this formidable multitude; yet, as if urged on by divine vengeance for his crimes, he refuſed the only expedients that might have ſaved him. They demanded a certain quantity of gold, promiſing on that condition to march through his dominions without committing

committing any depredation. Their demand was haughtily rejected. The Dardanians would have marched to his aſſiſtance. He diſdained the offer; and in full confidence of his own ſtrength, and in contempt of the enemy, took the field with ſuch tumultuary troops as he could get together, and defied the enemy to battle. The event was anſwerable to the folly of his conduct. With moſt of his men he periſhed; and the barbarians cutting off his head, carried it through their ranks expoſed on the top of a lance. Ptolemy reigned about two years, and is diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the appellation of *Ceraunus*, or *thunderbolt*; a name aptly expreſſive of his impetuous and ruthleſs violence.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 279.

NEVER were people in a more deplorable condition than the Macedonians at this period; without a king; without an army; expoſed to the depredations of incenſed barbarians, and ſubject to every inſult which their cruelty or their luſt might dictate. Soſthenes undertook at length to repreſs them. This gallant Macedonian, called forth by the diſtreſſes of his country, aſſembled whatever adventurous ſpirits were yet to be found in Macedon, and having formed them into a choſen band, occaſionally ſurpriſed and harraſſed the ravagers. Repeated ſucceſſes encreaſed his reputation and his numbers, until by degrees he found himſelf enabled to attempt regular engagements; in one of which Belgius fell. But Macedon had not yet ſeen the end of her calamities. Brennus, another of the barbarian chieftains, who had remained behind in Pannonia, excited by the fame of Belgius' exploits, and of the rich plunder he had acquired, alſo haſtened to ſhare the ſpoil, and entered Macedon, ſay hiſtorians, at the head of an hundred and forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. To ſuch a force the reſiſtance of exhauſted

BOOK II. Sect. 2. exhauſted Macedon was unequal. Soſthenes' army, together with their gallant chief, were ſoon overpowered and cut to pieces; and, a few places of ſtrength excepted, all was abandoned to the mercy of the conqueror. Laden with plunder, at length they quitted a country, where they could find nothing more to gratify their avarice, and directed their courſe towards Greece.

Bef. Chriſt 279.

GREECE, enfeebled by a ſucceſſion of evils, which her domeſtic follies, and the ambition of the princes of Macedon, had brought upon her, had ſeemingly nothing to oppoſe to this torrent of barbarians. Brennus, well informed of her ſituation, and flushed with victory, promiſed himſelf an eaſy poſſeſſion of all the treaſures, with which her cities were ſaid to abound. He knew not what reſources may be found in ſtrict diſcipline and wiſe counſels. Animated by the dangers that threatened them, the Grecian ſtates muſtered immediately what ſtrength they could, and ſecured the defiles of Thermopylae, through which lay the route of the barbarians from Macedon; the Athenians under the command of Callippus, of whom hiſtory makes the moſt honourable mention, taking the lead in this important ſervice; whilſt their fleets ſailed to the coaſts of Theſſaly, in order to ſupport the operations of the army by land. Brennus had advanced, as if all oppoſition was to fly before him. But, to his amazement, neither the multitudes he commanded, the gigantic ſtature of his Gauls, nor the ferocity of their onſet, were here ſucceſsful. Military ſkill, and the ſuperior excellence of their weapons, gave the Greeks a decided advantage; ſo that, after repeated efforts, and the loſs of many of the braveſt of his troops, Brennus found himſelf under the neceſſity of deſiſting.

Pauſan. in Atticis.

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He then detached forty thouſand men to ravage Aetolia, which joined Theſſaly on the ſouth; in hopes that the Aetolians, who formed a conſiderable part of the Grecian army, would go to the defence of their own country. But enough ſtill remained to guard the paſs; and his detachment, after taking only the city of Callion, and encreaſing the deteſtation in which the barbarians were held, by the exceſſive cruelties they committed, were half of them cut off. Bef. Chriſt 279.

At length the inhabitants of that part of Theſſaly where the Gauls were encamped, wiſhing to get rid of theſe burthenſome gueſts at any price, directed Brennus to the path over mount Oeta, by which the Medes had entered Greece in the days of Leonidas. Leaving therefore Acichorius to command in his abſence, he began his march at the head of a conſiderable army (ſixty-five thouſand choſen men, ſays Juſtin) in order to ſurpriſe the temple of Delphi, famed for the precious offerings it contained. The ſame fortune he had before experienced purſued him thither alſo. As the Gauls approached the mount, on which the oracular temple ſtood, ſtrange voices and ſolemn ſounds ſtruck their ears on every ſide; the mountain began to ſhake, and huge rocks, looſening from their foundations, precipitated down upon the affrighted Gauls, and cruſhed them in numbers. The inhabitants, in the mean time, though hardly four thouſand ſtrong, inſpired with a courage more than human, ruſhed forth againſt the barbarians [5], who, panic-ſtruck, betook themſelves to flight; many of them, in their conſternation, turning their ſwords one againſt another, periſhed by mutual wounds. The ſlaughter, Bef. Chriſt 278. 24. 7.

[5] Some hiſtorians ſay, that they were led on by perſonages of divine appearance; whom they ſuppoſe to be Apollo, Minerva, and Diana.

which

BOOK III. which was prodigious, continued till the close of day.

Sect. 2. Bef. Christ 278. The night that followed gave them no respite. Besides hideous voices, the crash of rocks, together with the cry of the enemy pursuing, which they still heard or seemed to hear, a tempest uncommonly dreadful overtook the remains of this wretched army, attended with such piercing cold, that most of the wounded expired of the anguish it occasioned. Brennus had been likewise wounded; but his bodily sufferings were light in comparison of what his mind endured; he felt the whole severity of divine vengeance, and in his distraction laid violent hands on himself. The few who survived, having with much difficulty joined Acichorius, endeavoured to retreat from this inauspicious country. But wheresoever they went, they found enemies, the several nations, as they passed, rising against them; and of all those vast multitudes, which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one, we are told, escaped [6].

Such

[6] Paulmier de Grentemesnil, in his Graec. Antiq. 6. 8. maintains, that the Gauls really sacked Delphi, and that what Pagan writers say to the contrary is only to be considered as an invention of the Greeks, dictated by their vanity and superstition. And he founds his assertion chiefly on the testimony of Strabo, who, as quoted by that learned critic, says that a considerable part of the Delphic treasure was carried off by the Gauls to Toulouse, and found there by Caepio, the Roman general, when he plundered that city. But, upon examining Strabo, it appears, that this is only a partial quotation, and that, taken altogether, his evidence bears quite another way. His words are these: 'There is indeed 'a tradition, that the Tectosages' (a tribe of Gauls near the Pyrenees) 'were among the Gauls who invaded Delphi, and that the 'treasure found at Toulouse by Caepio the Roman general was 'part of the plunder which they had carried off from Delphi, and 'which, upon their returning home, they had consecrated to the 'gods, in order to placate them, having added to it much treasure 'of their own; and that Caepio, for presuming to lay hands on 'this sacred deposit, had perished miserably with his whole family. 'But what Posidonius relates is much more credible. He says, 'that

Such are the extraordinary circumſtances, with which antient writers have recorded this irruption, and adorned their narrative.

Amidst theſe fictions, it is not impoſſible to trace the truth. From Juſtin we learn, that the Delphians, far from relying on any ſupernatural intervention, provided for their preſervation with admirable dexterity. They iſſued orders, in the name of the oracle, to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, to abandon their dwellings, leaving them well ſtored with all manner of proviſions and plenty of wines. This ſcheme had the deſired effect. The Gauls, ſharpened by hunger, and meeting with no enemy to oppoſe them, freely indulged themſelves, thinking they were in full ſecurity. The contrivance gave the Greeks an opportunity of making more effectual preparations, and of collecting ſuccours from the neighbouring cities; and the barbarians, diſordered by exceſs, loſt much of that vigour, by which their operations had been generally diſtinguiſhed. Bef. Chriſt 278. Juſt. 24. 7.

The ſituation alſo of Delphi furniſhed the inhabitants with the means of diſplaying their inge-

'that the treaſures found at Toulouſe, to the amount of 15,000 'talents, were either laid up in the temples, or concealed in the 'ſacred lakes, and conſiſted altogether of unwrought gold and 'ſilver. But at the time when the Gauls invaded Greece, the 'Delphic temple had no ſuch treaſure, having been lately plun-'dered by the Phocians. And what little the Gauls might have 'got there, the ſoldiers would probably have had divided among 'them. Neither is it likely, that theſe Tectoſages ever reached 'their native land, having ſuffered great miſeries, after they left 'Delphi, and been diſperſed under different leaders in different 'countries.' Strab. Caſaub. 4. 130.—Allowing however, what Strabo does not ſeem willing to allow, that a part of theſe invaders reached Toulouſe, and brought ſome portion of the plundered wealth home with them, it does not follow that this was the plunder of Delphi. They had already enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of Macedon; and Pauſanias (in Phocicis) expreſsly tells us, that when the Gallic chiefs marched to Delphi, a part of the army was left at Heraclea, to guard the treaſure they had amaſſed, and which they left behind them in their camp; ὁ δ' ἔμελλον φυλάξειν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου χρήματα.

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BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 278.

nuity in another manner. Mount Parnaſſus, on the ſide of which ſtood the ſacred city, had many caves and windings, from whence proceeded a variety of curious echoes. By ſtationing people in proper places, with inſtructions to ſhout and ſcream out, as occaſion required, it is plain, that the natural effects of the place muſt have produced a multiplicity of ſtrange voices, which iſſuing loudly forth, without any viſible cauſe, from every ſide, with an extraordinary increaſe of reverberating ſounds, could not but ſtrike terror and diſmay into an uninſtructed multitude, and beget in them an opinion, that beings more than human were concerned in producing them.

ON the ſame principle may be explained the concuſſions of the mountain, and the diſruption of thoſe large fragments, which, we are told, rolled down, and overwhelmed the Gauls, as they attempted to aſcend. Well acquainted with the heights of Parnaſſus, the inhabitants doubtleſs had it in their power to looſen many of the rocks of that precipice, and roll them down on the enemy. The mountaineers of the Alps practiſed the like operation againſt Hannibal, in his paſſage into Italy: and theſe maſſy bodies, bounding in their deſcent from cliff to cliff, and daſhing at length againſt the bottom with impetuous violence, might well cauſe ſomewhat of a tremulous motion all around.

Liv. 27. 34.

THE Gauls therefore, a rude people, and prone to wonder, finding themſelves aſſailed by ſtrange voices and terrifying ſounds, which ſeemed to proceed from beings of a ſuperior order; hearing the noiſe of mountains tumbling over their heads, and ſeeing numbers of their companions deſtroyed by the ſudden ruin that appeared to deſcend from heaven; feeling, at the ſame time, the ground to looſen and tremble beneath their feet;

feet, might very poſſibly be led to conclude, that the gods intereſted themſelves againſt them. The reſt is eaſily accounted for. The mind, once ſtruck with a panic, is apt to magnify the moſt trifling objects, and often imagines circumſtances that never had exiſtence. The ſuperſtition of the times aſſiſted the illuſion; and the Greeks, both then, and for ages after, whether miſled by credulity or prompted by intereſt, failed not to ſupport the credit of theſe legendary tales.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 278.

IT appears nevertheleſs from Pauſanias, that the act of deſpair, of which Brennus was guilty, was owing to the apprehenſions he had of his own countrymen. He it was, who had engaged them in this unproſperous expedition; and he dreaded their reſentment. There is alſo the fulleſt evidence from Strabo, and other antient writers, that the Gauls were not all cut off. Juſtin himſelf, who ſays, not one of them eſcaped, acknowledges in another place, that part of them made their way into Thrace, and part into Aſia. This is alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of Polybius, from whom we learn, that they formed a conſiderable ſettlement in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, and after ſome years brought even the Byzantines under a tributary ſubjection.

Pauſan. in Phocicis. Strab. ubi ſup. Juſt. 32. 3. Polyb. 4. 46.

THE ſucceſs thus obtained by the arms of Greece againſt theſe barbarian tribes, who ſpreading devaſtation through moſt of the European nations, had for above an hundred years diſputed the prize of empire with Rome herſelf, ſhews the ſpirit and vigour of the Grecian people when fully exerted, and leads us to conceive what they might have atchieved, had they not ſuffered their ſtrength to conſume away in domeſtic diviſions, and deſtructive conteſts for ſovereignty between city and city. United firmly together, and employing their joint efforts for the preſervation of

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

their common liberties, they might long have ſpurned the yoke of bondage, and have bid defiance to every foreign enemy.

It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the Athenians, in whom, for many years before, the ſpirit of antient days ſeemed to have been altogether extinguiſhed, ſhould, on this occaſion, have deſerved to be ranked among the foremoſt of the deliverers of Greece: and it is no leſs remarkable, that, after the expulſion of theſe barbarians, this principle of virtue, by which they were now actuated, ſhould at once loſe its whole activity and power. From this time therefore, they make but a contemptible figure in the affairs of Greece, acting only a ſecondary part in the various revolutions that followed, and ſeemingly concerned, not ſo much for the preſervation of their liberties, as into whoſe hands they ſhould deliver them.

Bef. Chriſt 278.

The kingdom of Macedon had ſuffered ſeverely during the late irruptions of the Gauls; and it might have been expected, that, impoveriſhed as it now was, it would have been permitted to enjoy ſome interval of repoſe. It appears, nevertheleſs, to have been ſtill an object of ambition to the neighbouring princes. Antigonus, ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, ſince his father's misfortunes, held poſſeſſion of ſome of the Peloponneſian cities, revived pretenſions to it, which he had attempted to urge in the beginning of the reign of Ceraunus. His plea was, 'his father had ſat on 'the throne of Macedon, and, by his mother 'Philla, he was of the houſe of Antipater.' Accordingly, when he found the Gauls had retired, he marched an army into what he called his own dominions. Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, on the other hand, advanced a title not leſs ſpecious: 'he claimed Macedon in right of his father, who 'in fair battle had won it with his ſword from 'Lyſimachus;'

Bef. Chriſt 277.

Lyſimachus;' and prepared to ſupport his claim by a powerful armament. Means, however, were contrived to compromiſe the matter. It was agreed, that Antigonus ſhould wed the princeſs Phila, whom Seleucus had by Stratonice before he reſigned her to his ſon: and in conſequence of this marriage, Antiochus relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Macedon in favour of Antigonus. BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 277.

THIS re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity was of ſhort continuance. A body of Gauls had halted and ſettled on the northern boundaries of Macedon, at the time Brennus was carrying on his ravages to the ſouthward. They ſoon heard that Antigonus had brought much treaſure from Peloponneſus, and that Macedon began again to give proofs of cultivation and proſperity. Allured by the proſpect of plunder, they ſent an embaſſy to Antigonus, requiring the payment of a certain ſubſidy, on which condition they tendered him peace. Antigonus refuſed to comply with terms ſo diſhonourable; at the ſame time, thinking to intimidate his adverſaries by a diſplay of his power, he entertained their embaſſadors with great parade, and made a ſplendid exhibition of his army and equipments for war. The report of the embaſſadors, upon their return home, ſerved only as an additional incitement to the barbarians, who immediately made an inroad into Macedon. Antigonus ſaw his miſtake, and endeavoured to repair it. As if fearful of giving battle, he ſuffered them to carry on their depredations unmoleſted; but when incumbered with booty, he fell on them with his troops, which he had diſpoſed in places proper for the purpoſe, and made great ſlaughter; few of the enemy, ſay hiſtorians, eſcaping. It is nevertheleſs evident, that, with all theſe exterminations, of which we ſo frequently read, the Gauls muſt have had at this period powerful Juſt. 25. 1, 2. Bef Chriſt 276.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

erful ſettlements in moſt of the adjacent countries, eſpecially to the north of Macedon; for, from this period, ſcarcely any war was undertaken among the nations of thoſe parts, in which they were not employed as mercenaries.

Bef. Chriſt 276.

THIS invaſion was hardly over, when, as if Macedon was never to enjoy repoſe, a new enemy appeared. Pyrrhus has been already mentioned; but ſo uncommon a character deſerves more particular notice. His life had been a conſtant ſcene of adventures. Even in his infancy, when his father Aeacidas, king of Epire, and nephew to Olympias, had been driven from his throne through the intrigues of Caſſander of Macedon, his life had been preſerved in a wonderful manner. Caſſander, the mortal foe of Olympias and her lineage, had ſworn the extirpation of the houſe of Aeacidas, and had given directions to his faction, that the young prince eſpecially ſhould not eſcape. Pyrrhus' attendants contrived, nevertheleſs, to convey him out of Epire; but, in their flight, they found themſelves ſtopped by a river, ſwollen and unfordable by heavy rains. There was no boat, and the purſuers were at hand. In this diſtreſs, one of his retinue, having written with the tongue of a buckle on a piece of oak-bark, an account of the fortunes of the infant they had in charge, and of the dangers that threatened him, faſtened it to a javelin, and threw it to the oppoſite ſide; which moving the compaſſion of the people of the country, they provided immediately a raft, and got him over. From thence they made their way to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who was married to Beröe, a princeſs of the royal houſe of Epire. Upon coming into the king's preſence, being doubtful of the reception they ſhould meet with, they laid the child at his feet

feet in the poſture of a ſuppliant. The king, who dreaded Caſſander, remained a conſiderable time wrapped in ſilent ſuſpence, ſeemingly revolving what part he ſhould act. During which, Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping cloſe to him, took hold of his robe, raiſed himſelf up, and clung round his knees. Won by this artleſs pleading of the little infant, Glaucias caught him in his arms, and delivered him to the queen, to be brought up with his own children; and though afterwards repeatedly ſolicited by Caſſander, who employed both threats and promiſes, he ſteadily refuſed to withdraw his protection from him; and when twelve years old, he conducted him in perſon back to Epire, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors. Pyrrhus had reigned about five years, when another revolution taking place, he was again obliged to quit Epire, and fled to Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. With him he remained for ſome years: he fought by his ſide at the battle of Ipſus; and when a treaty was concluded by Demetrius with Ptolemy and Seleucus, he went as an hoſtage for his patron into Egypt. This viſit to the Egyytian court proved the means of reſtoring the fortune of Pyrrhus. His accompliſhments recommended him to the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, who gave him in marriage Antigone, daughter of Berenice by her firſt huſband, and enabled him to recover the kingdom of Epire. The ſhare he afterwards had in the revolutions of Macedon, his obtaining a part of that kingdom, and loſing it again, have been already related.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 276.

Pyrrhus, now reſtored to Epire, relieved from foreign wars, and in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his hereditary throne, had nothing to divert his attention from the proſperity of his kingdom. But his mind Bef Chriſt 280.

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

knew not repoſe. The Tarentines, who had raſhly engaged in war againſt Rome, applied to him for aſſiſtance; and his ambitious ſpirit eagerly ſeized an opportunity from which he fondly promiſed to himſelf nothing leſs than the conqueſt of all the kingdoms of the earth. What events this expedition produced, is the buſineſs of another hiſtory. It may be ſufficient here to obſerve, that after various exploits in Italy and Sicily, which only ended in making his name memorable, he had returned to Epire, full of indignation againſt Antigonus, to whom he had applied for ſuccours without obtaining them. In revenge therefore, he made an irruption into the Macedonian borders. His view at firſt was only depredation; but place after place falling before him, and the Macedonians themſelves (by whom he was held in great admiration on account of his martial atchievements, and a ſtrong reſemblance they fancied he bore to Alexander the Great) favouring his progreſs, and deſerting to him, he was tempted to proceed; ſo that, after defeating Antigonus in a pitched battle, he found himſelf almoſt unexpectedly in poſſeſſion of the throne of Macedon.

Bef. Chriſt 280.

Bef. Chriſt 274.

THIS revolution was far from alleviating the calamities of the Macedonians. Pyrrhus valued victory as it was the means of plunder, and uſed it accordingly. He had, beſides, inliſted into his ſervice a body of mercenary Gauls, whom he recompenſed by permitting them to plunder thoſe nations which they had helped him to conquer. Accordingly, wherever they came, neither public nor private wealth eſcaped: the ſepulchres of the Macedonian kings at Aegae they even polluted and ranſacked, for the ſake of the treaſures they were ſuppoſed to conceal.

ANTIGONUS, however, had not yet given up the conteſt. He was ſtill maſter of Theſſalonica and the

the adjoining coaſts; and having aſſembled a new army, he marched againſt Ptolemy, the ſon of Pyrrhus, whom his father had left to govern the kingdom during his abſence in Epire: but Antigonus was again defeated, and with difficulty ſaved himſelf by flight. Had Pyrrhus known how to make a proper uſe of his preſent advantages, the throne of Macedon had probably been for ever loſt to Antigonus; but hurried away by his paſſion for war, he ſoon proſecuted other adventures. Bef. Chriſt 274.

CLEONYMUS, a prince of the royal blood of Sparta, driven by certain wrongs from his country, had applied to him for protection. 'Areus,' he alledged, 'had uſurped the Spartan throne to 'his prejudice; and which to him was a far more 'grievous injury, his wife Chelidonis, whom he 'dearly loved, had been ſeduced by Acrotatus, 'ſon to Areus, and was forcibly withheld from 'him.' Pyrrhus liſtened willingly to complaints, which opened new ſcenes to his ambition. He promiſed to avenge the cauſe of Cleonymus, and marching at the head of twenty-five thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants, he arrived within ſight of Sparta before his adverſaries were aware of his intentions. His approach ſpread conſternation throughout the city. Areus was abſent in Crete, and had carried with him the flower of the Spartan army; thoſe who remained at home being moſtly perſons who, from their age or ſex, were incapable of military ſervice. Had Pyrrhus therefore proceeded with his wonted impetuoſity, it was ſcarcely poſſible that Sparta ſhould have made a long defence: but he had reached that city at cloſe of day; and fearing that amidſt the confuſion of the night he ſhould not have it in his power to reſtrain his troops Bef. Chriſt 272.

BOOK III. troops from pillaging, he thought it adviſeable to delay the attack till the morning.

Sect. 2. His delay ſaved the Spartans. The council having aſſembled upon the firſt alarm, it had been propoſed to ſend off the women; but the women of Sparta were unacquainted with fear: appriſed therefore of the propoſal, they deputed Archidamia to deliver their ſentiments to the ſenate. She entered the aſſembly armed, with a ſword in her hand, and thus addreſſed them, 'Deem not, 'men of Sparta, ſo meanly of the Spartan women, 'as to imagine they will ſurvive, when their 'country is no more: conſider not then, *whither* 'we are to fly; determine only what we are to 'do, and whatever duty ſhall be aſſigned to us, 'that we are prepared to undertake and to per-'form.' Animated by this ſpirited addreſs, it was reſolved to employ the night in ſinking a trench oppoſite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed firmly in the ground, in order to prevent the paſſing of the elephants; the trench to be in breadth ſix cubits, in depth four, in length eight hundred. One third of this work the women undertook to execute; the old men were to complete the reſt; the young men not being allowed to aſſiſt in it, that they might be in full ſtrength to ſuſtain the enemy's charge in the morning.

Bef. Chriſt 272.

At day-break, Pyrrhus ſaw with amazement what the night had produced. Commanding, however, a general aſſault, he endeavoured to force his way by ſtorm; but every where he found a vigorous reſiſtance. The Spartan line oppoſed an impenetrable rampart of ſhields and briſtling weapons; and the mould having been newly thrown up, afforded the Macedonians a treacherous footing; ſo that, tumbling back into the ditch, numbers were ſlaughtered. Meanwhile, Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, the ſon of Pyrrhus, had nearly triumphed over all the precaution of the Spartans. Obſerving them to be too ſecure of one part, which was fortified by the waggons, and leſs attentive to its defence, he made an attack upon that quarter, at the head of two thouſand Gauls. Already had he cleared away the carriages, and was laying open a paſſage, when Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, ſallied from the oppoſite part of the city, and wheeling round by the hollow-way that lay at the foot of the hills, unexpectedly attacked and diſlodged the Macedonians with great carnage [7]. BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 272.

NIGHT at length parted the combatants, but without abating their fury. They waited impatiently for the morning, and as ſoon as it appeared, the action was renewed with the ſame obſtinate violence. The women of Sparta ſhared every danger with their countrymen; they ſupplied them with ammunition and refreſhments, they attended the wounded, and carried off the dead. After repeated efforts, Pyrrhus, who ſaw the trench was not to be forced, determined to penetrate the barricado of waggons, which his ſon had unſucceſsfully attempted the preceding day. Through theſe he forced his way, and with a number of horſemen getting within the Spartan lines, advanced full ſpeed towards the city. At ſight of this, the Spartan women ſent forth a ſhriek of deſpair, imagining that Sparta had fallen into the

[7] We have here from Plutarch (in Phocicis) a ſtriking inſtance of the ſhameful diſregard in which the connubial vow was held by the pagan world. As Acrotatus, after performing the exploit of diſlodging the enemy, was returning through the city, *he appeared to the Spartan women*, ſays the biographer, *taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not forbear envying Chelidonis ſuch a lover*: nay even ſome of the old men followed, and cried out, 'Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your 'offſpring be worthy of Sparta!' and yet had the diſloyalty of this very Chelidonis been one of the principal cauſes that had provoked the preſent war,

hands

BOOK III. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 272.

hands of the enemy. The moment was truly critical; Sparta was in the moſt imminent danger, and appears to have been ſaved merely by one of thoſe unforeſeen events on which the fate of kingdoms often depends. A Cretan archer taking aim at the king, buried an arrow in the body of his horſe, who plunging in the agonies of death, threw his rider. The Macedonians, apprehending their ſovereign was ſlain, fell back. On the inſtant, the Spartans ruſhing forward, recovered their ground, and compelled Pyrrhus to conſult his ſafety by retiring.

He was not diſcouraged. 'To-morrow,' ſaid he, 'we will reſume the fight; by which time the 'Spartans will have felt their wounds, and be leſs 'able to reſiſt us.' But that very night, a body of troops from Antigonus entered the city. And a few hours after, Areus himſelf arrived with two thouſand men. Pyrrhus ſaw, that to ſtorm Sparta was now altogether impracticable. Having received therefore an invitation from the people of Argos to haſten to their aſſiſtance againſt Antigonus, he gladly availed himſelf of the pretence, and prepared to withdraw his troops.

This was a matter of greater difficulty than he imagined. Areus, filled with reſentment, obſerved all his motions, and as ſoon as he had begun his march, by hanging on his flank and rear, galled him ſeverely. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, and adventuring too far among the enemy, was ſurrounded and ſlain. This was a ſevere blow to Pyrrhus. He was his ſon by Antigone, ſtep-daughter to Ptolemy king of Egypt, and was accounted one of the moſt amiable princes of his time. Pyrrhus ſhewed his concern, in a manner natural to his character.

He

He turned upon the enemy, and facrificed to his revenge all who fell in his way. BOOK III.

ON his arrival at Argos, he found the ſituation of affairs very different from what his hopes had repreſented them. He poſſeſſed, it is true, a faction among the Argives; but Antigonus had likewiſe his, and was encamped with a reſpectable force at a ſmall diſtance from the city. The citizens of Argos, beſides, began to ſee the miſtake they had been guilty of, in calling in theſe high-ſpirited and ambitious princes; and apprehenſive of the iſſue, both parties had united in requeſting the two kings not to make their city a ſcene of bloodſhed, but whatever might be their diſputes, to decide them without the gates. Antigonus promiſed to comply. Pyrrhus alſo acquieſced; but tempted by the advantages he expected to derive from the poſſeſſion of the city, in violation of his royal word, he prevailed upon ſome of his partizans to admit him privately by night. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 272.

THE night choſen for the purpoſe was dark, the gate narrow, and the ſtreet leading from it ſtrait and ſlippery; circumſtances which greatly embarraſſed the Macedonians, who were ſtrangers to the place, and ſoon threw them into confuſion. Before the evil could be remedied, day-light appeared. Pyrrhus now ſaw himſelf beſet with difficulties. The poſts of importance were all in the hands of Antigonus' friends; the citizens were coming down upon him from all quarters; and the narrowneſs of the ſtreet, together with the crouds that poured in, made it impoſſible for his troops either to form or to advance. Convinced therefore of the folly of the attempt, he reſolved to retire; and accordingly directed his ſon Helenus, who commanded without the gate, to break down part of the city-walls, in order to give a free paſſage to his troops in their retreat. But his orders

BOOK III. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 272.

borders were unfortunately miſtaken. The troops without, ſtriving to ruſh in to his aſſiſtance, added to the uproar, and at the ſame time one of the elephants falling, choaked up the gateway. Amidſt the tumult which this ſcene of confuſion occaſioned, Pyrrhus, in his endeavours to keep off the multitude, received a ſlight wound from the hand of an Argive; when turning on the aſſailant to revenge the blow, the mother of the man, who happened to be looking at the battle from the roof of an adjoining houſe, terrified at the danger to which her ſon's life was expoſed, aimed a tile at the king [s], which fell on his helmet, and brought him ſenſeleſs to the ground. One of Antigonus' officers perceiving the accident, dragged him immediately aſide, and ſtruck off his head.

SUCH was the humiliating fall of this warrior, whoſe active life had been productive of ſo much devaſtation and bloodſhed.

PYRRHUS is ranked by many among the greateſt generals of antiquity. Even Hannibal, if we may believe Plutarch, accounted him the firſt in genius and ſkill the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to him, being only the ſecond, and himſelf the third. Whatever authenticity may be in this ſtory, the tradition ſhews in what high eſtimation his military abilities were held. He was certainly poſſeſſed of great talents, and he had been a bleſſing to the age in which he lived, had his turbulent ſpirit, and thirſt for military fame, permitted

In Pyrrho.

[s] Such, it appears, was the terror the Argives had of Pyrrhus, that they conſidered the deliverance which they obtained by his death, as the effect of ſome ſupernatural interpoſition. It was, ſaid they, Ceres, who, having aſſumed the form of an old woman, diſcharged the tile on his head, in order to ſave her favourite Argos from this fell warrior. And accordingly a temple was raiſed to Ceres on the ſpot where Pyrrhus was ſlain. Pauſan. in Atticis.

him

him to employ his powers for the happineſs, in- BOOK
ſtead of the deſtruction of mankind. III.

EPIRE ſuffered, under his reign, all the cala- Sect. 2.
mities which generally diſtinguiſh the reigns of
ambitious princes. Neither did the miſeries he Bef. Chriſt 272.
brought upon it end with his life. Alexander, his ſon and ſucceſſor, inured by his father to arms from his earlieſt years, and ſeduced by that appearance of glory which the atchievements of Pyrrhus had caſt around him, purſued the ſame martial track, and, like his father, marked his whole reign with commotion and bloodſhed. Soon after the death of this prince, followed the ruin of his royal houſe; in which the ſame cauſes appear to have had a conſiderable ſhare. His two ſons, harraſſed whilſt they lived by different foes, died young. And the princeſs Laodamia, to whom the ſucceſſion devolved, was murdered in an inſurrection of her own ſubjects at the altar of Diana, where ſhe had taken ſanctuary. Such an Juſt. 26. atrocious violation of whatever was deemed moſt c. 3. ſacred ſhews the degree of ferocity which the Epirots had contracted in the courſe of ſo many wars, and perhaps the reſentment alſo they entertained of the ills, which the turbulence of their princes had brought upon them.

FROM this time, hiſtory ſpeaks of them as a people ſunk into the loweſt and moſt abject condition: having neither wiſdom to cultivate peace, nor vigour to defend themſelves in war, waſted by inceſſant civil broils, and the incurſions of foreign enemies, they dwindled into inſignificancy, and Juſtin ubi ſupra. were at length almoſt totally exterminated.

THIS repreſentation of Juſtin will hardly be thought exaggerated, when we conſider the ravages to which the Epirots had been ſo long expoſed from their neighbours of Aetolia, of Theſſaly, of Illyricum, of Macedon; nations practiſed in

BOOK III. Sect. 2

in war and depredation, to whose hostilities their territories lay open: and especially too, when we reflect upon the devastation which the Romans also made among them; laying in ruins in one day every town in Epire, and carrying into captivity all the inhabitants, that were young and fit for service; to the amount, the Roman historians themselves confess, of an hundred and fifty thousand. Bef. Christ 272.

BUT these transactions belong to a later period. They have been only slightly mentioned here, on account of their connection with our history of the reign of Pyrrhus.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

UPON the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus was again ſeated upon the throne of Macedon. He now ſaw himſelf without a rival; and as if he had ſucceeded to Pyrrhus' ambition, as well as to his power, he began already to form ſchemes for the reduction of Greece. But the more formidable he affected to appear, the more formidable became the oppoſition to his views. The ſtates, that had favoured Pyrrhus, marked all his ſteps with jealous eyes; and even thoſe who had been moſt forward in eſpouſing his cauſe could not, without juſt apprehenſions, behold a king of Macedon maſter

Bef. Chriſt 271.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

master of extensive possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus. Nay Areus, the Spartan king, who had fought on the same side, was not free from well grounded fears, and thought it advisable to strengthen himself against Antigonus, by applying for succours to Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his time, and connected by friendship and interests with many of the Grecian states.

Ref. Christ 271.

Amidst these preparations and expectations of war, a new and most formidable enemy appeared. A fresh irruption of Gauls, after hovering for some time on the frontiers, broke in at length upon Macedon, which they ravaged with a barbarity unexampled even among those fierce invaders. Alarmed at the approach of a foe whose very name carried dismay along with it, the Macedonians fled before them, and prepared to abandon a country, to the devastation of which they saw no end. In this exigency, Antigonus added caution to courage; and his conduct saved Macedon. Careful to avoid this impetuous torrent of barbarians, he permitted them to spend their fury in wild excursion. He observed all their motions at a distance; he harrassed them, as occasion offered; and he endeavoured to lead them into some of those defiles with which Macedon abounds. His plan succeeded. Intangled in the inclosures of mountains, where their exertions were confined, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by the forces of Antigonus, who had occupied all the passes. Terror and amazement seized them; whilst their distress was heightened by the bards that attended their expedition, in whose knowledge of future events they placed a superstitious and implicit faith. Possessed with gloomy apprehensions of the danger which surrounded them, with dreadful howlings, and shrieks of woe, they denounced

Just. 26. 2.

denounced diſcomfiture and death. The army caught the panic from their diviners; and, in the phrenſy of deſpair, turning their rage on their wives and children, they ſlaughtered them all; and then, beſmeared over with their blood, ruſhed on to battle. The mad onſet of ſuch a panic-ſtruck multitude could avail but little againſt the regular charge and cool courage of the Macedonian line. They were cut to pieces to a man. BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 271.

ELATED with the ſucceſs which thus had crowned his arms, Antigonus looked forward with heightened confidence, and haſtened to complete the reduction of the Grecian ſtates, in which he now expected to find little difficulty. He began with the ſiege of Athens. That city had ſubmitted to the arms of his father Poliorcetes, and had paid him the moſt ſervile adulation in the day of his power; but in his diſtreſs ſhe had ſhut her gates againſt him. Upon this and other grounds Antigonus founded claims, which he required the Athenians to admit; whilſt their more recent declaration for Pyrrhus, to whom, during his conteſt with Antigonus, they had ſent ambaſſadors, ſwelled the catalogue of wrongs, for which he inſiſted on reparation. The danger which threatened Athens was conſidered as the common cauſe of Greece, whoſe fate ſeemed involved in the humiliation of this illuſtrious city. The veneration, in which ſhe was ſtill held, co-operated with the idea of general danger, and drew aid from all parts. Areus, the Spartan, marched in perſon to her aſſiſtance; and Ptolemy ſent a powerful fleet, with troops, ammunition, and ſupplies of every kind. But, notwithſtanding every exertion, Antigonus prevailed at length; and the Athenians were obliged to purchaſe his forgiveneſs by admitting a Macedonian garriſon. Pauſan. in Laconicis.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

WHILST Antigonus was thus making conqueſts in other kingdoms, he was on the point of loſing his own. Alexander of Epire, Pyrrhus' ſon, ſtimulated, it is probable, by ſome of the Grecian ſtates, who thought it their ſafeſt expedient to raiſe enemies to Antigonus at home, had entered Macedon. Antigonus haſtened back to repel the invaſion; when the whole Macedonian nation, tired of a king, whoſe reſtleſs ambition allowed them no reſpite, revolted, and declaring for Alexander, forced Antigonus, after ſome fruitleſs efforts, to relinquiſh all immediate hopes of a reeſtabliſhment, and to retire to the dominions he ſtill poſſeſſed in Greece.

Bef. Chriſt 251.

Juſt. ubi ſup.

ANTIGONUS had a ſon named Demetrius, then a ſtripling; who, unſubdued by this reverſe of fortune, diſdained to accompany his father in his flight, reſolving either to recover the throne, which he had been taught to conſider as his hereditary right, or to periſh in the conteſt. The generous ſpirit of this gallant prince gained him friends: a party was formed in his favour; and ſo happily did he improve his opportunities, that he not only obliged Alexander to relinquiſh Macedon, but attacked him in Epire, and, in return, ſtripped him almoſt of *his* paternal kingdom.

Juſt. ubi ſup.

FROM this time Antigonus preſerved Macedon till his death: but uninſtructed by his various troubles, he retained to the laſt his fondneſs for turbulent ſcenes. His favourite object was ſtill the ſubjection of the Greek republics; and this purſuit he continued even in his moſt advanced age, endeavouring to accompliſh by fraud and intrigue, what he could not venture to attempt by force of arms.

Bef. Chriſt 251. Plut. in Arato.

OF this kind was the laſt act recorded concerning him. The tyrant Alexander held Corinth, one of the moſt important places in Greece, which

which commanded the entrance into Peloponneſus. This prince Antigonus contrived to have taken off by poiſon; but his ſovereignty was bequeathed to his wife Nicaea, a woman advanced in years, fond of power, and of its poſſeſſion exceedingly jealous. With ſuch a character, ſome extraordinary artifice was neceſſary; and Antigonus deviſed one. His ſon Demetrius, who was young and handſome, he commanded to repair to Nicaea's court, to attach himſelf to her perſon, and to offer her his hand. Nicaea's vanity favoured the deception, and the marriage was accordingly ſolemnized, Antigonus himſelf honouring it with his preſence.

Bef. Chriſt 251.

THE principal point, nevertheleſs, was ſtill to be gained: Nicaea cautiouſly retained in her own power the citadel, without which the poſſeſſion of Corinth was of little conſequence. Antigonus, pretending to be perfectly ſatisfied, continued to pay her particular attention, and affected to appear in perſon among her retinue, whenever ſhe choſe to appear in public. It happened one day, that a celebrated ſinger was to perform in the theatre, for the entertainment of Nicaea and her royal gueſts. Upon her ſetting out, Antigonus, ſeemingly to do her honour, attended her litter; but having gone a little way, whilſt, unſuſpicious of fraud, ſhe was proceeding towards the theatre, he ſlipped aſide, and proceeding haſtily to the fort, either through ſurpriſe, or the treachery of the guard, he obtained admittance, and introduced a garriſon of his own.

ANTIGONUS, however, received no laſting benefit from an acquiſition purchaſed at the price of ſo much artifice. The Corinthian citadel he held only about eight years, the Achaeans wreſting it then out of his hands. He would not, however, have tamely reſigned the hopes of repoſſeſſing a

Polyb. 2. 43.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 243.

fortreſs, the importance of which no man better underſtood; and he had even entered into alliance with the Aetolians, in order, jointly with them, to fall upon Achaia: but death put an end to all his ambitious projects, after a reign of thirty-four years, from his firſt acquiſition of the throne of Macedon [1].

THIS prince, who is known in hiſtory by the name of Antigonus Gonatas [2], was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, whoſe reign was leſs active, and, probably for that reaſon, leſs fatal to Macedon, than his father's. The wars he engaged in were few, and of ſhort continuance. The moſt remarkable was againſt the Aetolians, whom he pretended to chaſtiſe for having invaded Acarnania, then belonging to Epire: but the Achaeans eſpouſing their cauſe, Demetrius was worſted, and prudently withdrew into Macedon. From that time, he adopted a new plan of policy in relation to Greece; maintaining an intereſt in the different ſtates, not by holding the ſovereignty himſelf, but by ſupporting the petty tyrants, in whoſe hands uſurpation had placed it: ſo that, as appears from Polybius [3], they became all his creatures, receiving his pay, and acting by his inſtructions. A ſpecies of power leſs odious, than if he had held

Polyb. 2. 44.

[1] The ſovereignty of certain cities of Peloponneſus he acquired ten years earlier, at the time of Poliorcetes' captivity. We hear no more of Nicaea; hiſtorians poſſibly thinking, with Antigonus, that ſhe had fulfilled her deſtination, and was now to be thrown aſide.

[2] Whence this name, whether from the place of his birth, as ſome writers have imagined, though, as far as appears, without ſufficient foundation; or whether from his miſ-ſhapen knees, the word Gonatas admitting of this interpretation, (ſee Rhodig. Lection. Antiq. 24. 5.) is a queſtion of little moment. The antiquarian may conſider it.

[3] Ος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ſays Polybius, ſpeaking of this Demetrius, and the tyrants of Peloponneſus of his time, διενὲ χορηγὸς καὶ μισθοδότης. See Polyb. Caſaub. 2. 44. 182.

them

them in immediate and avowed ſubjection, and not leſs effectual. BOOK IV.

BESIDES the old woman of Corinth, he not only married a princeſs of the royal houſe of Syria, ſiſter to Antiochus Hierax; but afterwards, during the diſtreſs of the houſe of Epire, Olympias, the widow of Alexander, in the view of engaging his protection to her afflicted family, prevailed on him to marry her daughter Pthia. This marriage was imprudent, and might have involved Macedon in many troubles. It was highly reſented by the Syrian princeſs, who withdrew to Aſia. And the affairs of Epire might have engaged Demetrius in meaſures pernicious to his own dominions: but his death, and the wiſdom of his ſucceſſor, prevented the conſequences that might have been expected. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 243. Juſt. 28. 1.

THIS prince reigned only ten years; and his kinſman, Antigonus, ſucceeded him. Demetrius, nevertheleſs, had left an infant ſon, Philip; but the Macedonians, dreading the confuſion with which a minority is often attended, and judging Antigonus to be a man of moderation, and well affected to his country, placed him on the throne, and obliged him, at the ſame time, to take the queen-mother to wife. He juſtified the favourable opinion his ſubjects had conceived of him. He accepted of the crown as a truſt he was to hold for the young prince, ſon to the deceaſed king. He beſtowed the ſame care on him, as if he had been his own ſon; he deſigned him for his ſucceſſor; and he employed his utmoſt attention to render him worthy of the throne he was one day to fill. Bef. Chriſt 233.

HIS character as a king was not leſs reſpectable. By his equity he gained the confidence of his neighbours, and he acquired the love of his people by a merciful adminiſtration of juſtice. He was

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 233.

was cautious not to endanger the proſperity of his kingdom by an imprudent purſuit of foreign interests, which had been too much the policy of the two laſt reigns; and he choſe rather to forego ſome diſtant claims, than to engage the Macedonians in expenſive and doubtful wars.

WHAT rendered this happy temper of mind the more honourable, was the period in which Antigonus lived; when the turbulent ſtate of affairs afforded the faireſt opportunities to ambition; both Spartans and Achaeans endeavouring, either by force or intrigue, to bring about a revolution of government in moſt parts of Greece. It will will be neceſſary to explain theſe matters more particularly.

TOWARDS the end of the reign of Gonatas, conſiderable alterations had taken place in Peloponneſus. The republic of Achaia, which, till this period, had been contented with an unambitious privacy, began to aſſume a very different port, and ſeemed to have nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty of Greece. This republic had its firſt eſtabliſhment in early ages, and was compoſed originally of twelve towns [4], one of which, Helice, periſhed by an earthquake in the fourth year of the one hundred and firſt Olympiad [5], and another, Olenus, was deſerted and fell to ruins. The diſtrict, which theſe cities occupied, bordered upon the Criſſaean or Corinthian gulph and the Ionian ſea, extending along the coaſt from Sicyon to Elis. It was bounded to the ſouth-eaſt by Arcadia, ſo as to form the north-weſt angle of

[4] We have from Polybius 2. 41. the names of theſe twelve towns, Patrae, Dymé, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, (or rather Carynea) Olenus, and Helice.

[5] A ſhort time before the battle of Leuctra. See Polyb. ubi ſup. See alſo Pauſan. in Achaicis.

Peloponn-

Peloponneſus; and did not much exceed fifty miles in length, and in breadth about twenty-five. The firſt government known among them had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings. But in proceſs of time, theſe cities, ſtimulated by the oppreſſive exceſſes of their princes, threw off kingly government, and united together in one confederacy; pledging themſelves to each other to employ their joint and utmoſt efforts for their mutual defence. All were to have the ſame intereſts, the ſame friendſhips, the ſame coins, weights, and meaſures, the ſame laws, and the ſame magiſtrates. Theſe magiſtrates were to be elected annually by the majority of the ſuffrages of the whole community. Twice every year, at ſpring and autumn, or oftener, if any great emergency required it, a general aſſembly was to be held, in which every matter of legiſlation and national concern was determined by a plurality of voices. This aſſembly conſiſted of deputies from the reſpective cities, choſen by plurality of voices. The magiſtrates, in whoſe hands the ſupreme executive power was lodged, were ſtyled Generals [6] of the ſtates of Achaia; and to them the military department, and the right of preſidency in the national aſſembly, belonged. Theſe generals originally were two; but the Achaeans finding the inconveniencies which in many caſes attended a divided authority, reduced them to one. Aſſiſtant to the general were the demiurgi, or council of ten, whoſe office it was to adviſe with the general, and probably to ſtand as a barrier between him and the people, ſhould he attempt to act in an arbitrary manner [7]. It was their province alſo to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular

BOOK IV. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 233.

Polyb. 2. 37.

[6] Στρατηγοὶ ——See Polyb. 2. 42. et paſſim.

[7] Δημιουργοὶ—See Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 47. 1200.—The title Demiurgi ſeems to imply Agents of the people.

aſſembly,

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 233.

aſſembly, and to propoſe them, if they appeared conducive to the public happineſs; otherwiſe to reject them. Polybius mentions another officer, the ſcribe of Achaia; whoſe department ſeems to have been chiefly of a civil nature, perhaps not unlike that of the Greffier of Holland; and to him, perhaps, were the archives of the nation, and the preparing and expediting of all public inſtruments intruſted.

THESE ſtate-officers were not only elected annually, but it was alſo a rule, eſpecially in the later times of the republic, not to re-elect the ſame perſon two years ſucceſſively, unleſs ſome very important conſideration made an exception neceſſary or prudent. It appears probable likewiſe from Polybius, that, by the original conſtitution, theſe great magiſtrates were to be choſen out of the different towns of Achaia by rotation; though there is reaſon to believe, that this regulation was not always obſerved. Beſides theſe ſuperior magiſtrates, every town had alſo its municipal magiſtracy; and it is not unlikely, as ſome have conjectured, that theſe municipal eſtabliſhments throughout Achaia were counterparts of the national polity; conſiſting, in the ſame manner, of a popular aſſembly, a council, and a preſiding magiſtrate.

WHAT their laws were, we know but imperfectly; owing probably to the obſcurity in which they lived, during the earlier ages of Achaia; ſecluded in a remote corner from the other Greek nations, with whom, from the principles of their conſtitution, they could not cultivate a cloſe connection, and from their poverty and ſimplicity of life, had ſcarcely any intercourſe. The country of Achaia beſides, rugged, barren, and without the elegancies to be met with in other parts of Greece, had nothing to attract the curious traveller; and although ſituated along the ſea coaſt, it

derived

derived from thence but little advantage; the rocks, with which its coaſts were begirt, rendering the approach exceedingly dangerous.

So far from taking part therefore in thoſe atchievements of the great commonwealths of Greece, which are now the ornament of ancient ſtory, the firſt battle in which they engaged in behalf of the Grecian liberties was that of Chaeronea. And when the Greeks marched to Thermopylae, to oppoſe the Gauls, the Achaeans, anxious merely for their little territory, contented themſelves with aſſiſting to block up the paſs of the iſthmus; the Achaeans of Patrae alone paſſing over to the aid of the Aetolians, to oppoſe the detachment from the army of Brennus, which, as we have ſeen, broke into Aetolia, and ſacked Callion. Bef. Chriſt 233. Pauſan. in Phocicis.

The few laws, however, which have reached us, ſtand as monuments of their wiſdom.

'No individual, nor town, belonging to the 'Achaean body, were to accept of any gratification 'whatſoever, in their public or private capacity, 'from prince or people, under the penalty of be- 'ing cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia.' Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 41. 1181.

'No member of the Achaean league was to 'ſend any embaſſy to, or contract alliance or 'friendſhip with, any prince or people, without the 'privity or approbation of the whole Achaean 'confederacy.'—This law ſeems to have been the corner-ſtone of the Achaean fabric; and all the members of the Achaean ſtate were to be ſworn to the obſervation of it. Polyb. 4. 9.

'The admiſſion of any prince, ſtate, or city, 'into the Achaean confederacy, was not to have 'place, unleſs all the members of the confederacy 'had conſented thereto.' Polyb. ubi ſup. et paſſim.

'An extraordinary convention of the national 'aſſembly was not to be granted at the requeſt of

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'the ambaſſador of any foreign potentate, unleſs 'the matters to be offered to ſuch aſſembly were 'firſt delivered to the general of Achaia and the 'council of ten in writing, and pronounced by 'them to be of ſufficient importance.

Bef. Chriſt 233. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. 41. 1185. et 47. 1200.

'THE deliberations of every aſſembly were to be 'confined altogether to the matter, on account of 'which the aſſembly had been convened.'

Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. 32. 23. See alſo Ubbo. Emm. Vet. Graec, 3. 274 & ſeq.

'IN all debates, thoſe who had ſpoken were to 'deliver a ſhort draught of the arguments they 'had employed, in order to be conſidered the 'enſuing day; and within the third day, at 'fartheſt, was the buſineſs in queſtion to be 'finally determined: no debate being permitted to 'continue beyond three days.'

BUT whatever their ſyſtem of laws may have been, of which a very incomplete idea is now to be had, it is certain, that the equity and humane ſpirit of their civil conſtitution, ſupported by their ſimplicity of manners and unblemiſhed faith, made them at length ſo much the admiration of the adjoining nations, that to their arbitration the proudeſt of their neighbours referred their differences. The Thebans and the Spartans, after the battle of Leuctra, as Polybius informs us, ſubmitted to their deciſion all matters in diſpute between them; and even the Greek cities of Italy, when, harraſſed with repeated inſurrections occaſioned by the overthrowing of the Pythagorean ſchools, they were in danger of a total diſſolution of government, applied to them for advice, in what manner to amend their political eſtabliſhments, and found effectual relief by adopting the plan which they preſcribed.

Polyb. 2. 39. 175, 176.

IN the meridian of the power of Antipater, and the Macedonian princes that ſucceeded him, the Achaeans had their full ſhare of the deſpotiſm, which afflicted Greece during that wretched period.

riod. The ſhadow of their commonwealth hard- BOOK
ly remained; moſt of their members, at the inſti- IV.
gation of Macedonian agents, having deſerted the Sect. 1.
national league, and fallen under the dominion of
various tyrants. Bef. Chriſt 233.

BUT the diſtracted ſtate of Macedon under Lyſimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus proving favourable to the Achaeans, ſome of their towns improved the opportunity, and reſtored again the antient form of government. Patrae and Dymé led the way; and they were immediately joined by Tritaea and Pharae. The reſt, who ſtill continued under the yoke of tyranny, followed by degrees the example; ſome by perſuaſion, and ſome by compulſion, prevailing with their tyrants to abdicate their uſurped government [8].

SUCH, during more than twenty years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, was the ſituation of

[8] It appears from Polybius 2. 41. that the Achaeans had erected a pillar (no unuſual memorial in antient days) on which were inſcribed the names of the ſeveral cities, which had from time to time been incorporated into the republic of Achaia; the names of thoſe four cities, Patrae, Dyme, Tritaea, and Pharae, which had been the original inſtitutors, or rather re-eſtabliſhers, of the Achaean confederacy, excepted. This honour, of being conſidered as the founders of the ſtate, was the only *peculiar honour* theſe four cities enjoyed; it being a conſtitutional maxim with this illuſtrious commonwealth, that whatever city, ſtate, or people, were adopted into it, became immediately upon their admiſſion inveſted with all the rights and privileges which the other more antient members of this republic enjoyed, without the leaſt mark of inferiority or dependence. And to this generous ſpirit of equality, and humanity of its inſtitutions, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, Polybius 2. 38. aſcribes that compact union and ſtability, which gave to the Achaean form the advantage over all the other republican eſtabliſhments throughout this part of Greece, even, according to that hiſtorian, over the Spartan itſelf.

The reſtoration of the aſſociation of the Achaean cities took place in the 124th Olympiad, the ſame year in which Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, were ſlain, and Pyrrhus of Epire paſſed into Italy to the aid of the Tarentines. The embarraſſed ſtate of Macedon, and the adjacent countries, during this period, together with the foreign wars Pyrrhus was employed in, gave to theſe Peloponneſians the opportunity of recovering their liberties. Bef. Chriſt 280.

the

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Bef. Chriſt 233.

the Achaeans, recovering ſlowly from the ſhock they had lately ſuſtained. Their towns were ſmall and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coaſts harbourleſs and impracticable. So circumſtanced, they ſeemed to wiſh for nothing more than to be permitted to enjoy an humble independence; when Aratus appeared, who was to give the higheſt finiſhing to this ſeemingly inconſiderable republic.

Plut. in Arato. Polyb. 2. 43. et paſſim. Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.

THIS extraordinary perſonage was by birth of Sicyon. And the firſt ſentiments, of which his mind ſeems to have been ſuſceptible, were an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, and an invincible abhorrence of tyrants. The earlieſt ideas he had received led to the forming of theſe impreſſions; and every circumſtance, as he grew up, contributed to ſtrengthen them. His father Clinias, who held a diſtinguiſhed rank among the Sicyonians, had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon; moſt of the Grecian cities being then under tyrannical dependents of the Macedonian king. The ſpirit of freedom, which marked the character of Clinias, had rendered him obnoxious; and the tyrant, who reſolved the deſtruction of his whole family, had ordered, that Aratus, then but ſeven years old, ſhould be murdered alſo. But whilſt the tyrant's inſtruments were employed in the aſſaſſination of his father, he eſcaped unobſerved amidſt the confuſion occaſioned by the bloody buſineſs, and not knowing where to find an aſylum, ſtrayed by chance into the houſe of Soſo, ſiſter to Abantidas. Amazed at ſeeing him, it ſtruck her mind, that the gods themſelves muſt have conducted him thither. Her ſuperſtition therefore did what her humanity would not have done. She looked upon herſelf as called upon by divine command to provide for the child's preſervation;

ſervation; and having concealed him until night, ſhe ſent him off to Argos.

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THERE his father's friends took care of Aratus: they educated him ſuitably to his birth; and he ſoon ſhewed that he was not unworthy of the attention beſtowed upon him. For he had not yet reached his twentieth year, when, fired with the thoughts of revenging his father's blood, and the wrongs of his country, he determined to return to Sicyon. Abantidas was no more. But, as in theſe days tyrant ſucceeded tyrant, Nicocles filled his place, and held the city in ſubjection. Alarmed at the accounts brought him of Aratus, his ſpies had directions to obſerve all his motions. Aratus, nevertheleſs, conducted his plans with all that ſubtilty of addreſs and intrigue for which his natural genius, improved by the circumſtances of his life, had ſo admirably fitted him. He eluded all the tyrant's machinations, and not only made himſelf maſter of Sicyon, but would have ſurpriſed Nicocles himſelf, had not his guilty fears previouſly ſuggeſted to him the precaution of preparing againſt the hour of danger, a ſubteranean paſſage through which he made his eſcape.

Bef. Chriſt 233.

Bef. Chriſt 251.

SICYON was now reſtored to her liberties; but ſhe was nevertheleſs ſtill encompaſſed with enemies. The ſurpriſe of Corinth by Antigonus, which had lately taken place, ſhewed Aratus what he had to fear from that quarter. Various kinds of tyranny prevailed at the ſame time in moſt of the neighbouring cities. And even in Sicyon the creatures of the late tyrants, either from corrupt views or a conſciouſneſs of guilt, were ſtill unfriendly to the cauſe of liberty, and hated the aſſertor of it. Againſt theſe dangers Aratus ſaw no reſource more effectual than the friendſhip of the Achaeans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and though yet of ſmall account, were the

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the only people of Peloponneſus, in whoſe breaſts the ſpirit of freedom glowed. To incorporate the Sicyonians with this republic, was his great object. Achaia and Sicyon entered into his views; they embraced with eagerneſs the propoſal: and the Sicyonians were admitted accordingly into the Achaean body.

SOMETHING was yet wanting to the peace of Sicyon. Five hundred and eighty of its citizens had been driven into exile during the late diſaſtrous times, and, though recalled to their native home, they had ſtill to encounter all the diſtreſſes of indigence; their landed property having, in a courſe of years, paſſed through different hands; and many of thoſe, in whoſe poſſeſſion it then was, holding it by legal titles.

How to relieve this numerous body of claimants, ſo juſtly the objects of public compaſſion, was difficult. A general act of reſumption had been an act of cruelty, injuſtice, and violence; and, if attempted, might have brought on commotions not to be eaſily pacified. Aratus, ever ardently anxious for the general good, determined to apply for aid to his friend Ptolemy Philadelphus: that prince, who was an admirer of the fine arts, had often employed Aratus to collect for him the paintings of the great maſters of Greece, in which Sicyon is ſaid to have abounded; the Sicyonian ſchool having been in the higheſt repute for ſeveral ages. That he might plead his cauſe the more forcibly, Aratus ſet off in perſon for the Egyptian court. Ptolemy generouſly complied with Aratus's requeſt, and furniſhed him with ſums of money ſufficient for his purpoſe. In the adminiſtration of which truſt he proceeded with ſuch wiſdom, and ſtrict obſervance of equity, that the old proprietors, and the new poſſeſſors, were equally well ſatisfied with his conduct: a tranſaction

tion which completed the ſettlement of Sicyon, and gave to Aratus a ſtronger intereſt than ever in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

THE abilities and liberal ſpirit, which Aratus had ſhewn on this occaſion, drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece. The Achaean ſtates in particular conſidered him as an important acquiſition, and advanced him to the higheſt honours their commonwealth had to beſtow. The enſuing year he was elected general of Achaia. Bef. Chriſt 251. Bef. Chriſt 250.

SUCCESS enlarged his views. The power of the Macedonian king in Peloponneſus was at this time exceedingly formidable, and his poſſeſſions were extenſive. The petty ſovereigns, at the ſame time, of the ſeveral cities were almoſt without exception his vaſſals, ſubſiſting by his protection, and ſubſervient to his commands. It was eaſy to perceive, that a prince thus circumſtanced, whoſe ſchemes were directed to give law to Greece, would not long ſuffer Achaia to remain undiſturbed. Aratus conceived the bold thought of overthrowing this dangerous plan of empire. Corinth, the key to the whole peninſula, was then held by Antigonus: and Aratus determined to try whether he could not effect the re-eſtabliſhment of the Corinthian liberties, in the ſame manner as he had re-eſtabliſhed thoſe of Sicyon. The opinion entertained of the natural ſtrength of the Corinthian citadel, the confidence of the garriſon, and the improbability of ſuch an attack coming from ſo feeble a hand, contributed all to the ſucceſs of Aratus. He made the attempt in the night; he ſcaled the walls by ladders, with only an hundred men, the reſt being ordered to follow another way. He was already in the city, and had nearly gained the aſcent to the citadel, before he was diſcovered. His falling in accidentally with the guard, patrolling the ſtreets, gave the firſt alarm to the Macedonians. Bef. Chriſt 243.

BOOK donians. They would then have reſiſted. But
IV. Aratus had diſpoſed his different parties in ſo ad-
Sect. 1. vantageous a manner, and was ſo ſeaſonably ſup-
Bef. Chriſt 243. ported by thoſe who were to co-operate from without, that, when morning appeared, the garriſon, defeated on all ſides, were forced to abandon the place.

THE ſame generous temper of mind, which he had ſhewn in the delivering of Sicyon, marked alſo his conduct to the Corinthians. He cauſed them to aſſemble in the theatre; when, after addreſſing them in a manner ſuitable to the great event, he opened to them the motives by which he had been influenced: 'his zeal for the independence of his country, and the hopes he had entertained of forming an effectual barrier againſt the Macedonian king, the ſworn enemy of the Grecian liberties.' He concluded by preſenting them with the keys of their citadel, of which they had not been in poſſeſſion ſince the days of Philip of Macedon; and invited them, at the ſame time, to accede to the Achaean league, as the beſt meaſure for ſecuring what they had now recovered. They anſwered him with loud acclamations of joy, hailing him their deliverer, and expreſſing their grateful acceptance of the offer he had made. So that Aratus not only had the praiſe of having given liberty to a people long humbled under the yoke of oppreſſion, but the glory alſo of having added conſiderably to the importance of the Achaean ſtates, who thus ſaw one of the moſt illuſtrious of the Grecian cities inrolled among them.

Polyb. 2. 43.

THIS expulſion of the Macedonians from Corinth happened about eight years after the revolution at Sicyon, Aratus being then for the ſecond time general of Achaia.

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ONE circumſtance in the conduct of Aratus, on this occaſion, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. In order to procure proper intelligence, it was expedient to bribe certain perſons who had connections in Corinth, for which purpoſe a conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary [9]. Aratus knew the low ſtate of the Achaean finances, and he knew alſo how much the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended upon ſecrecy: he would not therefore ſeek for reſources in the aſſiſtance of his friends, whoſe ſuſpicions or indiſcretion might have betrayed his purpoſe; but raiſed the money privately on his own account, pledging for it his plate and the jewels of his wife. Such, obſerves the hiſtorian, was the paſſion of this ſpirited Greek for gallant atchievements, that he endeavoured not only to vie with Phocion and Epaminondas, who were accounted the moſt excellent of all the Greeks, in not ſacrificing virtue to money; he aſcended a ſtep higher: he parted privately with his own property, in the cauſe of thoſe who were not even appriſed of his generous intentions; he embarked his eſtate in an enterpriſe, wherein he alone was to expoſe himſelf for his fellow-citizens; he purchaſed great danger at great expence; he hazarded his fortune and his life for the glory of advancing the proſperity of his country.

Bef. Chriſt 244.

Plut. in Arato.

THIS exploit, which, according to Plutarch, is one of the greateſt recorded in hiſtory, and the laſt, he thinks, which the Greeks have to boaſt of, led the way to important alterations. The people of Megara, though on the other ſide of the Corinthian iſthmus, renounced the alliance of Macedon, and joined the Achaeans. The cities of Troezene,

[9] Sixty talents, according to Plutarch; between eleven and twelve thouſand pounds.

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Epidaurus, and Cleonae, on the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus, followed the example. The ſpirit of liberty caught even Lyſiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis, who of his own accord abdicated the ſovereignty, and applied to be admitted into the Achaean league.

Bef. Chriſt 244.

Bef. Chriſt 243.

AMIDST theſe extraordinary revolutions died Antigonus Gonatas, about two years after his loſing Corinth, being ſucceeded, as we have ſeen, by his ſon Demetrius. Aratus continued his active exertions. He again attempted Athens, which he had formerly attacked in the days of Antigonus; and though now a ſecond time repulſed by the Macedonians, whoſe ſtrength was conſiderable in thoſe parts, he was not diſcouraged. For when Demetrius invaded Aetolia, he immediately took the field, and joined the Aetolians, notwithſtanding thoſe people had lately broken into Achaia, and commited ſevere depredations. The conſequence of this junction was the defeat of Demetrius; who thereupon abandoned the war, and retired to his own kingdom. This was the laſt excurſion Demetrius ventured to make into the ſouthern parts of Greece, whether employed at home againſt the barbarian nations, who are ſaid to have infeſted his frontiers; or whether, as it is moſt likely, he was unwilling again to try the deciſion of arms with the Achaeans, who were now become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded moſt: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken priſoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately diſpatched a veſſel to Athens, with orders that he ſhould be ſent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he ſpared neither treaſure

nor

nor intrigue to ſupport, as his father had done be- BOOK
fore, the petty tyrants of Peloponneſus, whoſe IV.
only merit was their enmity to Aratus. Sect. 1.

THE curious account hiſtory gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whoſe truſty friend Antigonus Gonatas had profeſſed himſelf, and whoſe character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, ſeems, in part at leaſt, to have been applicable to the ſeveral Peloponneſian tyrants of thoſe days, may ſerve to ſhew what wretched inſtruments the kings of Macedon had the meanneſs to employ. Bef. Chriſt 243.

'THIS tyrant (by name Ariſtippus) who had 'Antigonus for his ally, who had a numerous 'body-guard, and who had not ſuffered one man 'in Argos to live, whom he thought his enemy, 'would not permit his guards to do duty within 'the palace, but only around it. When ſupper 'was over, he diſmiſſed all his ſervants, making 'faſt the door of the hall himſelf, and with his 'miſtreſs aſcended by a trap-door into a ſmall 'chamber above. Upon that door his bed was 'placed, and there he ſlept, as a perſon in his 'anxious ſtate may be ſuppoſed to ſleep. The 'ladder by which he aſcended, his miſtreſs's mo- 'ther removed, and ſecured it in another room 'till morning, when ſhe brought it again, and 'called up this wonderful prince, who crept like 'a reptile from his hole!'

'THIS manner of life,' continues the hiſtorian, 'was Ariſtippus under the neceſſity of leading; 'thus it was he enjoyed that pomp of deſpotic 'ſovereignty, which is generally ſo much envied 'and admired as the pinnacle of human happi- 'neſs.' Plut. in Arato.

THE change, which now took place in the affairs of Macedon, opened an extenſive field to

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 233.

the enterprising genius of Aratus. Antigonus the second, who, as we have seen, had ascended the throne on the death of Demetrius, employed himself at home in remedying the many internal evils, to which the mistaken counsels of Gonatas and his son had given rise, and seemed to look on the transactions of the more remote states of Greece with an eye of indifference. Relieved therefore from the obstructions he had hitherto experienced, Aratus hastened to improve the opportunity. He renewed the attempt on Athens, where there still was a strong garrison: but it was discovered, that the governor, who had no longer the same attachment to the court of Macedon, was not incorruptible; and Aratus offered him his price. The sum stipulated was an hundred and fifty talents (near thirty thousand pounds) of which Aratus, who valued no expence, when the purchase was the liberties of his country, paid twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered into the hands of the Athenians, and Athens was incorporated among the states of Achaia.

THERE was something peculiarly noble in the conduct of Aratus upon this occasion. In one of the preceding attacks on the Macedonian garrison at Athens, a report had prevailed, that he was slain. Immediately the Athenians, in servile adulation to their Macedonian masters, put on garlands of flowers, and broke out into the most illiberal expressions of joy. But Aratus was above resenting the poor insult: he left them to learn, from his example, what their sentiments ought to have been.

HE then tried what could be done at Argos, which he had often attempted before, but without success; so strenuous, till then, had Macedon been

been in ſupporting the tyrants of that city. But Ariſtomachus, who now held the ſovereignty, finding that dependence could no longer be placed on aſſiſtance from Macedon, gladly accepted terms, and having abdicated, was received into the Achaean confederacy. Bef. Chriſt 233.

INTIMIDATED by theſe examples, the petty tyrants around ſoon dropped all oppoſition. Hardly one of the adjoining ſtates remained inimical or independent: all either entered into alliance with the Achaeans, or fell under their ſubjection. The people of Phlius and Hermione, in the neighbourhood of Argos, and of Aegina in the Saronic gulph, declared in their favour; the greater part of Arcadia paid them contributions; the Aetolians, as well as the Spartans, were their allies; and the king of Egypt himſelf, the firſt in power of all the princes of thoſe days, accepted the title of protector of the liberties of Achaia. As an enemy to the Macedonian kings, he ſaw with pleaſure the Achaeans ſtrengthening themſelves againſt them; and he engaged to ſupport them in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights, ſhould his aſſiſtance at any time be neceſſary.

IN this reſpectable ſituation were the Achaean affairs during the firſt years of the reign of the ſecond Antigonus. And, could this noble fabric of liberty have retained that ſolidity and compactneſs which it ſeems to have had at this period, Greece might probably have long bidden defiance to the various enemies who ſucceſſively roſe up againſt her. Bef. Chriſt 231.

BUT to theſe fair appearances a very different ſcene ſoon ſucceeded: ſuch being the inſtability of human counſels, that thoſe, whoſe unanimity and virtuous ſpirit of freedom had framed this noble eſtabliſhment, became now the very perſons

BOOK IV. whose selfish ambition, jealousies, and dissensions, wrought its overthrow.

Sect. 1. A more important and instructive portion of history is not to be met with in the Grecian annals. It will be necessary to unfold the various events, which led to this catastrophe.

Bef. Christ 233.

BOOK IV.

SECTION II.

THE Aetolians were a people ſituated on the Ionian ſea, to the north-weſt of the iſthmus of Corinth, in that ſmall angle of country oppoſite to Achaia, and divided from it by the Corinthian gulph; bounded by Acarnania to the north, the Locri Ozolae to the eaſt, and ſtretching to the north-eaſt as far as the mountains of Theſſaly; their whole extent of territory being about fifty miles from north to ſouth, not above twenty miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places ſcarcely ten. Their ſtate, like that of Achaia, was compoſed of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip the ſon of Amyntas. Their polity, in many reſpects, bore a near reſemblance to that of the Achaeans. They had been from early times inured to arms, which were indeed the principal object of their attention. Their country,

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try, mostly mountainous, afforded them but a scanty subsistence; so that they owed their chief support to the descents they made into the adjacent lands, where, sweeping away whatever plunder they could seize, they rushed back with impetuosity to their strong-holds and mountain-fastnesses, whose situation, scarcely accessible without a guide, baffled all pursuit. Suitable to this mode of life were their manners; warlike, fierce, impetuous, insolent. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they saw with indignation a people no way superior to themselves, whom they had often plundered with impunity, and whose establishment, laws, and situation, so nearly resembled their own, taking the lead both in council and in arms, and bearing off the prize of empire, which, in their own idea, they might themselves have so justly claimed. They endeavoured to inspire the Spartans with similar thoughts; and the Spartans were but too ready to listen to their suggestions.

Polyb. 2. 45. & 9. 32. & passim. Pausan in Achaicis. Plut. in Cleomene & Arato.

CLEOMENES was now seated on the Spartan throne, whose misfortune it was, that even his virtues were to be fatal to his country. To an uncommon share of understanding, this extraordinary prince joined great integrity of heart, martial spirit, and an ardent love of glory. But, too eager in pursuit of his favourite object, his rapid mind often overlooked the inexpediency of the means he was to use, and he sacrificed to ambition the prosperity of a people whose happiness he thought he was consulting.

THE times, in which he lived, were very different from those which the illustrious commonwealth of Lacedæmon had once known. To that poverty and hardy discipline, which had formed the sinews of her strength, had succeeded excessive opulence, and an abandoned voluptuousness of manners.

Some

Some even of their kings were not aſhamed to encourage the general profligacy by their edicts, as well as by their example. Areus, and his ſon Acrotatus, as if ſeeking to relieve their citizens from all reſtraints whatſoever, had diſcountenanced the public meals, that laſt pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance. Acrotatus lived, at the ſame time, in the face of his country, in open adultery with the wife of Cleonymus, his father's uncle: and when he had, in conſequence of this ſcandalous amour, involved his fellow-citizens with Pyrrhus of Epire, they gave a ſtrong proof of the degenerate tameneſs of Spartan manners; they puniſhed not the guilty cauſe of an unjuſt and unneceſſary war. One or two of the Spartan princes, it muſt be allowed, had, at different times, attempted to ſtem the torrent of public corruption; yet had the attempt always proved abortive: depoſition, baniſhment, and even death, had been the only recompence of their exalted virtue.

Athenae. Deipnoſoph. Caſaub. 4. 71. 3. 2.

Such, when Cleomenes appeared, was the ſtate of Sparta; and he himſelf had been eye-witneſs of a very affecting inſtance of the depravity of his countrymen. His father Leonidas had reigned with Agis; Leonidas of the elder branch, Agis of the younger. Leonidas was ſon to that Cleonymus, whoſe wife Chelidonis Acrotatus had ſeduced; and, upon the death of the ſon of Acrotatus, had mounted the throne. Agis, who had ſucceeded his father Eudamidas, was the ſixth in deſcent from the famous Ageſilaus, and a near kinſman of that Agis, who fell in battle againſt Antipater, fighting for the liberties of his country.

Agis, who was himſelf of unblemiſhed manners, and animated with a ſincere zeal for the proſperity of Sparta, ſaw with deep concern the breaches

Plut. in Agide.

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breaches which avarice, luxury, and ambition, had made in the conſtitution of his country. The laws of Lycurgus were totally diſregarded; the lands were all in the poſſeſſion of a few families, who rioted in opulence; whilſt the reſt of the Spartans, deſpoiled of their patrimony, dragged on a wretched life in indigence and humiliation. To theſe diſtreſſes, this prince reſolved to try the natural remedy, which the inſtitutions of Lycurgus preſcribed; and, in obedience to the original appointment of the great lawgiver, he determined to inforce the ſumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new diviſion of lands. This reſolution was the more ſingular, and worthy of praiſe, as he had been educated in the midſt of delicacy and affluence; whilſt the private eſtates of his own family were among the greateſt in Sparta. But, regardleſs of private intereſt, he purſued his plan; and, in the high fervor of youth (for he was aged but twenty years) warm in the cauſe of virtue, this generous prince thought he ſhould find little difficulty in accompliſhing a reformation, which was ſolicited by ſo many affecting conſiderations of juſtice and of national benefit.

He proved to be miſtaken. The greater number of the monied men and proprietors of lands, together with moſt of the Spartan ladies, who, by the new regulations, were to loſe all their wealth and articles of vanity, ſeeing their deareſt concerns in danger, oppoſed him vigorouſly. His collegue Leonidas, whilſt his father was a fugitive abroad, had ſpent ſeveral years at the court of Seleucus, where he was accuſtomed to Aſiatic luxury and magnificence: he had therefore no great eſteem for the Lycurgic life, and joined heartily in the oppoſition; which was beſides ſupported by the whole body of the Ephori, whom the

the faction of the rich had ſecured in their intereſts. For ſome time, however, Agis and his party prevailed. He had given the ſtrongeſt proof of his own integrity, by throwing all his landed property, with his whole perſonal fortune, amounting to ſix hundred talents, into the national ſtock. And, induced by this example, ſome of the firſt men in Sparta had acted in the ſame manner. The refractory Ephori had been depoſed. Leonidas himſelf, who had perſiſted in rejecting every mode of reformation, having been impeached of certain violations of the conſtitution, which rendered him incapable of reigning [1], had been diveſted of the regal dignity, and his ſon-in-law Cleombrotus, a prince of unqueſtionable worth, appointed in his room.

But this gleam of ſucceſs was of ſhort continuance. Some of thoſe, who had a principal ſhare in the councils of Agis, but ſtrangers to his probity, were guilty of intereſted, unjuſtifiable, and violent practices. By cancelling all bonds for debt, they got themſelves acquitted of what they owed; but endeavouring then to evade the partition of lands, an inſurrection enſued, of which the party in oppoſition taking advantage, Leonidas was reſtored. He returned with all the reſentments of a tyrant, who had juſt recovered the power of which he had been deſpoiled; and he openly avowed his vindictive and ſanguinary purpoſes. The life of Cleombrotus was with difficulty ſpared, at the interceſſion of his wife Chelonis [2] the

[1] He had taken up his reſidence in foreign parts, before he came to the crown; and he had married a foreign wife.

[2] This amiable princeſs, though the daughter of a flagitious tyrant, appears to have been a pattern both of filial and of conjugal piety. The following account of her has been preſerved to us by Plutarch, and may be conſidered as a valuable monument of antient manners. Leonidas having been depoſed, ſhe refuſed the rank

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the daughter of Leonidas, on condition of his going into baniſhment. But to Agis no mercy was to be ſhewn. His popularity, his abilities, his virtues, pleaded too powerfully againſt him; and it was determined, that his fate ſhould deter future patriots from the like daring innovations.

Overpowered by the triumphant faction, this unhappy prince had taken refuge in the temple of

rank to which the promotion of her huſband Cleombrotus had raiſed her, but putting on mourning, accompanied her father into exile. Upon his reſtoration, Cleombrotus' life being in danger, ſhe returned back to her huſband, and ſhared in his diſtreſſes; and at laſt was found by Leonidas, and his miniſters of violence, in the temple of Neptune, where Cleombrotus had taken ſanctuary, ſitting by him in the ſqualid habit of a ſuppliant, her arms folded around him, with her two children, one on each ſide. When, addreſſing her father, 'It was not for Cleombrotus,' ſaid ſhe, 'that this 'garb of woe was firſt put on by me; neither was it for him that 'theſe tears firſt began to flow. My ſorrows had their beginning 'with your misfortunes; nor from that time have they ever ceaſed 'to be my portion. You are now victorious over your enemies, 'and are again in poſſeſſion of the throne of Sparta: muſt I ne-'vertheleſs ſtill continue to wear theſe weeds of affliction? or ſhall 'I array myſelf in feſtive ornaments, when the huſband of my 'youth, the huſband you gave me, is doomed to be the victim 'of your vengeance?——If, however, neither my tears, nor the 'tears of theſe little innocents, have the power of moving you, 'more ſevere will Cleombrotus' puniſhment be, than even you 'wiſh it—he ſhall ſee his beloved wife die before him. For how 'ſhall I endure to live, under the reproach of having had my ſup-'plications rejected both by my huſband and by my father? a 'wretched wife! a wretched daughter!—Whatever plea the un-'happy Cleombrotus might have had to offer in his juſtification, I 'have already in ſome meaſure deſtroyed the force of it, by avow-'ing your cauſe in prejudice to his. But indeed you yourſelf, by 'this inexorable cruelty, plead his apology, and ſhew how power-'ful a temptation a crown is, when the blood of a ſon-in-law 'muſt be ſhed, and a daughter abandoned, for the ſake of it.' ——So ſaying, ſhe leaned her face againſt her huſband's cheek, turning her dimmed and ſtreaming eyes on the croud around her. Every heart melted. Even Leonidas was overcome: 'Riſe,' ſaid he to Cleombrotus, 'and get thou into exile.—And as for thee, 'Chelonis,' continued he, 'repay to thy father the kindneſs he 'has ſhewn in giving thee thy huſband's life, and remain with me.' —Chelonis, notwithſtanding, would not be perſuaded. But, her huſband riſing from the ground, ſhe put one child in his arms, and took the other herſelf, and, after paying due homage at the altar where they had taken ſanctuary, went with him into baniſhment.

Minerva

Minerva Chalcioecos [3], from whence he never ventured, unleſs to the bath; and then was guarded by a band of friends, in whoſe firm attachment he had placed an entire confidence. But ſeduced at length by the tempting offers of Leonidas, to whom the baſeſt means were honourable, theſe infamous friends conſented to become his betrayers, and perfidiouſly delivered him into the hands of Leonidas.

No ſooner was the perſon of Agis thus treacherouſly in the tyrant's power, than he convened a packed council of the Ephori, and of his moſt devoted partizans. The ſhew of a judicial enquiry was reſolved upon; and this unfortunate prince was arraigned before a tribunal predetermined to deſtroy him. On this occaſion however, he appears to have aſſumed a firmneſs not natural to him; his uſual manner being rather gentle and diffident. He beheld his pretended judges with indignation and ſcorn; and when charged by them with a deſign of altering the government, he boldly declared that he had formed the reſolution from the fulleſt conviction of the indiſpenſable obligations he was under, a reſolution, he told them, he never ſhould repent of, 'to reſtore the 'laws of Lycurgus to their antient vigour, and to 'make thoſe laws the ſole rule of his adminiſtra-'tion.' Unable to humble him to any act expreſſive of abjectneſs, they haſtened to relieve themſelves from the preſence of a man whoſe ſuperiority they could not but feel; they ordered him to be dragged away and ſtrangled. Yet did they find it difficult to get theſe orders obeyed; the

[3] Minerva *of the brazen temple*. This temple, as appears from Pauſanias (in Laconicis) ſtood on an eminence the higheſt in Sparta, and ſeems to have been a kind of ſtrong hold. And thence probably the name πολιοῦχος, *guardian of the city*, which, he tells us, was given to this Minerva.

common

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common officers of juſtice, and even the mercenary ſoldiers, refuſing to be concerned in the execution of the unjuſt ſentence. At length Demochares, one of the perfidious friends who had betrayed his maſter, laying hands on him, dragged him into the dungeon, where he was immediately executed.

To make the vengeance of the party more complete, his mother Ageſiſtrata, and grandmother Archidamia, were alſo involved in the ſame deſtruction, with aggravated circumſtances of uncommon barbarity. Theſe ladies were held in the higheſt veneration in Sparta, not merely on account of their rank, but for their amiable manners and irreproachable lives. Upon hearing of the detention of Agis, they had hurried away to the priſon, in order to employ their interceſſions in his favour; when Amphares, another of the perfidious friends of this unfortunate prince, coming out, aſſured them that Agis was ſafe, and invited them to go in and ſatisfy themſelves of his ſituation. He accordingly introduced them into the dreadful place, where lay the lifeleſs corſe of the unhappy Agis; when, after enjoying their diſtreſs at this ſight of horror, the inhuman villain ordered them to be ſeized and ſtrangled.

If any thing could be wanting to excite in us the ſtrongeſt deteſtation of ſo extraordinary a wretch, there is a circumſtance of ſtill greater ingratitude, mentioned by Plutarch. Amphares had been much indebted to the generoſity of Ageſiſtrata, who, being poſſeſſed of great wealth, had often bountifully aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and the expectation of being acquitted of what he owed to her, Plutarch thinks, with good reaſon, was one of the motives that urged him to the perpetration of the horrid deed.

In Agide.

CLEOMENES

Cleomenes was very young when these things happened, and had but an imperfect knowledge of this affecting story; for a time therefore, he had attended to it but slightly; it soon, however, made a very different impression upon him. Compelled by his father's orders, he had married Agiatis, who had already been wedded to Archidamus, Agis' brother, now a proscribed exile. She was considerably older than Cleomenes; and being besides, as may naturally be conceived, strongly prepossessed against Leonidas and all his race, she had yielded to this second marriage with great reluctance. But the rich inheritance to which she was entitled (for she was the only child of one of the wealthiest men in Sparta) had tempted Leonidas; and his commands were not to be disobeyed. By degrees, the ingenuous disposition and generous deportment of the young prince, and, on her part, the most amiable sweetness of temper and elegance of mind, reconciled and endeared them to each other; a confidence, which knew no reserve, grew up between them. He often found her bathed in tears at the recollection of Agis and his fortunes; and anxious to know the cause, would listen eagerly to the tale of woe, inquiring minutely, what were the manners of Agis, what his motives, his plan, in what manner he had been betrayed, and how he had fallen. At the melancholy recital of these particulars, he was wont to mix her tears with hers, admiring the public spirit and exalted purposes of that excellent prince, and wishing he could have the glory to resemble him. With these sentiments, which he carefully disguised whilst his father lived, had Cleomenes ascended the throne.

Plut. in Cleomene.

At his accession, he found not only the internal constitution of Sparta, but the whole system of Spartan affairs, in a ruinous and perplexed condition.

Bef. Christ 230.

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Bef. Chriſt 230.

tion. The domeſtic diſtreſs in which the diſuſe of the laws of Lycurgus had involved moſt of the Spartan families, with that deſpondent imbecillity of ſpirit, which generally accompanies ſuch diſtreſs, had cauſed a general depopulation throughout Laconia; ſo that, inſtead of natives ſufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thouſand ſhares, into which Lycurgus had originally divided the lands, only ſeven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; of whom about ſix hundred, far from being capable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public ſervice, were pining in abject penury, wretchedneſs, and contempt. Even the ſlaves, who formerly ſwarmed over all the country, were now conſiderably thinned in their numbers: many of them, as the Spartan families had gone to decay, having neither employment nor ſubſiſtence, had periſhed; and many others had been carried off by plunderers; the Aetolians alone having, in one inroad, ſwept off above fifty thouſand of them. At the ſame time, all Peloponneſus, as well as a great part of the reſt of Greece, confeſſed the power of Achaia; and the little importance which ſtill remained to Sparta, ſhe ſeemed now chiefly to owe to the alliance ſhe enjoyed with that formidable republic.

Plut. in Cleomene.

CLEOMENES felt all the embarraſſments of his ſituation. Feeble at home, his meaſures were controuled by the inſolence of the Ephori and the faction of the rich: whilſt, deſpiſed abroad, he had to endure, with humiliating indignation, the haughty pretenſions of the Achaean ſtates, and the dictatorial mandates of the high-ſpirited Aratus.

IN this choice of difficulties, it was hard to ſay which of them he ſhould begin to contend with. His natural turn to martial enterpriſe determined him: and it is not improbable, that the repreſentations of the Aetolians, of which we have already made

made mention, had a large ſhare in the determina- BOOK
tion. It appears from Polybius, that they had IV.
been exceedingly earneſt to inſpire the Spartan Sect. 2.
king with a jealouſy of Achaia. They had even
engaged, if we may believe that hiſtorian, to Bef. Chriſt 230.
ſerve Sparta at the expence of their own honour, 2. 45, 46.
and whilſt they kept up the appearance of acting in concert with the Achaean confederacy, to favour the progreſs of the Spartan arms.

THIS was, at the ſame time, the only plauſible meaſure he could embrace to rouſe the Spartans themſelves: for, immerſed as they were in corruption, the glory of the Spartan name was ſtill with them a favourite theme; and they were always diſpoſed to think well of the prince who attempted to retrieve it. At the head alſo of an army, he would be more powerful; and if he returned with victory, he might then aſſume the ſame dominion over the factious Ephori, which at preſent they exerciſed over him, and find, in conſequence, a ſeaſon for the reſtoration of thoſe laws, of which he now durſt not even ſeem to think.

SUCH, as far as a judgment can be formed at this diſtance of time from the accounts of different hiſtorians, appear to have been the views of Cleomenes. The tenor of his conduct will beſt explain them.

HIS firſt attempt was on ſome cities of Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, of which he made himſelf maſter. From Polybius we learn, 2. 46.
that on this occaſion he employed the arts of intrigue rather than force; and that the Aetolians, in whoſe charge thoſe cities appear to have been, were ſuppoſed to have betrayed them into his hands. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that he engaged in this enterpriſe at his own riſque, and without the authority of the magiſtracy of Sparta.

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His view, unqueſtionably, was to ſpirit them up, if poſſible to a war: and his deſign ſucceeded accordingly.

Bef. Chriſt 230.

ENCOURAGED by theſe favourable beginnings, the Ephori ordered him to ſeize and fortify a certain caſtle in the diſtrict of Megalopolis, which commanded on that ſide of the entrance into Laconia: hiſtorians call it Athenaeum. It muſt have been a paſs of conſiderable importance, as the Achaean ſtates, though hitherto paſſive, immediately upon this act of hoſtility declared war againſt the Spartans. This was the very meaſure Cleomenes wiſhed for. He forthwith took the field with what troops he could muſter, and began to commit great ravages throughout the territories of the cities in league with Achaia. But his whole force amounted only to five thouſand men, and the Achaeans were marching againſt him with upwards of twenty thouſand. He advanced nevertheleſs in order of battle, and with ſuch appearance of reſolution, that the enemy declined the engagement, and retired. So ſhameful a retreat, before ſuch a handful of men, was nearly as prejudicial to the Achaeans as a diſcomfiture could have been, and raiſed exceedingly the reputation of the Spartan king. The blame of this daſtardly conduct fell on Aratus, as he had, it ſeems, adviſed it. The truth was, Aratus, though in council the firſt man in Greece, of great capacity and boldneſs in the direction of affairs, and poſſeſſing an uncommon genius for intrigue and deciſive meaſures, was generally loſt to himſelf in the time of action; a certain conſtitutional defect prevailing then over that admirable judgment and preſence of mind, which he poſſeſſed in the cabinet. His life affords ſeveral remarkable inſtances of this frailty.

Plut. in Arato.

THE

THE behaviour of the Achaean chief gave new vigour to Cleomenes: his numbers encreaſed; and the Eleans, who had never been ſteady in the intereſts of Achaia, now openly declared againſt her. To chaſtiſe this defection (for ſuch the Achaeans ſeem to have thought it) they made a rapid movement towards Elis; and were followed with the ſame expedition by Cleomenes, who came up with them at Lycaeum, near the Elean borders, and as they were endeavouring to retreat, put them entirely to the rout, killing great numbers, and taking many priſoners. But, by a ſtrange reverſe, whilſt the Spartans were exulting in their victory, Aratus, who watched the opportunity, having rallied ſome of his troops, ſtruck off into the road to Mantinea, and made himſelf amends by ſurpriſing that city [4]. Bef. Chriſt 230.

THIS loſs, ſeemingly of no great moment, but probably aggravated by the enemies of Cleomenes, was conſidered at Sparta as overbalancing all the advantages which might be derived from the late ſucceſsful action; and ſo alarmed did the Ephori pretend to be, that Cleomenes was inſtantly recalled home, and all deſign of continuing the war laid aſide.

THIS check, if not obviated, muſt have been to Cleomenes the final ruin of all his projects: but he employed every expedient in his power to prevent the conſequences he ſo much dreaded. He had recourſe to ſupplications; he had recourſe to corruption: and at length, by intereſting their

[4] The Mantineans, who at firſt belonged to the Achaean confederacy, having renounced their alliance, had ſurrendered their city firſt to the Aetolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes. This ſurpriſe of Mantinea by Aratus happened, according to Polybius, four years before the invaſion of Peloponneſus by Antigonus. See Polyb. Caſ. Oct. 2. 57. 198.

B o o k IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

avarice, he obtained of the Ephori, that he ſhould be permitted to continue his operations. From what followed ſoon after it is likely, that the haughtineſs he experienced on this occaſion from theſe imperious controllers of kings, fixed him in the reſolution of freeing himſelf effectually from ſo mortifying a reſtraint.

The enſuing campaign was ſignalized by the total overthrow of the Achaean army near Leuctra. Cleomenes had marched thither in the view of ſurpriſing the town: the Achaeans having haſtened to its relief, attacked him under the walls. For ſome time the battle was in favour of the Achaeans, who puſhed the Lacedemonians vigorouſly on every ſide. But Cleomenes, having with great art drawn the enemy into ſome woody incloſures and hollow grounds, turned the fortune of the day, and defeated them with much ſlaughter; Lyſiadas, then general of Achaia, and formerly tyrant of Megalopolis, after having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, being numbered among the ſlain.

This misfortune was imputed to Aratus. He was charged with having neglected to ſupport Lyſiadas; and ſo exaſperated were the Achaeans, that in their next general aſſembly they declared him unworthy of national confidence, forbidding him either to levy troops in their name, or to interfere with their finances; leaving it to him to carry on the war, if he thought proper, at his own expence.

Plut. in Arato.

This victory of Cleomenes was ſucceeded by the general devaſtation of Arcadia, and the reduction of ſeveral towns: for no ſooner was one enterpriſe atchieved, than the Spartans attempted another, Cleomenes not allowing his army the leaſt interval of repoſe. In this he had his own private

Plut. in Cleomene.

private views. Harraſſed in the ſevereſt manner during the time they had been kept in the field, the Lacedemonians gladly accepted the offer of being left to garriſon the Arcadian towns during the winter months. So that at the cloſe of the campaign, the king returned to Sparta with the mercenary troops alone. As he approached the city, he opened his intentions to Euryclidas and ſome choſen friends, to whom the Ephori were obnoxious. He contrived to reach Sparta in the evening, about the hour when the Ephori uſually aſſembled in the hall in which they ſupped. Euryclidas having accordingly entered with his aſſociates, on pretence of a meſſage from the king, whilſt he was holding the Ephori in diſcourſe, the reſt ruſhed upon them, and buried their ſwords in their bodies; one only eſcaping, who having fallen pierced with wounds, lay in appearance dead; but recovering afterwards, he crept out, and was ſuffered to ſurvive.

Bef. Chriſt 220.

WHAT Cleomenes himſelf thought of this act of violence, we may eaſily gather from the uncommon pains he took to reconcile the Spartans to what had happened. He convened them together the enſuing day, and after pleading warmly againſt the unconſtitutional eſtabliſhment of this order of magiſtrates [5], he went through an invidious recital of the ſeveral acts of iniquity the Ephori, collectively or individually, had been guilty of; which, whilſt they marked them as proper objects of public vengeance, led him to lament the unhappy neceſſity which compelled him to have recourſe to aſſaſſination, in order to deli-

[5] This body had ſubſiſted, however, and become a part of the conſtitution, three hundred and fifty years before the time of Cleomenes.

ver

BOOK IV. ver his country from these ministers of oppression.

Sect. 2. THE king might palliate the transaction, but it was impossible he could justify it. And probably the Spartans themselves suspected, what too often happens, that the overthrow of one species of despotism was only accomplished, with the view of raising on its ruins a despotism of another kind, not less formidable than what had been destroyed.

Bef. Christ 230. Plut. in Cleomene.

THE Ephori being thus removed, he commanded the judicial seats, on which they sat in the hall of justice, to be also taken away, one only excepted, to be left for the king, in whose hands solely, he told them, the dispensation of justice was thenceforth to be placed. He then proceeded to banish eighty of the Spartan citizens, friends of the late administration; and so difficult is it to use power with moderation, he appointed, in violation of that very original constitution which he pretended to restore, his own brother Euclidas to be joint-king with him. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, had lived till lately an exile in Messenia, and had been recalled to Sparta, in order to take his seat on the throne belonging to his family; but on his way thither, he had been murdered. By whom he was recalled, whether by Cleomenes, or by a party against him, or to whom the guilt of his murder was to be imputed, are matters not well ascertained. Some historians indeed have not scrupled to charge his death to the account of Cleomenes himself [6]; a suspicion which

[6] Polybius (5. 37. 333, 534. & 8. 1. 711.) says, that Archidamus had been restored to the Spartan throne, and that, after some time, suspecting the ambitious views of Cleomenes, he had again fled from Sparta; but afterwards, through the mediation of Nicagoras,

which will be thought, perhaps, not altogether void of probability, when it is remembered, that, beſides the danger of a revolution, ſhould his collegue diſapprove of the new mode of government he meant to introduce, there was another intereſt, not leſs powerful with Cleomenes: Agiatis was his wife, to whom Archidamus had a prior right. Bef. Chriſt 230.

His next care was the re-eſtabliſhment of the agrarian and ſumptuary laws of Sparta. He had, before this period, revived in his own perſon and family the ſtrictneſs of the Lycurgic diſcipline; and his dreſs, his table, his furniture, his equi- Plut. in Cleomene.

Nicagoras, the intimate friend of Archidamus, Cleomenes prevailed on him to return; and that, as he was on his way to Sparta, upon Cleomenes' plighted faith, he was murdered by him; Cleomenes having gone to meet him, and (a circumſtance highly improbable) perpetrating with his own hand the bloody deed. And he aſſigns this as the reaſon why Cleomenes, when at the court of Ptolemy Philopater, was betrayed, this very Nicagoras. It was to revenge the death of Archidamus, of whoſe ruin he had, through the artifice of Cleomenes, been made the inſtrument.—But Plutarch, leſs ready to credit every charge againſt Cleomenes, than ſeems to have been the caſe with Polybius, gives this ſtory a very different turn. Cleomenes, according to him, had reſolved, before he would proceed to any violence againſt the Ephori, to recal Archidamus, to whom the crown, in that branch of the royal family, belonged, in order to humble thoſe imperious magiſtrates; who, he imagined, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan conſtitution, was complete, and could maintain its due weight, would not be ſo formidable. The party which had put Agis to death, diſcovering this deſign, and dreading the vengeance of Archidamus, if he ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the throne, formed their plan accordingly. They joined in inviting him to Sparta, and even aſſiſted in his return; but they aſſaſſinated him immediately after. Whether it was againſt the conſent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus, a cotemporary hiſtorian, thinks, or whether his friends prevailed on him to abandon that unhappy prince, Plutarch does not take upon him to determine. If he gave his conſent, Plutarch, however, is of opinion, it muſt have been owing to the importunities of his friends; and the greateſt part of the blame, he aſſerts, is therefore to be charged to the account of thoſe friends, who had the guilt of teaſing him into it.

page,

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

page, were all of the ſimpleſt kind. He was now the firſt to ſurrender his own eſtate into the public ſtock. His relations and friends followed his example. And the reſt of the citizens having alſo done the ſame, (for a refuſal was what no man at this juncture would preſume to attempt) the lands were immediately divided. He even aſſigned lots for each of the perſons whom he had baniſhed, declaring, that they ſhould be all recalled, when tranquillity was once more reeſtabliſhed. And, to remedy the preſent depopulation, he filled up the number of citizens out of the moſt virtuous of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. He then gave his attention to the education of the youths, in order to train them according to the original ſeverity of the Lacedemonian laws. He reſtored their hardy manner of clothing, their ſchools of exerciſe, their public meals, and arranged their whole courſe of diſcipline upon the ſyſtem of antient times. A new face of things ſoon appeared in Sparta. Neither the drooping look of indigence, nor the ſcornful inſolence of wealth, were any longer to be ſeen; a people healthy and robuſt began again to croud her ſtreets; and all the arts, that adminiſter to luxury and effeminacy, diſappeared. Above all, he took care to inſtruct his ſubjects by his own example. He appeared a pattern of temperance and plain manners; he aſſumed no kind of parade or ſhew above a common citizen, but converſed among his people with unaffected familiarity; and whenever they made application to him in his regal capacity, he received them with cheerfulneſs, and entered upon their buſineſs with the utmoſt readineſs and attention.

THIS was a noble reformation, and ſurely well deſerving of the higheſt praiſe, had it been effected

ed by Cleomenes, not by bloodſhed and iniquity, but by the fair and conſtitutional road of law and general conſent. The perplexing circumſtances he was placed in at the beginning of his reign, joined to the natural impetuoſity of his own temper, rendered perhaps more violent by the oppoſition he had to contend with, form all the apology that hiſtory has to offer for him [7].

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

[7] Polybius, however, on moſt occaſions, treats Cleomenes' character with a ſeverity not to be juſtified. He even charges him (2. 47. 185.) with *having diſſolved* τὸ πάτριον πολίτευμα, *the political conſtitution of his country*, and *having changed* τὴν ἐννόμου ἐξουσίαν εἰς τυραννίδα, *the legal kingly power into a tyranny*. Yet Polybius himſelf acknowledges, in more places than one, that at his acceſſion the Spartan conſtitution was nearly deſtroyed by the corrupt innovations which ambition and the luſt of power had introduced into it. To the praiſe of Cleomenes it certainly is, that he endeavoured to reſtore the original eſtabliſhment of the Lycurgic law; but to his reproach, that he effected it by means to which he ought never to have had recourſe, by arbitrary oppreſſion and bloodſhed.—Polybius himſelf ſeems to account for his ſevere ſtrictures on this prince. He compiled this part of his hiſtory, he tells us, 2. 56. 196. from the commentaries of Aratus, the avowed enemy of the Spartan king, and who doubtleſs ſought for a juſtification of his own unconſtitutional counſels by throwing what blame he could on Cleomenes. And that ſo judicious and generally candid a writer as Polybius, ſhould have been betrayed into this track, we ſhall not wonder, when we recal to mind, that he himſelf was of Megalopolis, that very city whoſe ruins were a monument of Cleomenes' violence.—As for Livy, he is the copier of Polybius, and therefore, in conformity with him, pronounces, 34. 26. Cleomenes to have been *tyrant of Sparta*.—Plutarch has dealt more fairly by him, blaming his acts that deſerved cenſure, and at the ſame time, doing juſtice to the noble and princely qualities of this extraordinary man. Plutarch therefore we have chiefly followed, without loſing ſight of the information that was to be found in other writers.—As to Pauſanias, his account of Cleomenes deſerves little regard. He tells us (in Corinthiacis) of Eurydamidas, a young prince on the throne jointly with him, whom he took off by poiſon, though neither Polybius nor Plutarch make mention of ſuch a king. He would have us even believe, that the Lacedemonians held him in abhorrence; in expreſs contradiction to the teſtimony of the two laſt-mentioned hiſtorians, from whom it appears, that notwithſtanding the unhappy iſſue of the wars he engaged in, and the calamities brought upon Sparta by their means, he was ſtill in high veneration among them; ſo that, though a captive in Egypt, they refuſed, as long as he lived, to have any other king, in hopes of his reſtoration. See Polyb. 4. 35. et Plut. in Cleomene.

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BOOK IV. SECT. 2.

HAVING thus rendered himſelf abſolute maſter of Sparta, policy as well as inclination urged him to give employment to that vigour, which he had now improved or created, and which, if not exerted abroad, might prove fatal to him at home. He marched his Spartans into the territories of Megalopolis, which he plundered and laid waſte, none daring to oppoſe him; and after ſome other exploits of this depredatory nature, he prepared to carry the war into the heart of Achaia. The Achaeans had formed a ſtrong encampment at Hecatombaeum, a place at ſome diſtance from Dymé, one of their frontier towns near the Elean borders; in which ſituation they expected, in caſe the Spartans attempted to paſs, to incloſe them between Dymé and the Achaean camp, and render their eſcape difficult. Cleomenes was not to be deterred. He began by ravaging the other ſide of Achaia, which he had entered from the Arcadian frontier, and advancing at length towards them, he attacked them on this very ground, where they had fortified themſelves with ſo much confidence, forced their lines, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. This was the ſevereſt blow the Achaeans had yet received. Their army had been compoſed of the flower of their nation, and they were almoſt all cut off. Their allies, beſides, were falling off. The Mantineans before this period, after putting the Achaean garriſon in their city to the ſword, had called in the Spartans. And the ſame ſpirit was now ſaid to prevail in moſt of the other cities of Peloponneſus. In this emergency, they had not even Aratus to depend upon. Not knowing what meaſures to purſue, or whom to employ, they had applied to him, and again had offered him the command. But either in reſentment of the diſgrace he lately experienced, as his friends would have it believed, or diſcouraged perhaps

Bef. Chriſt 230. Plut. in Cleom. et Arato.

perhaps by the difficult poſture of affairs, he had declined to be employed. BOOK IV.

THE only reſource left them was to ſue to Cleomenes for conditions of peace. The king of Lacedaemon required, that Sparta ſhould be reſtored to her former pre-eminence among the nations of Peloponneſus; that he himſelf ſhould be conſidered as the head of the Achaean confederacy; and be permitted to direct their councils and operations. To a people in dread of much harder terms, the demand ſeemed moderate. A congreſs was accordingly appointed to be held at Lerna in Arcadia, to which Cleomenes was invited. But, unhappily for Greece, a ſudden indiſpoſition obliging him to return to Sparta, the final ſettlement of the various arrangements of the propoſed pacification was poſtponed until his recovery. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

MEAN while, Aratus had found means to reſume his former influence in the Achaean councils. He looked upon the preſent eſtabliſhment of Achaia as the work of his wiſdom; and he could not bear to think, that the Spartans, whom he had been accuſtomed to number among the dependents of his republic, ſhould now take the lead, and preſcribe laws; or that the prize, for which he had been contending thirty and three years, the monument of his fame, and the recompence of all his cares, ſhould, in the decline of life, be wreſted from him by a young prince, whoſe name till now was hardly known. Agitated by theſe reflections, he employed himſelf in deviſing means to elude the intended meaſure. A ſecond congreſs had been appointed at Argos, and Cleomenes, with a reſpectable force, was on his way to that city. Aratus took this opportunity to execute his purpoſe. Under a ſhew of zeal for the public ſafety, he threw out ſurmiſes of the intentions of Cleomenes; he hinted to the Achaeans, how dangerous it

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

it might be to admit within the city a body of enemies led on by a young ambitious warrior; and at laſt prevailed on them to diſpatch an embaſſy to the Spartan king, requiring him not to come within the gates of Argos, unleſs he came alone; in which caſe three hundred hoſtages ſhould be given for the ſecurity of his perſon; or, if he did not approve of this expedient, he might advance, at the head of his army, to a certain ſpot without the walls, called the Cyllarabis, where the wreſtlers performed their exerciſes, and in that place they would treat with him.

To a prince naturally high-ſpirited, and at this period elated with victory, it might eaſily be foreſeen what an appearance of mockery ſuch a propoſal would carry with it. He treated both meſſage and meſſenger with the utmoſt diſdain, and in a high menacing tone, diſcovered his ſenſe of the indignity offered to his character. It is ſaid that afterwards, when too late, Cleomenes diſcovered the part Aratus had acted on this occaſion.

THUS, through the high ſpirit of one chief, and the duplicity of another, was the only meaſure which could have preſerved Greece from bondage, irretrievably loſt. Had Aratus, truly faithful to his country, placed his glory in her happineſs, and been content with his counſels to aſſiſt operations, which now he had neither capacity nor courage to lead; or had Cleomenes, ſubduing reſentment, condeſcended, on Aratus' own terms, to have entered Argos, where probably his demands, ſupported by his preſence and perſuaſive powers, had found little oppoſition; they might have then prevented, what after that day there never was another opportunity of preventing, the ruin of their country. But the pride of Cleomenes,

nes, and the far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus, forbade it. And to that fatal pride Greece owed her deſtruction. BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

It is remarkable, that both Aratus and Cleomenes had the ſame ſcheme in view; both wiſhed to unite all the nations of Peloponneſus into one commonwealth, and by this means to form ſuch a bulwark for the defence of the common liberties of Greece, as might have bidden defiance to every foreign power. The only queſtion was, to what people, and to what chief was the direction to be committed? Aratus was determined that he would have the glory of doing all, or that no other ſhould ſave or aggrandize his country; and rather than ſuffer the adminiſtration to be in any hands but his own, he reſolved to throw all things into confuſion. Unfortunately for mankind, there hardly has been a country, or an age, that has not had its Aratus! Bef. Chriſt 230.

The breaking off the treaty of pacification occaſioned a general ferment throughout all Peloponneſus. Cleomenes, fired at the indignity the Achaeans had offered, urged the war with more vigour than ever; he ravaged their territories, and he ſacked their towns. Even in thoſe places which his arms had not yet reached, every thing threatened inſurrection and hoſtility to the Achaeans, either from the intrigues of the Spartan emiſſaries, or from the rankling ſuſpicions to which the conduct of Aratus had given birth. The Athenians, as well as the Aetolians, refuſed to aſſiſt Achaia. Ariſtomachus, formerly tyrant of the Argives, and now a member of the Achaean confederacy, betrayed Argos to the Spartan king. The Corinthians were on the point of delivering their city into his hands; and even Sicyon

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Sicyon muſt have been loſt, had not a timely diſcovery prevented the conſpiracy from taking effect.

Bef. Chriſt 230.

THESE miſchiefs nevertheleſs, with the guilt of which Aratus could not but charge himſelf, ſerved only to hurry him into counſels pregnant with circumſtances ſtill more fatal. Reſolved, at any riſque, to exclude Sparta from the ſuperintendency of Peloponneſian affairs, he fixed upon a meaſure the moſt pernicious, that any ſtateſman of Greece could in theſe times have adopted. The power then the moſt formidable to the Grecian liberties, was the kingdom of Macedon. Since the days of Philip, it had been the favourite object of its princes to bring Greece into ſubjection. The terror and devaſtation of war, the inſidious arts of corruption and intrigue, whatever indeed could contribute to the breaking of that republican ſpirit which animated her councils, had to this end been ſucceſsfully employed. To theſe dangerous neighbours Aratus, as we have ſeen, had from his early years diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition; and to this noble oppoſition, which had reſcued Greece from Macedonian uſurpation, he owed all the glory of his life. But a total change of principles was now to take place. Rather than ſee Cleomenes at the head of Greece, he conceived the pernicious thought of making Antigonus of Macedon the inſtrument of Sparta's deſtruction. In order to accompliſh this, he propoſed to reſtore the Macedonians to the full poſſeſſion of that power, from which he himſelf had driven them, and, from motives of envy and diſappointed ambition, to inveſt its natural enemies with the ſovereignty of his country.

Polyb. 2. 47, et ſeq. Plut. in Cleomen. et Arato.

THERE lay, however, two powerful obſtacles in his way. In Greece the attempt was unpopular;

lar; and Antigonus ſeemed regardleſs of ambitious projects. With this prince Aratus had not the leaſt connection, and he muſt have been conſidered by him as a perſon moſt hoſtile to the Macedonian intereſt. With his uſual addreſs, however, he ſurmounted both theſe difficulties. BOOK IV. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 230.

MEGALOPOLIS, of all the cities of Peloponneſus, lay the moſt expoſed to invaſions from Laconia; and there had antiently ſubſiſted a friendly intercourſe between the Megalopolitans and the Macedonians. Having gained over to his views two of the principal men of this city, he directed them to apply to the Achaean ſtates for protection againſt Sparta; and, ſhould they not be able to grant it, which Aratus well knew they were not, to aſk permiſſion to implore the aid of Antigonus. The ſcheme ſucceeding as he had wiſhed, his inſtruments were appointed to proceed to the Macedonian court. He then inſtructed them, to mention him favourably to the king; to be active in removing from his mind the prejudices he might have conceived againſt him; and to offer him whatever pledge he ſhould deſire of the devotion and future fealty of Aratus. They were particularly to repreſent to Antigonus, that his intereſts and thoſe of Achaia were the ſame; that the enterpriſing Cleomenes, when he had once ſubjected Greece, would ſoon make his way to the Macedonian frontiers; and that what Antigonus might now eaſily accompliſh in Peloponneſus, he might find difficult to effect within his own kingdom, if invaded by a prince made bold by ſucceſs, and made ſtrong by his victories, whoſe very name would invite to his banners all the antient enemies of Macedon.

HITHERTO, as we have already obſerved, Antigonus had affected a total diſregard of Grecian affairs.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

affairs. The expelling even of the Macedonian garrifons from the Grecian towns, had not provoked him to interpofe. And though often folicited by many of the ftates of Greece, and lately by the Aetolians in particular, to take advantage of the prefent diftractions, he had always, attentive to the profperity of his own kingdom, fteadily refufed the invitation.

Bef. Chrift 230.

But now, to fee the leader of Achaia his fuppliant, and thofe very Achaeans, by whom his predeceffors had been expelled from Peloponnefus, voluntarily opening their gates to him; to be prefented with the opportunity of humbling that Sparta, which had held in fcorn the mightieft of Macedon's kings; to enjoy the profpect of uniting Greece and Macedon into one fovereignty, and of feeing himfelf maſter of what even Alexander could never boaſt; were temptations, which even the temperate mind of Antigonus could not withſtand.

He promifed all that was defired. Aratus, to give the more credit to the negotiation, had fent his own fon to Antigonus by way of hoſtage; who ſtipulated, on the part of Achaia—'That the citadel of Corinth ſhould be delivered into the king's hands——that he ſhould be at the head of the Achaean confederacy, ſuperintend their councils, and direct their operations——that money and proviſions ſhould be ſupplied at their expence, for the ſupport of his army——that neither embaſſy nor letter ſhould be ſent to any power, without his approbation——nor any city, ſtate, or people, be from that time admitted into the Achaean league, without his expreſs conſent.' The two laſt ſtipulations were, in fact, bonds of allegiance to Antigonus. They had their foundation in the original confederacy of the Achaean ſtates,

Polyb. 2. et paſſim. Plut. in Arato.

ſtates, but were at this time new-modelled, to ſerve the purpoſe of the preſent negotiation; and in this form, the ſeveral members of the Achaean league were required to ſwear to the obſervation of them: which oath was to be adminiſtered every year. From theſe articles it is evident, that the Achaean liberties were now but a name. The lord of Achaia was Antigonus. Bef. Chriſt 230.

IT is not, however, to be imagined, that Aratus ventured at once to avow every clauſe of this exceptionable compact. The whole tranſaction ſeems to have been the work of ſubtilty and dark diſguiſe. Even previous to the appointment of the ſecond congreſs at Argos, it appears from Plutarch, that he had entered privately into a negotiation with Antigonus; and probably moſt of the articles here mentioned were kept ſecret for a time, and diſcloſed gradually, as the nature of the caſe made it neceſſary, and as the power of Antigonus came to be more firmly eſtabliſhed [s].

WHEN the other Peloponneſian ſtates, eſpecially thoſe who had lately felt the yoke of Macedon, found their ſuſpicions turned to certainty, and that it was determined they ſhould again be given up into the hands of their oppreſſors, they were exaſperated to the utmoſt againſt Achaia. So violent, in particular, were the people at Corinth, that they roſe againſt Aratus to put him to death, and with difficulty he eſcaped from the city.

[s] Aratus, throughout this whole tranſaction, appears to have conducted himſelf with the greateſt ſubtilty. Though the ſcheme was his own, in public he affected to have many difficulties concerning its expediency, and to offer many ſpecious objections; which, doubtleſs, at the ſame time, his creatures had inſtructions, and were prepared to anſwer. Even in Aratus' Commentaries, Polybius himſelf, 2. 47. acknowledges, that ſeveral material circumſtances reſpecting this buſineſs were omitted by him, conſcious it was not to his honour that the world ſhould be appriſed of them.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Their only hopes were now in Cleomenes, the laſt refuge of the Grecian liberties; who, unequal as he appeared to the dangers he had to encounter, ſeemed to draw freſh vigour from his difficulties. Upon the firſt advice of the Macedonians being in motion, he had entered the iſthmus, and had taken poſſeſſion of a paſs on the Oenean mountains, which commanded the opening of the defile on the northern ſide; ſo that, whilſt he continued in this poſition, it was impracticable for Antigonus to force his way, nor could he be joined by his friends from Peloponneſus; Aratus, who with the demiurgi had been deputed to wait on Antigonus, being obliged to croſs the Corinthian gulph in order to get to the Macedonian camp. But it was not poſſible, that Cleomenes ſhould provide for the ſafety of every place. The Achaeans found means to ſurpriſe Argos, with a deſign to cut off the communication of Cleomenes with Sparta. This laid the Spartan king under the neceſſity of returning back into Peloponneſus, and to leave the paſs open for the Macedonians.

Bef. Chriſt 230.

Polyb. 2. 52.

Plut in Arato.

Bef. Chriſt 223.

SUCH a formidable body of auxiliaries (for the Macedonians amounted in numbers to near twenty-two thouſand men) ſoon enabled the Achaeans to reſume their ſuperiority in Peloponneſus. Corinth, with moſt of the other cities which had declared for Sparta, ſurrendered to Antigonus; and in leſs than one campaign, Cleomenes had nothing but Laconia remaining. Amidſt this wreck of his public fortunes, he loſt the virtuous Agiatis, whoſe excellent ſenſe and tender affection had been his reſource in the ſevereſt exigencies. And, as if every comfort were to be withdrawn from him, Ptolemy Euergetes, then king of Egypt, to whom he had applied for ſuccours, refuſed to grant his requeſt, unleſs his mother

ther and his children were ſent into Egypt as pledges of his fidelity. The perfidy which the Egyptian king had experienced from the Achaeans, in deſerting his alliance, and calling in Antigonus, had induced Ptolemy, a prince otherwiſe remarkably humane, to make this ungenerous requiſition; with which, however, ſuch was the ſituation of his affairs, Cleomenes was forced to comply [9].

Bef. Chriſt 223.

His ſpirit, nevertheleſs, remained ſtill unſubdued. Beſides what he had received from Egypt, he had contrived to raiſe at home a farther ſupply of men and money, by enfranchiſing ſuch of the Helotes as could pay a certain fine for their freedom, and by inliſting among his troops a great many more of thoſe that were fit for military ſervice. Thus recruited in ſtrength, he determined to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The city of Megalopolis has been already mentioned. It was one of the moſt conſiderable in Peloponneſus, and ſcarcely inferior to Sparta; ſtately, populous, opulent, and from its ſituation, of great importance; commanding moſt parts of Arcadia, of which it was the chief city. It had been planned

[9] The reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here the account, which Plutarch has preſerved to us, of the noble firmneſs of Crateſiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, on this affecting occaſion, when the neceſſity of affairs obliged this prince to ſend her and his children to Egypt. Having conducted them to Taenarus, where they were to take ſhipping, the hour of parting being come, his wonted fortitude forſook him; and the fierce warrior was ſeen to melt into the tender ſon and fond parent. Crateſiclea with concern marked his emotion; and, drawing him aſide into an adjoining temple, 'King of Sparta,' ſaid ſhe to him, claſping her aged arms around him, and preſſing him to her boſom, 'take care 'that, when we go hence, no one may perceive us weeping, or 'behaving in any ſhape unworthy of the illuſtrious city that gave 'us birth. *This alone* is in our power; the iſſue is in the hands 'of God.' This ſaid, compoſing her countenance, ſhe embarked, bearing her grandſon in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition.—Plutarch *in Cleomene.*

BOOK IV. Sect. 2. by the illuſtrious Epaminondas, as a ſtrong hold for the Arcadians, at that time ſcattered moſtly in defenceleſs villages, and to curb the power of Sparta. Cleomenes formed the deſign of ſurpriſing this city, though the Achaeans lay encamped on the one ſide, and the Macedonians on the other. With this view he deceived the enemy by a feint march, as if he had intended to fall on Argos; but he turned ſuddenly ſhort, and was in poſſeſſion of Megalopolis, before either Antigonus or Aratus ſuſpected his purpoſe. He had a particular view in forming this enterpriſe. The Megalopolitans were the ſanguine friends of Macedon, and he hoped, by the poſſeſſion of their city, to have it in his power to detach them from Antigonus; an object certainly of the higheſt moment to his affairs, could it have been effected. He accordingly ſent meſſengers after the inhabitants, moſt of whom had eſcaped by flight, and offered to reſtore the city, with all the ſpoil, entire and unhurt, on condition of their renouncing the friendſhip of the Macedonian king: but the Megalopolitans, at the inſtigation of Philopoemen, afterwards a diſtinguiſhed character in the Achaean hiſtory, having rejected the offer, Cleomenes was ſo tranſported with reſentment, that he plundered the city, and cauſed it to be laid in ruins.

Bef. Chriſt 223.

THIS was a deep wound to the Achaean intereſt; and we may judge of its magnitude from what Plutarch relates. The general aſſembly of Achaia had met, and Aratus was preparing to harangue them, when he received the tidings. He mounted the ſuggeſtum; but, unable to ſpeak, he burſt into tears, covering his face with his robe. After ſome minutes of extreme agitation and diſtreſs, the whole aſſembly calling out to know what it was that thus moved him, with difficulty at length he uttered, 'Megalopolis is 'deſtroyed

'deſtroyed by Cleomenes!' Conſternation filled every breaſt; all public buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the convention broke up in ſilent amazement and horror. BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 223.

EMBOLDENED by this ſucceſs, Cleomenes, at the opening of the enſuing ſpring, appeared before Argos, where Antigonus was encamped, and defied him to battle: but his challenge not being accepted, he ſpread devaſtation through all the country around. His purpoſe was, either to force the Macedonian king to the field, whilſt moſt of his troops were ſtill in their winter cantonments, or to excite againſt him the indignation of the Argives. But neither his inſults nor their murmurs moved Antigonus. He ſaw clearly, that this predatory war, however ſucceſsful, muſt nevertheleſs prove, in the end, of little ſervice to Cleomenes; whoſe army, conſiſting moſtly of mercenaries, were not to be kept together without regular pay, for which he had no fund to depend upon, but the precarious remittances from Egypt. Antigonus, on the contrary, rich in treaſure, ſaw the advantage he muſt derive from thence; and by oppoſing Cleomenes at firſt faintly, yet cautiouſly, he artfully adhered to a plan of operations, which, it was evident, muſt ſoon exhauſt his adverſary.

BAFFLED in this manner by a ſubtil foe, and preſſed by his own difficulties, Cleomenes found himſelf obliged to retire again within Laconia. Beſides, the Macedonian and Peloponneſian forces now aſſembling, he began to fear that Sparta was their object, and he reſolved to cover it, if poſſible, from inſult. Near the town of Selaſia, the road leading to Sparta became exceedingly narrow, being confined between two hills, the Eva and the Olympus, both high and difficult of aſcent;

Bef. Chriſt 222.

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 223.

aſcent; and in the glen that divided theſe hills, ran the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. This paſs Cleomenes undertook to defend. On one hill was ſtationed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilſt he himſelf took poſt on the other; the bottom of each hill, and the opening of the defile, being ſecured by a ditch and a ſtrong rampart.

ANTIGONUS, who ſoon approached, beheld with admiration the poſition of the enemy. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural ſtrength of this important paſs, had been performed; and no part was to be ſeen on which an impreſſion could be made with effect. Though conſiderably ſuperior in point of numbers [10], he had too much wiſdom to hazard an attack upon men drawn up ſo advantageouſly; he encamped therefore at a diſtance on the plain below, in order to obſerve the motions of his enemy, and take his meaſures as circumſtances might offer. This deliberate caution and coolneſs of Antigonus prepared the way for the ruin of Cleomenes, who had expected, that the Macedonians would immediately have advanced, all his hopes reſting on the ſpeedy deciſion of a battle. His ſupplies from Egypt had failed; yet he carefully concealed from his army the diſtreſſed ſtate of his finances, being well aſſured that, ſhould it once be ſuſpected, his mercenaries would inſtantly crumble away, and leave him to the mercy of Antigonus. Any fortune ſeemed to him preferable; and rather than be reduced to a dilemma ſo humiliating, he determined to throw open his entrenchments, and, without farther delay, to riſque an engagement.

[10] He was thirty thouſand ſtrong, and the Spartans were but twenty thouſand.

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THE ſame admirable ſkill, which he had exhibited in forming his encampment, he now ſhewed in the diſpoſition of his army; and with ſuch vigour did he charge the Macedonians, who, led on by Antigonus, had attacked the wing in which he fought, that for ſome time he compelled the phalanx to give ground, and had nearly wreſted the victory from them. But the injudicious management of Euclidas, according to Polybius, or, according to others, the treachery of an officer in the Spartan army, corrupted by Antigonus, having cauſed the total diſcomfiture of the other wing, the confuſion ſoon involved the whole Spartan line; and Cleomenes, overpowered by numbers, moſt of his men having fallen, was forced at length to quit the field.

Bef. Chriſt 222.

Polyb. 2. 68. Plut. in Cleomene.

HE fled to Sparta, informed the citizens of the diſaſtrous event, and adviſed them to ſubmit to Antigonus. 'For my part,' continued he, 'I am 'prepared either to live or to die, as the one or 'the other may be moſt for the intereſt of my 'country.' He then retired to his own houſe, where he refuſed every kind of refreſhment, not even ſuffering his armour to be taken off; but after having leaned his head for a few minutes againſt a pillar, he ſet off for Gythium, the principal ſtation of the Spartan fleets; and with ſome choſen friends, going immediately on board, ſtretched away for Egypt [11].

[11] A farther inſight into the character of this prince may be had from a curious anecdote recorded of him, when on his way to Egypt. Therycion, one of the Spartans who attended him, borne down by his reverſe of fortune, propoſed to Cleomenes to kill himſelf, ſetting off the propoſal with that ſpecious colouring, which the imbecillity of an oppreſſed mind is apt to miſtake for argument. 'Thinkeſt thou, wicked man,' replied Cleomenes, 'to ſhew thy fortitude by ruſhing upon death, a refuge always 'eaſily to be had, and which every man has open to him? That 'were a flight far more ſhameful than even that to which we have 'now been compelled. Better men than we are have, either by 'the

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

His adventures in Egypt belong rather to the hiſtory of that kingdom: at preſent it may be ſufficient to mention a few of the principal circumſtances.

Bef. Chriſt 222.

PTOLEMY Euergetes, whoſe ally he had for ſome time been, received him honourably; and, when better acquainted with his character, held him in the higheſt eſteem; lamenting that he had not aſſiſted him more effectually, and promiſing to take the firſt opportunity of replacing him on the throne of his anceſtors. This probably he might have effected: but dying ſoon afterwards, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Philopator; a prince totally the reverſe of what his father had been, immerſed in diſſoluteneſs, and governed altogether by an inſolent and rapacious miniſter. Cleomenes had too great a ſpirit to brook the indignities, which he experienced from this vicious court. Ptolemy's miniſters marked his reſentment, and enraged that he ſhould dare to be diſpleaſed, they added inſult to injury, till fired by his wrongs, this unhappy prince would have revenged them by open violence; but he periſhed in

Bef. Chriſt 221.

'the fortune of arms, or overpowered by numbers, left the field of 'battle to their enemies; but the man, who, to avoid pain and 'calamity, or from a ſlaviſh regard to the praiſe or cenſures of 'men, gives up the conteſt, is overcome by his own cowardice. 'If we are to ſeek for death, that death ought to be in action, not 'in the deſerting of action; for it argues baſeneſs to live or to die 'to ourſelves. By adopting thy expedient, all that we can gain is, 'to get rid of our preſent difficulties, without either glory to our'ſelves, or benefit to our country. In hopes then, that we ſhall 'ſome time or other be of ſervice to our country, both thou and I, 'methinks, are bound to preſerve life. Whenever theſe hopes 'have altogether abandoned us, death, if ſought for, will readily 'be found.' Plutarch in Cleomene.

Traits ſuch as theſe place a character in a ſtrong light. With ſuch ſentiments, it is difficult to ſuppoſe this prince to have been the unfeeling tyrant.——At laſt, it is true, he fell by his own hand; but that was in the tranſport of deſpair: his cool judgment had condemned the raſh deed.

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the wild attempt, after he had lived about three years in Egypt. BOOK IV.

SPARTA, which till this period had never ſuffered the fate of a captive city, could not have fallen into the power of a more merciful conqueror. Antigonus, rather a protector than an enemy, would not permit the leaſt injury to be offered to any part of the city, or inhabitants, but contented himſelf with re-eſtabliſhing the juriſdiction of the Ephori, as it had been before the time of Cleomenes. He even ſhewed a tender regard for the intereſts of that unfortunate prince; for, obſerving that the Spartans, by whom he was affectionately remembered, could not bear the thought of another king whilſt he ſurvived, Antigonus complied with their wiſhes, and left the throne open as he found it. He ſtaid in Sparta but three days, being recalled home by a ſudden emergency, which demanded his immediate preſence. So critical was the fate of Cleomenes. Had the latter deferred fighting for three days longer, Antigonus muſt have withdrawn his troops, and Cleomenes had been relieved. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 221. Plut. in Cleomene. Polyb. 2. 70. et 5. 9.

IT had been, as we have already obſerved, a favourite maxim with Antigonus, notwithſtanding he had of late been induced to depart from it, 'that foreign conqueſts were not to be obtained 'but at the expence of the happineſs of his own 'kingdom.' And it is remarkable, how fully the laſt ſcenes of his life verified his obſervation. Encouraged by his abſence, a multitude of Illyrians, and the barbarous nations adjoining, had made an inroad into Macedon, and committed dreadful devaſtation. And it was the account of this irruption, that haſtened the return of Antigonus into his own dominions. The barbarians, who had as yet found no force able to oppoſe them, heard of his approach

BOOK IV. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 220.

approach undiſmayed; and even advanced to meet him, in full confidence of victory. The battle was deciſive againſt them: but it was alſo fatal to the Macedonians. The king, by the violent exertion of his voice during the engagement, burſt a blood-veſſel; and the large effuſion of blood, that followed, having thrown him into a languiſhing ſtate, he died in a few days, univerſally lamented for his great military abilities, but much more for his exalted virtues, and the noble generoſity of ſoul by which he had been diſtinguiſhed [12]. Among many inſtances of his humane diſpoſition, the manner, in which he uſed his victories, is particularly recorded. He ſeemed to forget, that the vanquiſhed had ever been his foes: his firſt care was, to ſoften their lot, and as far as conſiſted with the public ſafety, to reſtore to them thoſe privileges and enjoyments, of which other conquerors would have had a pride in depriving them. In what manner he behaved to the Spartans, we have ſeen. And ſuch, Polybius informs us, was their veneration for him, though the captor of their virgin-city, that, far from conſidering him as an enemy by whom they had been humbled, they proclaimed him in the general aſſembly of Greece their *benefactor* and *preſerver* [13]. He reigned but ſixteen years, too ſhort a period for the happineſs of his kingdom and of mankind.

ANTIGONUS certainly appears to have been one of the ableſt princes that ever ſat on the throne of Macedon. To him probably was owing that vigour, which the Macedonians, after all their loſſes, were enabled to exert in the ſucceeding

[12] Polyb. 2. 70. It appears from Polybius, that in military reputation he was one of the firſt among the princes of his time.

[13] Εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα.—See Polyb. 9. 30.

reign:

reign: and had his example been imitated by his BOOK
ſucceſſors, it may fairly be conjectured, that the IV.
fate of Macedon, if not prevented, had been at Sect. 2.
leaſt not ſo rapid and humiliating. In his laſt
hours, he took care to confirm the appointment he Bef. Chriſt 220.
had already made of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius,
to ſucceed him on the throne. [14].

[14] Antigonus is known in hiſtory by the name of *Doſon*, *the promiſer*. He acquired this name, Plutarch tells us, from his facility in promiſing and his flowneſs in performing. But if by this we are to underſtand, that he either was avaricious, or that he employed that low expedient, to which ſhallow politicians have often recourſe, of encreaſing the number of their dependents by holding out alluring promiſes which they never propoſe to fulfil, we ſhall conceive of him a very different character from what is aſcribed to him by Polybius, who lived near his time. Poſſibly, at his acceſſion, he had the importunities of ſelf-intereſted courtiers to contend with; and from his natural facility of temper, and the difficulty of his ſituation, he was often under a neceſſity to put off, in the gentleſt manner he could, expectations, which were not to be gratified but at the expence of the public. Hence perhaps was the name given to him by ſome of the witlings of the age; and, as the points of ſatire are more faithfully remembered than actions of well-earned praiſe, Antigonus retains to this day the name of *Doſon*.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

PHILIP aſcended the throne with the general applauſe of all Macedon. The extraordinary care beſtowed on his education, the inſtructions he was known to have received from the late king, the opportunity he had enjoyed of obſerving the virtues of that excellent prince, together with the high expectations which his own natural endowments had taught his ſubjects to form of him, induced them to hope, that in him Antigonus would be revived: and, though only in his ſeventeenth year at the time of his acceſſion, his manner of entering on the government ſtrengthened theſe expec-

Bef. Chriſt 220. Polyb. Caſaub. Oct. 1371. de virt. et vitiis.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 220.

expectations. Intelligent, affable, munificent, attentive to the ſeveral duties of the royal ſtation, he appeared to have no other end in view but the happineſs of Macedon, and to have every qualification neceſſary to accompliſh that great object.

MACEDON, at the ſame time, had never been in a more flouriſhing condition. The wiſe policy of the laſt reign had reſtored induſtry and opulence; her cities were populous; her lands cultivated, and covered with inhabitants; and her armies high in reputation for diſcipline and courage. The barbarian borderers had been lately humbled; and even that ſpirit of hoſtility, which for ages had animated the councils of Greece againſt Macedon, had almoſt died away. Who could have thought, that theſe were the times, and this the prince, deſtined to humble this ancient kingdom, and to prepare the way for its final ruin!

Polyb. 4. 3. et ſeq. Plut. in Arato.

THE Aetolians were the firſt people to diſturb the peace of Greece. The jealouſy, which they had long entertained of the Achaean ſtates, was much encreaſed by that importance which Achaia had aſſumed from her alliance with Macedon; and no ſooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus, than the Aetolian bands poured again into Peloponneſus. They landed on the Achaean coaſt, after ravaging which, they proceeded to a ſtrong hold the Achaeans poſſeſſed on the Meſſenian frontier; from whence they made ſevere depredations on all the country around. Theſe however were ſaid to have been only private adventurers, who went forth merely for the ſake of plunder, without the authority, and as it was pretended, even without the knowledge of the Aetolian government.

TIMOXENUS, then general of Achaia, whoſe term of office was nearly expired, declining to march

march againſt them, Aratus, general-elect, aſſumed the command, and taking the field, required them inſtantly to leave Peloponneſus. They promiſed they would: but Aratus, although he had already diſmiſſed a part of his force, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of their intentions, and finding, as he thought, a favourable opportunity of chaſtiſing theſe unprovoked plunderers, attacked them on their march near Caphyae, a town of Arcadia; but meeting with an unexpected and vigorous reſiſtance, he was entirely defeated. Bef. Chriſt 220.

THE blame of this diſcomfiture fell wholly on Aratus. He had preſumed to act, though not in office; he had weakened his army, whilſt the enemy was yet in the field; and he had expoſed his troops to ſlaughter by his raſhneſs and the ill-digeſted orders he had given. To anſwer to theſe articles of charge, he was ſummoned before the convention of the Achaean ſtates; and he had probably been condemned, had not an open confeſſion of his error deprecated the reſentment of his judges. The fault, nevertheleſs, was not altogether to be imputed to him. It appears, that the Achaean troops had been deficient in diſcipline and in courage. The pernicious effects of their having called in the aid of foreign arms, both Polybius and Plutarch inform us, began already to be felt. The Achaeans, who thought no enterpriſe too arduous, whilſt left to the exertion of their own vigour, thoſe men, who with ſuch glory to themſelves had eſtabliſhed the liberties of Achaia, now repoſing themſelves on the power of Macedon, had ſunk inſenſibly into ſloth, timidity, and weakneſs. Polyb. 4. 7. Plut. in Arato.

THE evil was not at preſent to be remedied. And nothing remained to the Achaeans but the alternative of making friends of the Aetolians, by admitting them to a ſhare in the adminiſtration of Grecian

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Grecian affairs (an object which the Aetolians ſeem long to have had in view) or to implore the aſſiſtance of the Macedonian king. The former muſt have been a meaſure of wiſer policy; as the ſtrength of Greece would then have been collected into one formidable confederacy; and the different ſtates, by purſuing ſeparate intereſts, had not haſtened the ruin of their common liberties. But the pride of Aratus led him to a more pernicious choice. He could not bear that Achaia ſhould yield up, or even divide a ſovereignty, which however was now little more than nominal; and ſtill leſs, that ſhe ſhould receive orders from thoſe, to whom ſhe had been accuſtomed to preſcribe them. Aratus, beſides, had been the firſt perſon to call in the Macedonians to the ſupport of the Achaean body; and he would not ſeem to condemn a meaſure, which had originated from himſelf. Unfortunately for Greece, the counſels of Aratus prevailed.

Bef. Chriſt 220.

PHILIP received the application with pleaſure. To ſee himſelf, at the opening of his reign, the acknowledged arbiter of Greece, and to have the firſt of the Peloponneſian ſtates taking ſhelter under his protection, were circumſtances too flattering for a young prince, to be conſidered with indifference; whilſt his compliance with the requeſt of the Achaeans gave him an opportunity, at the ſame time, of ſhewing his regard to the injunctions of the late king, who had charged him to cultivate the friendſhip of Aratus, and to pay particular attention to the counſels of that experienced ſtateſman.

HE accordingly promiſed, as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of his own kingdom, to repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the ſtates in alliance with Achaia, and in conjunction with

with them to ſettle their plan of future opera- BOOK
tions. V.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Aetolians had committed a freſh act of violence, far more outrageous, as their enemies affected to repreſent it, than any thing they had yet been guilty of. Making a new inroad into Peloponneſus, they had facked Cynaetha, a city of Arcadia, putting to the ſword moſt of the inhabitants, and laying the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynaetha had, it ſeems, been long noted for fierce and barbarous manners. Some time before the preſent period, one party of them had riſen againſt another, whom they drove into baniſhment; but the exiles, on certain conditions, having obtained their recal, contrived to betray the city to the Aetolians, who, without diſtinction of friend or foe, exterminated the whole inhabitants. How far the wickedneſs of the Cynaetheans might afford an apology for this inhuman proceeding, it is now difficult to ſay. So exceedingly great, it certainly appears, was their profligacy, that they were held in ſuch abhorrence by the reſt of the Arcadians, that into ſome of their cities it was even deemed a defilement to admit them. What makes this profligacy the more worthy of hiſtorical notice, is the extraordinary manner in which antient writers account for it. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 220. Polyb. 4. 17.

THEY aſcribe it to a neglect of the ſtudy of muſic. The Arcadians, ſay they, being accuſtomed, from the unkindly ſoil they had to cultivate, to a rough and hardy life, and breathing an air keen and inclement, required ſome gentler relaxation to ſoften and humanize their minds, which might otherwiſe have contracted an aſperity ſimilar to that of the country they inhabited; and this alteration, experience taught them, muſic had the power of effecting in a greater degree than any other ſpecies of amuſement. Muſic was accord- Polyb. 4. 20, 21. & Athen. Deipnos. 14.

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kingly, with them, the great national object. Their children, from the time they firſt began to ſpeak, were inſtructed to ſing hymns to the gods, and to chant the praiſes of their antient chieftains; and this ſtudy they were, by the laws of Arcadia, to continue until the age of thirty, no other amuſement being allowed among them, nor any other art held in equal eſtimation. At their ſacred feſtivals, the boys and men were obliged to make trial of their ſkill, and to celebrate the ſolemnity with melody, ſong, and dance. And even at their convivial meetings, every perſon was in his turn to raiſe ſome inſtructive ſong; which to be incapable of doing, was ignominious in the higheſt degree. But the Cynaetheans, hiſtory tells us, having departed from the inſtitutions of their anceſtors, had degenerated into ſavage ferocity, delighting in cruelty, perfidy, and every vicious habit which debaſes the nature of man.

THE fact, however ſtrange it may be eſteemed in our preſent ſtate of cold and artificial manners, is far from being incredible. The muſic here ſpoken of, Polybius expreſsly tells us, conſiſted of hymns and paeans in honour of their deities and antient heroes [15], and was altogether of the moral claſs, conveying to the mind whatever was awful and affecting in their religion, their policy, or national events. So that ſongs ſuch as theſe, aided beſides by that power of melody [16], in which,

[15] Ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι.

See Polyb. 4. 20.

[16] Dr. Brown (Union of Poetry and Muſic, ſect. 5.) inſiſts that the boaſted efficacy of antient muſic among the Greek tribes was chiefly owing to the powerful and affecting ſong, which, according to him, derived but little aid from the muſical accompaniment, their melody being exceedingly ſimple and inartificial. And he criticizes Dacier and Monteſquieu, for aſcribing too much to

which, if there is truth in the records of antient days, the Grecian artiſts avowedly excelled, could not fail, eſpecially when operating on young and uncorrupted minds, to inſpire exalted ſentiments, and to make the heart beat high in the cauſe of virtue [17]. No wonder therefore, that the Cynaetheans,

Bef. Chriſt 220.

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to the manual execution in thoſe early ages. But 'their muſic 'being ſimple and inartificial' is one of the very reaſons why it was ſo amazingly powerful; 'ſimplicity in melody' being a neceſſary requiſite, as an ingenious writer confeſſes, (ſee Dr. Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with thoſe of the Animal World*) 'in all muſic intended to reach the 'heart, or even greatly to delight the ear.' And thence in part it is, that muſic has always been of more conſequence among the leſs cultivated, than among what are called highly-civilized nations; the latter, by refining their muſic, and rendering it more complex, have leſſened, if not deſtroyed, its power of affecting. We may therefore venture to ſuppoſe, and the teſtimony of the moſt reſpectable of the antients juſtifies the conjecture, that, ſimple as their inſtrumental muſic may have been, and however unacquainted with that concentual harmony, probably the invention of later ages (ſee Sir John Hawkins' *Hiſtory of Muſic*, 3. 2, 3.) it was nevertheleſs in ſtrength of expreſſion and deep pathetic force far beyond any thing known amongſt us. So that, with all the energy that poetry, generous affection, and tender ſentiment, can give (for to theſe heart-ennobling ſubjects was the antient Grecian ſong altogether ſacred: ſee Plutarch. de Muſica) the ſongs of Greece had alſo every advantage that genuine and inſpirited melody can beſtow. When ſuch a combination took place, among a people of quick and ſtrong perception, and who had not yet attained the art of ſuppreſſing their feelings, is it ſtrange, that every paſſion, as we are told was often the caſe, ſhould have confeſſed its controuling power?—See Hawkins' *Hiſtory of Muſic*, prel. diſc. p. 12. b. 2. c. 2. p. 166, 167. & b. 3. c. 1. p. 251. See alſo Harris on *Muſic*, *Painting*, and *Poetry*; and De Guy *Voyage en Grece*, Lettre 36.

[17] It will readily be acknowledged, that ſeveral of the effects aſcribed by the writers of Greece to their antient muſic (ſuch as, ſtimulating or controuling the paſſions, the relieving from bodily pain or infirmity, &c. &c.) are to be underſtood allegorically, or to be conſidered as the enthuſiaſtic flights of a yet rude, and therefore wondering people. Nevertheleſs, when we ſee the legiſlator ſeriouſly employing himſelf in regulating the muſic to be permitted within the ſtate, on account of *the influence* which, he tells us, *it had on the public manners*, it is impoſſible not to perceive, that their muſic muſt have had a power, which, whether the cauſe is in our manners or our muſical expreſſion, we now ſeek for in vain. Ecprepes, a Spartan Ephore, Plutarch (in Agide) informs us, cut off two of the nine ſtrings from the inſtrument of Phrynis the muſician,

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 220.

Cynætheans, by proſcribing ſo important a part of education, ſhould have ſuffered in the way we are told; as the effacing of every religious impreſſion, and a total depravation of manners, muſt evidently have followed.

But how great ſoever the contempt in which the Cynaetheans were held, the deſtruction of their city by the Aetolians excited much indignation throughout Peloponneſus; and the Achaean confederates being now met at Corinth, it was urged before them, as a new inſtance of that ſpirit of violence, of which the Aetolians ſtood accuſed. In ſuch an aſſembly, convened under the influence of Aratus and his friends, in which the king of Macedon himſelf preſided, every charge againſt the Aetolians was readily admitted. The whole convention with joint ſuffrages agreed, that the Aetolians were guilty; that reparation

ſician, in order to check the voluptuouſneſs of the muſic, which this artiſt was introducing, and *which might deſtroy the harmony of the ſtate*. And ſome years after, Timotheus was proſecuted and baniſhed from Sparta, for having attempted the like innovation in the ſtrings of the lyre, *to the corruption of the Spartan youth*. The decree Boethius had preſerved to us——

'Whereas Timotheus the Mileſian, coming to our city, has 'deformed the antient muſic, and laying aſide the uſe of the ſeven-'ſtringed lyre, and introducing a multiplicity of notes, endea-'vours *to corrupt the ears of our youth*, by means of theſe his 'novel and complicated conceits, which he calls *chromatic*, by 'him employed in the room of our *eſtabliſhed, orderly*, and '*ſimple* muſic—It therefore ſeemeth good to us, the king and 'Ephori, after having cut off the ſuperfluous ſtrings of the lyre, 'and leaving only ſeven thereon, to baniſh the ſaid Timotheus out 'of our dominions, that every one beholding the wholeſome ſeve-'rity of this city, may be deterred from bringing in amongſt us any '*unbecoming* cuſtoms.'—See Hawkins' Hiſtory of Muſic, b. 2. c. 7. and Principles and Power of Harmony. See alſo Boethius de Muſicâ; et Decretum Lacedaemon. contra Timotheum Mileſ. E Codd. Mſſtis Oxonienſibus, Oxon. 1777.

Compare what this curious monument ſays, and what likewiſe Polybius and other antient writers relate concerning the Arcadian muſic, with the utmoſt that can be ſaid of our muſic, conſidered as an inſtrument of national virtue; and how ſtriking muſt our inferiority appear!

ſhould

ſhould be demanded; and that, unleſs it was obtained, war ſhould forthwith be declared againſt them, and the direction of it committed to the Macedonian king.

Bef. Chriſt 219.

SUCH was the beginning of the *ſocial war* [4], ſo called from the aſſociation entered into by the ſeveral ſtates engaged againſt Aetolia. It commenced the firſt year of the 140th Olympiad, the ſame in which Hannibal laid ſiege to Saguntum, and continued for the ſpace of three years after. Though this war was not attended with any overthrow of ſtates, nor remarkable revolution of power, it was nevertheleſs in two reſpects of pernicious conſequence to Greece: it gave to Philip an aſcendant in the Grecian councils, of which a fatal uſe was afterwards made by that ambitious prince; and it aggravated that animoſity and deep-rankling hatred, which had long ſubſiſted between ſtate and ſtate, and which ended at laſt in the utter ſubverſion of them all.

PHILIP began his operations in a manner that afforded little benefit to his Achaean allies. The Aetolians, by their frequent inroads into the countries that lay between them and the Macedonian frontiers, were become the terror of all the nations of thoſe parts. The Epirots in particular, no longer the reſpectable people they once had been, were now fallen under a kind of ſubjection to the Aetolians; and though diſpoſed to follow the Macedonian banners, they were withheld by a dread of the Aetolian power. Philip formed the plan of reſtraining theſe incurſions, which, whilſt Greece appeared as the oſtenſible object of his care, tended at the ſame time to the ſecurity of his own kingdom. He accordingly laid ſiege to Ambracos, an important fortreſs commanding

Polyb. 4. 61. et Palmerii Græc. Ant. 2. 7.

[4] Πόλεμος συμμαχικὸς.—See Polyb. 2. 36.

Ambracia

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Ambracia and the country adjacent, which properly belonged to Epire, but was now in the hands of the Aetolians. Having reduced this fortreſs, he put the Epirots in poſſeſſion of it, and prepared to carry the war into the heart of Aetolia.

Bef. Chriſt 219.

THE fierceneſs of the Aetolian ſpirit was in no ſhape humbled by this loſs: on the contrary, whilſt the enemy was thus at their gates, they detached a large body of forces to invade Macedon; who, after committing great devaſtation wherever they appeared, puſhed on as far as Dium, a place of note near the Thermaic gulph, famed for its ſumptuous temples, which were enriched by valuable offerings, and adorned with the monuments and ſtatues of the Macedonian kings. This city the Aetolians laid in ruins; they ſpared not even the ſacred edifices, and they carried off immenſe ſpoils. About the ſame time, another Aetolian band paſſing over into Achaia, had nearly ſurpriſed Aegium, one of the cities of the Achaean league; whilſt a third army, in conjunction with the Eleans, had fallen on that part of Achaia which bordered on Elis, ravaged the territory of Dymé, Pharae, and Tritaea, and taken Teichos, a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, by which they kept in awe the whole country around.

Polyb. 4. 62.

Polyb. 4. 57.

MEANWHILE, every reſource ſeemed to fail the Achaeans. They had ſent to Philip to haſten to their aſſiſtance; but the ravages of the Aetolians, joined to the hoſtile movements of the Dardanians, had already made his own dominions the firſt and moſt neceſſary object of his attention. Aratus, the general of Achaia, judged it imprudent to riſk a battle to which he knew himſelf unequal, as the mercenaries in the Achaean ſervice had mutinied for want of pay, and the native Achaeans alone were not to be depended on.

Their

Their Peloponneſian confederates were all, at the ſame time, either ſpiritleſs or diſaffected. Even the Meſſenians, in whoſe cauſe chiefly Achaia had at the beginning taken up arms, were unwilling and afraid to act againſt the Aetolians, who kept a formidable garriſon at Phialea [5] on their frontiers, from whence they could at any time lay Meſſenia waſte. Whilſt the Spartans, though under no ſuch apprehenſions, and notwithſtanding their having, at the late convention, pledged themſelves to Achaia, had now maſſacred or baniſhed all their own citizens who were ſuppoſed to be in the intereſt of the Achaeans, and had openly declared againſt them.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 219. Polyb. 4. 31. Polyb. 4. 34 & ſeq.

IT will be neceſſary to explain the cauſes of this ſudden revolution in the Spartan councils: from them we ſhall be inſtructed what was the condition of Sparta at this period.

SINCE the battle of Selaſia, where, as already related, Cleomenes was defeated by Antigonus Doſon king of Macedon, the Spartans, amidſt their greateſt humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of Achaia; to which the haughtineſs of that republic had in all probability very much contributed. When the Aetolians, after the death of Antigonus, firſt invaded Peloponneſus, they had been diſpoſed to join them; but the Ephori then in office could not agree about the expediency of the meaſure, two of them being ſtrenuous in the cauſe of Achaia, the other three on the ſide of the Aetolians; upon which an inſurrection having enſued, the Ephori in the intereſt of the Achaeans were ſlain. The arrival of

[5] Polybius, 4. 3, 6, & 31, makes mention of Phigalea, a ſtrong-hold on the Meſſenian borders; and, 4. 79. of the Φιαλεῖς or the people of Phialea, a ſtrong-hold likewiſe on the borders of Meſſenia. From ſeveral circumſtances it is probable, that it is the ſame ſtrong-hold which is ſpoken of in all theſe places.

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Philip at Corinth, and the aſſociation of the Peloponneſian ſtates againſt Aetolia, checked for a time this turbulence of ſpirit; and though moſt of the Spartans were ſecretly friends to the Aetolians, they found it adviſeable to diſguiſe their ſentiments, and to appear well affected to the Achaean confederacy.

Bef. Chriſt 219.

Bef. Chriſt 218.

THE following year encouraged other views. The Achaeans, harraſſed by the Aetolians, and unſupported by the king of Macedon, became leſs conſiderable; and the Aetolians openly ſolicited the alliance of the Spartan people. Their party was powerful; and the propoſal had, without doubt, been accepted, had not the Ephori, who were then all devoted to the intereſts of Achaia, vigorouſly oppoſed it. This oppoſition proved fatal to theſe magiſtrates. They were ſhortly after maſſacred in the temple of Minerva, whilſt they were employed in the performance of certain ſacred rites; and other Ephori, of whoſe compliance the friends of Aetolia were well aſſured, were appointed in their room. In conſequence of theſe tranſactions, the Spartans renounced all connection with the Achaean ſtates, and declared the Aetolians their allies.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs at Sparta, when tidings arrived, that Cleomenes, of whoſe return they ſtill cheriſhed hopes, had died in Egypt. The Ephori laid hold on this occaſion, and under the appearance of zeal for the antient Spartan polity, propoſed, even at the expence of their own power, that the regal government ſhould be reſtored. The nomination they made explained fully their purpoſe. On the throne of the elder branch they placed an infant, named Ageſipolis, of the royal line, and grandſon to that Cleombrotus, who had been advanced to the regal dignity upon the expulſion of Leonidas. The other throne

throne they filled with Lycurgus, an ambitious partizan of their own party, although he had not the leaſt right by inheritance, and ſeveral princes of the younger branch were ſtill alive; but Polybius tells us, that Lycurgus had bought the ſuffrages of the Ephori, at the rate of a talent to each. 4. 35. BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 218.

By theſe arrangements, amongſt other favourite objects the Ephori effectually ſecured the political union of Sparta with the Aetolians; Lycurgus ratifying all the ſtipulations they had made, and commencing immediate hoſtilities againſt the Achaean confederates.

Above a year had elapſed, ſince the alliance had been formed againſt Achaia; during which time, Philip had performed but little of what he had promiſed. The Dardanians however, who had threatened the Macedonian borders, having upon his approach retired homeward, he now found himſelf at leiſure to attend to the diſtreſſed ſituation of his Peloponneſian friends; and though in the depth of winter, he ſet out with the utmoſt ſecrecy for Corinth, where a part of his forces lay. Polyb. 4. 67 & ſeq.

The Aetolians, and the ſtates in their alliance, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his having left Macedon: they had entertained an early contempt of Philip, on account of his youth; and the ſucceſs, with which they had carried on their depredations, had confirmed them in opinion, that they had nothing of conſequence to fear from him. They ſoon found themſelves to be miſtaken. Philip having adviſed the Achaeans of his arrival, and ſummoned them to join his ſtandard, ſurpriſed a party of Eleans, who, lulled into ſecurity, had gone forth to ravage the Sicyonian territories, and cut to pieces or took priſoners almoſt the whole body; out of two thouſand five hundred men, ſcarcely one hundred eſcaping. From thence

BOOK V. Sect. 1. thence, notwithſtanding the rugged precipices and deep ſnows in his march, he advanced to Pſophis, a remarkable ſtrong-hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had got poſſeſſion. The ſituation of this place, together with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſeemed to render any attempt againſt it impracticable. It was a ſquare fortification, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls. On three ſides the approaches to it were defended either by the Erymanthus, a deep and impetuous river, or by rapid torrents, all of them ſwollen high with the winter floods; and on the ſouth ſide, it was covered by an hill difficult of aſcent and well fortified. Philip, nevertheleſs, ſurmounted all theſe obſtructions; he brought his ſcaling-ladders to bear againſt it; and he puſhed on the aſſault with ſo much vigour, and in ſo many different parts at once, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. Laſion and Stratum, two other cities in that neighbourhood, the Eleans had alſo ſurpriſed; but terrified at the fate of Pſophis, they immediately abandoned them. Bef. Chriſt 218.

ELIS, one of the fineſt regions of Greece in point of cultivation, and rich in every ſpecies of rural wealth, was now open to Philip. Through this country he ſpread devaſtation, purſuing the Eleans even to their mountains, and carrying off cattle and other plunder to an immenſe amount. He next entered Triphylia, a diſtrict of Peloponneſus to the ſouthward of Elis, which had ſome towns capable of defence, garriſoned by the Eleans and Aetolians; but in ſix days he reduced them all.

THE reduction of theſe places brought about alſo that of Phialea, on the Meſſenian borders. Phialea had for ſome years been under the domination of the Aetolians; who, as we have already obſerved, on all occaſions infeſted from thence the Meſſenian

Meſſenian territories, controlling the councils of that people, and permitting them to have neither friend nor foe, but in common with themſelves: but now, deriving courage from the ſucceſs of Philip's arms, and the report of his advancing to their aſſiſtance, the inhabitants roſe upon the Aetolians, and forced them to evacuate their city. This event had important conſequences: the Meſſenian ſtates recovered their independence, and no longer intimidated by their Aetolian oppreſſors, declared immediately on the ſide of Macedon. Bef. Chriſt 218.

THE capacity and vigour ſhewn by Philip in the courſe of this expedition, which he had completed in the ſhort ſpace of a few weeks, during the ſeverity of the winter-ſeaſon, received an additional luſtre from the temperate uſe he made of his victories. He granted peace to all who ſued for it. Of the places which he had reduced, he retained few in his own poſſeſſion. In ſome, content with having expelled the Aetolian garriſons, he re-eſtabliſhed the former inhabitants, and reſtored to them their ancient polity. Other cities he beſtowed on his Peloponneſian confederates: the Achaean ſtates, in particular, he had gratified with Pſophis, the moſt important ſtrong-hold in this part of Greece; and which to them was an acquiſition of great importance, as it ſtrengthened their frontier towards that quarter. His whole conduct indeed ſeemed to proceed on the ſame generous plan which Antigonus had formerly adopted. The friend of liberty, and the enemy of oppreſſion, his martial exploits carried with them no appearance of ſelfiſh ambition, but ſeemed only to have in view the advantage of his allies, and the defence of Peloponneſus againſt the encroachments of the Aetolian uſurpation.

BUT amidſt all theſe fair appearances, a ſtrange alteration began to diſcover itſelf in the character of Polyb. 4. 76, 82 & ſeq. Plut. in Arato.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

of Philip, who had now retired to Argos, and there kept his court. Some time before the death of Antigonus, that excellent prince, ſenſible of his declining health, and apprehenſive of the conſequences which the intrigues of faction might occaſion under a minority, had appointed the different perſons to whom the principal adminiſtration of affairs was, upon his demiſe, to be intruſted. At the head of the council of regency he had placed Apelles, whom he alſo appointed tutor to the young king; a man verſed in affairs of ſtate, and ſuppoſed to be of ſtrict integrity; but all was artful fallacy and deception: under a plauſible outſide, he concealed the greateſt duplicity of heart, the imperiouſneſs of a tyrant, and an inſatiable luſt of power. Leontius, with the title of captain of the cuiraſſiers, Antigonus had named to the command of the army; Megaleas was appointed ſecretary of ſtate; Taurion to be king's lieutenant in Peloponneſus; and Alexander to be captain of the life-guard. Theſe diſpoſitions had been implicitly acquieſced in by Philip: and Apelles was at this time prime miniſter, and the royal favourite. Of the other chief officers of the crown, Megaleas and Leontius were the creatures of the miniſter, and paid an implicit obedience to his inſtructions. Apelles, who in Macedon acted without control, was ſoon diſguſted at the rigid firmneſs and unpliable character of the republican Greeks, who frequently preſumed to diſpute his orders, and to talk of laws and privileges, which they would not ſuffer to be infringed. He therefore reſolved to humble them: and, ſo early as the late expedition into Elis, he had given directions to the ſeveral Macedonian officers, to take every opportunity of treating them with contempt and injuſtice, particularly in the diviſion of the plunder, and in the diſtribution of quarters; with

Bef. Chriſt 218.

ſtrict

ſtrict injunctions, ſhould they preſume to complain, to charge them with mutiny, and to puniſh them accordingly. The Macedonians, Polybius obſerves, had by a ſimilar policy eſtabliſhed their dominion over the nations of Theſſaly, who had now only the ſhadow of liberty remaining; and Apelles expected, that he ſhould with as little difficulty effect the ſame in Peloponneſus. But the Achaeans were not ſo eaſily to be ſubdued. They applied directly to Aratus, who, with a becoming ſpirit, remonſtrated to Philip againſt the conduct of his miniſters. Philip ſaw that matters were not yet ripe for the execution of the intended project: he therefore temporiſed, and affecting to throw the blame on his ſervants, commanded them to deſiſt from giving offence to his Achaean allies.

Bef. Chriſt 218. 4. 76.

Some other method of accompliſhing their deſigns was now to be employed. Aratus, at this time, had the lead in the Achaean councils, and the perſon who was ſupported by his recommendation, was always ſure to ſucceed to the appointment of General of Achaia. That it might not therefore be in his power again to obſtruct the views of Macedon, Apelles laid his plan to withdraw from this ſtateſman the confidence of the Achaeans, by throwing the adminiſtration of affairs into other hands; and he accordingly adviſed Philip to attach himſelf to the party in oppoſition to Aratus. Philip entered readily into the views of his miniſter, and immediately ſet out for Achaia, in order by his preſence to influence, if poſſible, the approaching election of General. The moſt eminent and the worthieſt of the Achaeans were all the friends of Aratus; but to be the friend of Aratus was now a crime. Philip ſupported therefore the election of Eperatus, whoſe only merit was his enmity to this great man.

Polyb. 4. 83. Plut. in Arato.

Without

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Without abilities, and without perſonal weight, Eperatus, by dint of the intrigues, the threatenings, and the bribes, which Philip and his miniſters employed, defeated the united oppoſition of every honeſt Achaean. He was elected. To counterbalance, however, this unpopular meaſure, and to ſtrengthen himſelf in the affections of the Achaean people, Philip laid ſiege to Teichos, the fortreſs of which the Aetolians had poſſeſſed themſelves the preceding year, took it, and reſtored it to the Achaeans of Dymé, to whom it belonged; and having made an inroad into Elis, he preſented the Dymeans, and the cities in that neighbourhood, with all the plunder he had carried off.

Bef. Chriſt 217.

Polyb. 4. 84.

PHILIP was now, in his own imagination, maſter of Achaia; the adminiſtration was devoted to him; and the wealth and vigour of that republic, he fancied abſolutely at his diſpoſal: but he ſoon found what an empty phantom he had been purſuing. The ſeaſon for action approached; proviſions were neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army, and funds were wanted for their pay. The new general was applied to upon this occaſion: but no magazines had been provided; and the treaſury was exhauſted. Eperatus had neither credit nor invention for immediate reſource; and the king had to ſuffer the mortification of courting the intereſt of Aratus, in order to obtain ſupplies of money and ſtores, to apologize for the affront he had caſt upon him, and to confeſs himſelf indebted to him even for the means of carrying on the war.

APELLES, however, ſtill perſiſted. Nothing leſs than the deſtruction of Aratus was now his object. He accuſed him of holding treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. Philip had ſent overtures of peace, with large offers of protection,

to

to the Eleans, on condition of their renouncing the friendſhip of Aetolia: and the Eleans had rejected the propoſal. Apelles pretended to have proof, that the obſtinacy of the Elean people was owing to ſecret inſtructions they had received from Aratus; and with this he had the inſolence, in the preſence of the king, to charge both Aratus and his ſon, in the moſt ſolemn manner averring the truth of what he had alledged againſt them. But this charge failed alſo of its effect. Aratus found means fully to prove his innocence: ſo that Philip, from this time, either aſhamed of the mean practices he had been induced to countenance, or more probably, convinced that he could not act with vigour without Aratus, affected to place much confidence in that Achaean ſtateſman, and to give leſs attention to the ſuggeſtions of his enemies.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 217. Polyb. ubi ſup.

BUT, whatever might be the diſſimulation of Philip, Apelles was tranſported with indignation at this appearance of favour to the man he hated. He had formed a plan for the ſubjection of Greece, and in return for ſo important a ſervice, had promiſed himſelf whatever the gratitude of his maſter had to beſtow: but now, amidſt theſe viſions of greatneſs, he ſaw himſelf ſupplanted by the man whom he had marked out for deſtruction. Urged then by ambition, diſappointment, jealouſy, and revenge, he conceived a deſign far more atrocious than any he had yet imagined. In conjunction with Megaleas and Leontius, a formal conſpiracy was entered into for defeating the views of the king in whatever he ſhould undertake; of expoſing his troops to diſtreſs and diſcomfiture; and of encompaſſing him with ſuch inſuperable difficulties, as might either compel him to abandon a war, which his miniſters were not allowed to guide, or to meet his ruin in the proſe-

Polyb. 5. 2 et ſeq.

Book V. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 217.

proſecution of it. Apelles was ſtill at the head of adminiſtration, and had powerful influence over the ſeveral departments of government throughout the kingdom of Macedon. The more effectually to execute what he and his accomplices had projected, it was agreed, that under the pretence of public ſervice, the firſt ſhould remove to Chalcis in Euboea, where he might find opportunities of intercepting all remittances from Philip's hereditary dominions. Meanwhile, it was to be the province of Megaleas and Leontius to throw obſtacles in the way of every expedition that promiſed advantage to their ſovereign and his Achaean confederates; to miſlead the king into ruinous meaſures; and even, if found neceſſary, to ſpread diſaffection and mutiny in the army, in order to render its operations feeble and ineffectual.

Philip ſoon felt the fatal effects of this treaſonable combination. Diſappointed of the cuſtomary ſupplies, he was reduced to great diſtreſs. To whatever meaſure Aratus recommended, the king's officers urged numberleſs objections; and in their turn, rather to diſtract than to promote the public operations, propoſed attempts generally uſeleſs, and often impracticable. Aratus at length prevailed on the king to attack the Aetolians in their maritime ſettlements, as the only method of annoying them effectually; and he propoſed to begin by a deſcent on Cephallenia, an iſland in the Ionian ſea, near the coaſt of Peloponneſus, the great reſort of the Aetolian pirates, from whence they continually infeſted the neighbouring coaſts of Achaia, Acarnania, and Epire. This attempt, however, was attended with real difficulties. Ships were to be procured, and mariners to be trained; the Macedonians not being converſant in naval affairs. The enemy at the ſame time had many

many veſſels in actual ſervice; and there was not a creek or a current in thoſe ſeas, with which they were not well acquainted. Aratus nevertheleſs perſevered, and Philip ſoon ſaw himſelf in a condition to appear before Palaea, one of the chief cities of the iſland, which he certainly muſt have taken, had he not been prevented by Leontius. A practicable breach had been made, and the aſſault ordered: but that traitor, who ſtill kept the command, contrived to have the party, that mounted the breach, repulſed; when Philip, ſeeing his troops diſpirited at this check, and uncertain upon whom to fix the charge of treachery, in vexation raiſed the ſiege. Polyb. 5. 4.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 217.

THE Macedonian miniſtry thought they had now carried their point. But they deceived themſelves. Aratus, notwithſtanding this diſgrace, beſought the king not to abandon the expedition, but to endeavour to make an impreſſion upon Aetolia itſelf, where he might have an opportunity of revenging the wrongs of Greece, and of eſſentially diſtreſſing the common enemy. Philip felt himſelf ſtrongly inclined to follow this advice. He could not but remember the ſacking of Dium by the Aetolians, the barbarity and rapine which had marked their incurſions into Epire, and the ſacrilegious ruin of the famous and revered oracle of Dodona, which they had ſpoiled of its treaſures, and levelled with the ground. Polyb. 4. 67.

To cover this deſign however from the enemy, the fleet had inſtructions not to touch at any part of the Aetolian coaſt, but to ſhape their courſe to Leucas, the famed promontory [6] of Acarnania, acroſs which had been cut a canal, which opened into the Ambracian gulph. Through this canal the Polyb. 5. 5 et ſeq.

[6] See Mr. Addiſon's elegant account of the virtues aſcribed to this promontory by the pagan world. Spect. No. 223, 227, 233.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 217.

fleet was to make its way, and proceeding up the gulph, was to land the forces on the upper part of the Acarnanian coaſt, within a few hours' march of the Aetolian confines. Leontius, who now ſaw clearly into Aratus' plan, trembled for the iſſue. The Aetolians could ſcarcely eſcape deſtruction. They had, he knew, but a ſmall part of their forces at home, Dorymachus, the Aetolian general, having marched with a conſiderable body to invade Theſſaly, with the view of forcing Philip to fly to the defence of his own dominions. The Aetolians, at the ſame time, had received no intimation of the intended invaſion, and on that ſide eſpecially were unſuſpicious of any hoſtile attempt. He endeavoured however to baffle Aratus, if poſſible. Under various pretences, he ſought to gain time. He talked of encamping, of halting but for a few hours, of not exhauſting the troops, fatigued already by conſtant ſervice. But all his repreſentations ſerved only to encreaſe the ardor of Aratus, who entreated Philip not to liſten to any propoſal of delay, but to puſh on, day and night, ſucceſs depending entirely on the rapidity of their march. The ſecond day from their landing, they entered Thermum, one of the moſt remarkable citadels of Aetolia, if not of Greece, for ſituation and opulence. It was ſeated on the brow of a craggy mountain, encompaſſed on every ſide by a rocky and hilly country, and though without wall or defence, but what nature had formed around it, ſeemed to defy every hoſtile approach; the only road, that led to it, being a narrow rugged path, of ſteep aſcent, ſkirted either by thick woods, or deep lakes, by yawning precipices, or tremendous rocks. This remarkable ſtrong-hold the boldeſt foe had never dared to attempt: and here was depoſited the chief wealth of Aetolia,

Aetolia, their ſtores, their arms, their treaſure; all that was elegant or curious in workmanſhip of which Greece could boaſt, paintings and ſtatues, ſplendid porticoes and ſumptuous temples, adorning a city where the Aetolian eſtates held their conventions, and their annual fairs; where they celebrated their national feaſts and ſacrifices; and where was ſent every thing in Aetolia of value and magnificence, for the double purpoſe of oſtentation and ſecurity.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 217.

PHILIP had now the faireſt opportunity of ſatiating his revenge; which Polybius himſelf, the profeſſed enemy of the Aetolians, acknowledges he indulged to an exceſs altogether unjuſtifiable. Not content with having abandoned the place to pillage, he afterwards laid it in ruins. Of more than two thouſand ſtatues, ſuch only were ſpared as appeared to have been dedicated to the gods, the reſt being either broken in pieces or defaced: the temples were rifled, and the ſacred ornaments, which the piety of ages had dedicated, were defaced or torn down: and when the ſoldiers had ſelected from the booty all the precious things, which they thought they ſhould be able to carry off, they collected the reſt into a heap, and ſet them on fire; whereby fifty thouſand ſuits of armour, beſides an immenſe quantity of rich ſtuffs, were conſumed. The ſame ſucceſs which attended Philip in his march to Thermum, he alſo met with in his return, having had the precaution to ſecure by ſtrong guards all the important paſſes on the way. Some flying parties hung indeed upon his rear, and followed him to the place of embarkation; but they were not able to make any ſenſible impreſſion: and by the time Dorymachus, who upon the firſt advice haſtened homeward, had reached Aetolia, the Macedonians had retired. 5. 9.

BOOK V. Sect. 1.

PHILIP resolved to follow his blow, before the enemy had recovered from the consternation which this bold enterprise had spread among them. Having embarked his troops, and committed some slight ravages along that part of the Aetolian coast which lay on the Ionian sea, he entered again the Corinthian gulph, landed at Lechaeum, and marched into Laconia; Lycurgus the Spartan king having, during the late siege of Palaea, committed devastation in the Messenian territories, for which Philip now meant to make reprisals. The Spartans had just heard of the sacking of Thermum, and were preparing to send succours to their Aetolian confederates, when they discovered the Macedonian army within a short distance of Sparta. The sudden appearance of the enemy, the report of their operations, and the amazing expedition they had used, left the Spartans without the power of defence. They kept within the city, whilst the Macedonians, uncontrolled, extended their depredations to the utmost verge of Laconia on the sea of Crete; laying waste with fire and sword the fairest part of the country, and destroying, wherever they moved, every trace of cultivation. On their return, the Spartans prepared to intercept them: but here again they failed; their troops were put to flight, and the Macedonians carried off a prodigious booty.

Bef. Christ 217.

WHAT renders these spirited operations more honourable to Philip's military character, is the difficult situation in which he found himself at the time they were executed; beset with obstructions which his treacherous ministry were incessantly raising to his measures, deeply distressed in mind from the discoveries he had already made, and still more perplexed from the grounds he had to suspect that much more was yet to

to be discovered. A more minute detail of these dark treasons will not be improper in this place. Though matters of a private nature, they are closely connected with the transactions we record. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 217.

We have mentioned the disloyal machinations of Apelles, and the ministers in combination with him, to embarrass and defeat their royal master in whatever he should undertake, rather than suffer Aratus to guide his councils. The attempt on Thermum, and the success that attended it, had inflamed their resentment higher than ever. Megaleas and Leontius, who accompanied the king in that expedition, had employed every artifice to disappoint him; but, as we have seen, they had been baffled. The sullen gloom that sat on their countenances, in the midst of the general joy upon the safe return of the army to the place of embarkation, plainly demonstrated their treacherous wishes, and struck the observation of the king in so forcible a manner, that, from this appearance combined with other circumstances, he was strengthened in his suspicions, that villainy and treason had taken root among them; and the conduct of Megaleas soon afforded proofs of what he suspected. Determined at any rate to destroy Aratus, he contrived, under colour of an affray, to instigate ruffians to attempt his life; and he had probably effected his purpose, had not the intervention of Philip himself, whom the uproar had called forth, compelled the assailants to desist. When summoned on this account before the king, Megaleas had even the insolence to avow his intentions, and his unchanged resolution of executing them: and Philip, who in the art of temporising was exceeded by none, contented himself at present with putting him under arrest, and imposing on him a fine Polyb. 5. 14, 15.

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fine of twenty talents; for which Leontius binding himself a security, the arrest was soon after removed.

Bef. Christ 217.

THE Laconian expedition now engrossing all the king's thoughts, the matter rested here for the present. But upon the return of the army from Laconia to the Corinthian isthmus, Leontius, uneasy at the suspected situation of Megaleas, in whose condemnation he was conscious he must be finally involved, formed a scheme to intimidate the king from proceeding farther in this inquiry, under pretence that there were dangerous discontents in the army, on account of what had been already done; and his interest among the soldiery being powerful, he even excited an insurrection. This, however, availed him little. Philip, with great vigour and address, suppressed the mutiny upon its first breaking out; but appeared to take no pains to be informed by whom it had been fomented. This unexpected indifference struck Leontius and his associate with new terror: they began to dread that the king knew more of their proceedings than they had suspected, and that his affected calmness was grounded on temporising dissimulation. Under the impression of this fear, they dispatched messengers to Apelles, to hasten his appearance at court, in order that his influence might restore their drooping cause. He appeared accordingly: but the king, who had been already apprised of his criminal connections, received him with a coolness so striking, that Megaleas, who now saw that he had no protection to expect, fled; leaving Leontius, his security, to be responsible for his fine, which accordingly Philip immediately demanded.

Polyb. 5. 26. et seq.

THE guilt of great ministers is seldom more than suspected during their day of favour: it is their disgrace, which completes the discovery.

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The fulleſt evidence now poured in from every quarter. It appeared, that Apelles had poſſeſſed himſelf of an authority not inferior to that of the king, and that he had uſed it to the moſt treaſonable of purpoſes; that he had uſurped an abſolute dominion over the royal revenues, and with a deſign to ruin the king's affairs, had diverted them from the public ſervice; that he had, in his own name, and by his ſole authority, iſſued orders of the firſt importance, and received and anſwered all diſpatches, without even conſulting his maſter; that every department of government throughout Macedon was filled with his creatures, who looked up to no ſovereign but him, and were prepared to execute whatever he ſhould command:—that Leontius, in like manner, had eſtabliſhed ſuch an intereſt among the military, as to be able to command them as he pleaſed; and that the diſcomfiture at Palaea, and the repeated diſappointments which had of late cramped the king's operations, had all originated in him:—that Megaleas had entertained a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, and by letter under his own hand had encouraged the Aetolians to proſecute the war, aſſuring them of the low ſtate of the king's finances, and throwing out againſt him many illiberal reflections. Such daring treaſons againſt his honour, his crown, and his life, fully juſtified the utmoſt rigour on the part of Philip. Apelles and his ſon were ſeized and executed. Leontius had been impriſoned upon Megaleas' flight, and the army had interceded in his behalf; but Philip, not intimidated, ordered him alſo to be immediately put to death. Whilſt Megaleas, who had fled to Thebes, hearing that the king was in purſuit of him, expiated his crimes by putting a voluntary period to his life.

BOOK V. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 217.

BOOK

BOOK V.

SECTION II.

BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 217.

THE removal of the Macedonian miniſters promiſed conſiderable advantages to Aratus. They had been avowedly his enemies; his deſtruction was one principal article of their original plan; and he had taken therefore an active part againſt them during the late inquiry. To his ſagacity and zeal Philip owed moſt of the material diſcoveries he had made; and the king ſeemed to acknowledge his ſervices, by the unbounded confidence he now repoſed in him, living with him as his friend, and paying uncommon attention to his counſels.

THIS fair appearance of truſt and royal favour was, nevertheleſs, all fallacy and artifice. It ſoon appeared, that Philip ſtill entertained the ſame inſidious deſigns againſt the liberties of his Peloponneſian confederates, in which Apelles had led the way: and however highly he might affect to prize Aratus, it became evident, that he conſidered him merely

merely as the inſtrument of his ambition, to be employed whilſt ſerviceable, and when he ceaſed to anſwer his views, to be removed as dangerous, or caſt aſide as uſeleſs. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

In fact, the crime of the late miniſtry, in the eyes of Philip, was not, that they had endeavoured to leſſen the importance of Aratus in the Peloponneſian ſtates, or to reduce thoſe Greek republics under ſubjection to Macedon. So far they had acted in concurrence with the views of their royal maſter. Their crime was, that they had not ſuffered Aratus to take the lead, when it became neceſſary to the intereſts of Philip; and that, inſtead of acquieſcing in that ſubordination which the complexion of the times rendered expedient, they had raſhly adopted pernicious counſels, and in their attempt to overthrow this Achaean chief, endeavoured to involve their ſovereign with him in one common ruin. Bef. Chriſt 217.

The war ſtill continued, though its operations were now for the moſt part languid and unintereſting; the ſeveral ſtates being rather employed in adding to the ſtrength of their own frontiers, than in annoying thoſe of the enemy. Twice had a negociation for peace been ſet on foot, under the mediation of Rhodes and other maritime powers, but without effect; when on a ſudden Philip declared his reſolution of putting an immediate end to the war. This meaſure, however precipitate and myſterious it might appear, when the profound diſſimulation of that prince is conſidered, had nevertheleſs been formed upon motives, which he had long revolved in his mind. It will be neceſſary to explain what theſe motives were, as they have an important influence on the ſubſequent fortunes of the Grecian people. Bef. Chriſt 216.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Antigonus, the Romans had, for the firſt time, paſſed over

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over into Illyricum, the north-weſt boundary of Greece, and bordering upon Macedon, to revenge an inſult offered to their embaſſadors by Teuta, queen of a diſtrict of that country. At the ſame time, a prince named Demetrius reigned in Pharos, an iſland on the Illyrian coaſt, which, together with a few places on the neighbouring continent, formed the whole of his poſſeſſions. Whether from hatred of the Illyrian princeſs, whoſe reſentment, Polybius tells us, he had reaſon to dread, or in hopes of ſharing her ſpoils, he had joined the Romans, and at the cloſe of the war, which ended in the defeat of Teuta, had been rewarded with a conſiderable addition to his little principality. But after their departure, emboldened by a report that the Gauls threatened Italy, and that Hannibal alſo was preparing to invade it, he renounced the ſubmiſſion he had promiſed them, ſtrengthened himſelf in men and ſhips, paſſed beyond the limits they had preſcribed for his conduct, infeſted the iſlands and coaſts around, and even deſtroyed cities, in which the Romans had an immediate property. Of theſe outrages complaint having been brought to Rome, the Roman forces returned, and expelled him from his dominions. In this reverſe of fortune, he had taken refuge at the court of Philip. His misfortunes, his military reputation, his impetuous and enterpriſing ſpirit, ſuited to the natural genius of Philip himſelf, gained favour with the king, which he cultivated with aſſiduity and art. He penetrated into his character; addreſſed himſelf to his fears, to his vanity, to his ambition. 'Such abilities as his,' he told him, 'were meanly employed in the petty wars in which he was engaged, when ſo noble an object as Italy was in view; inſtead of fighting the battles of one republic of Greece againſt another, it ought rather to be his policy to extend his domi-

Bef. Chriſt 216.

Polyb. 2. 11.

Ubi ſup.

Polyb. 3. 16 & ſeq.

nion

nion over them all, and to mould theſe now diſ- BOOK
jointed ſtates into one ſolid maſs of empire, which, V.
beloved as he was by ſome of them, and dreaded Sect. 2.
by others, he might effect without much difficulty; Bef. Chriſt
were the Romans once to eſtabliſh themſelves in 216.
the neighbourhood of Macedon, it would not be long ere that kingdom would find herſelf reduced to the ſame abject ſituation to which Illyricum was already humbled; the Carthaginians were then on their march to reſcue the liberties of mankind from Roman uſurpation; a more favourable opportunity never could offer, as his friendſhip, whilſt the iſſue of the war was doubtful, would be of value at Carthage; but, ſhould once the Roman power be ſubdued, he might then find Polyb. 5. enemies, where now he might have friends and 101. Juſt. allies.' 29. 2.

THE moſt frivolous arguments, when our own paſſions plead on the ſame ſide, become powerful. Philip, inattentive to the dangers he was plunging into, ſaw nothing before him but victory, glory, and dominion. He enjoined however the ſtricteſt ſecrecy to Demetrius, until it was known what progreſs Hannibal ſhould make. He had faithful accounts tranſmitted to him of all his motions. His paſſage of the Rhone, his march over the Alps, his victory at the Ticinus, and again at the Trebia, had ſucceſſively added to the hopes and exultations of Philip; but the tidings of his having Bef Chriſt overthrown and ſlain a Roman conſul at the lake 217. Thraſimenus, and of his being maſter of Etruria, proved deciſive. Philip, without farther delay, reſolved to put an end to the war in Greece, to enter into alliance with Hannibal, and to pour all his forces into Italy.

ARATUS would have diſſuaded him from this Polyb. de imprudent project; but his repreſentations were virtut i- diſregarded. The other part of Philip's plan, to bus et vi- tiis, 1371.

make

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 217.

make himſelf abſolute lord of Greece, he was obliged to manage however with greater caution. He had already, by intrigue and artful ſervices, contrived to form a ſtrong intereſt among the Argives, among the Arcadians, as well as among ſome of the Achaean cities; and theſe, he expected, would lead the way to the ſubjection of all the Peloponneſian ſtates. To accompliſh this great object, it was neceſſary to be maſter at the ſame time of the citadel of Corinth, and of the caſtle of Ithome, two fortreſſes emphatically called *the fetters of Peloponneſus*. The firſt was already in his power; and the other he hoped ſoon to poſſeſs. Ithome was ſituated in the Meſſenian territories; and the diſſenſions, which then prevailed in that ſtate, ſeemed greatly to favour his views. The people complained of the tyranny and oppreſſion of the nobles; and the nobles were jealous of the unbounded ſpirit of liberty, which predominated among the people. To both parties Philip pretended to be a friend, and both parties he deceived. The nobles he encouraged not to give way; the people, not to ſubmit. His mediation ſerving only to pour oil upon the flames, the contending factions had recourſe to violence. The people prevailed, and after much bloodſhed, poſſeſſed themſelves of Ithome: when Philip, under pretence of offering ſacrifices for their proſperity to Ithomean Jupiter, had addreſs to get admiſſion into the fortreſs. Yet, even in this ſtage, he was diſappointed of his object. Demetrius of Pharos, and Aratus, had both accompanied him, though with different views. Demetrius, privy to the fraud meditated by Philip, was inceſſant in urging him on the execution of his purpoſe: whilſt Aratus, ſuſpicious of his deſign, was watchful to defeat it. The inſtant therefore, that Philip's intention became apparent, he remonſtrated

monſtrated againſt it in the moſt ſpirited manner; reminded him of the honourable part the late Antigonus had acted towards the Grecian ſtates; and entreated him to reflect, in what a diſadvantageous light he muſt ſtand, ſhould he, who had been conſidered as their protector, become the invader of their common liberties. Shame, or more probably the fear of a formidable oppoſition, which he ſaw Aratus was prepared to raiſe, induced him to deſiſt. Polyb. Excerpt. 7. Plut. in Arato.

BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 217.

FROM that time Philip's real character began to diſplay itſelf. Aratus and his ſon, who now perceived but too evidently the treacherous views of their Macedonian ally, withdrew immediately their confidence; and this ſtep precipitated their deſtruction, which Philip appears already to have meditated. The diſappointment of Ithome ſtill dwelt upon his mind; and he had long felt with indignant pride the ſuperior and impracticable virtue of thoſe republican chiefs. Their avowed diffidence of his principles and honour had convinced him that he could now no longer conciliate their friendſhip, but at the expence of the great object of his ambition, the ſubjugation of Greece; and he reſolved they ſhould live no longer to diſturb his purſuits. Taurion, who commanded under Philip in Peloponneſus, was the inſtrument he employed: he lived in intimacy with Aratus, and ſoon found an opportunity of executing his maſter's orders. Poiſon was the means. To prevent detection, the deadly preparation was not to deſtroy life at once, but to undermine it, and waſte it away by ſlow degrees, that the diſeaſe might have the appearance of a natural decay. But Aratus was not ſo deceived. His friend Cephalon, Plutarch tells us, viſiting him one day, and obſerving with concern, that he ſpit blood, Polyb. Excerpt. 8. Plut. in Arato. Plut. ub. ſup.

ſuch,

BOOK V. 'such, Cephalon,' replied Aratus, 'are the fruits 'of royal friendſhip.'

Sect. 2. BEFORE this period, in violation of the rights of hoſpitality, generally held in the higheſt reverence by the pagan world, Philip had privately ſeduced Polycratia, the wife of the younger Aratus, who, in the confidence of friendſhip, had received him into his family. The elder Aratus had indeed ſuſpected the intrigue, but in tenderneſs to his ſon had concealed his ſuſpicion. Philip now, however, gloried in the action, and not only prevailed on the wife to elope, but contrived to have a poiſonous draught adminiſtered to the huſband, which, from the quality of the ingredients, or the ſtrength of his conſtitution, deprived him not immediately of life, but diſordered his underſtanding to ſuch a deplorable degree of imbecillity, as led him to the commiſſion of actions abominable and ignominious, ſo that his death, in the flower of his age, was conſidered at length as the greateſt bleſſing that could have befallen his family or himſelf.

Bef. Chriſt 217. Plut. ub ſup. Liv. 27. 31.

WHEN it is remembered, by what ſtrong ties Philip was bound to Aratus, the many important ſervices which he had received from him, the regard which he owed to the dying charge of the excellent Antigonus, the attachment and almoſt filial reverence which he affected towards him; when it is conſidered too, that the crimes above-mentioned were the deeds of a prince, celebrated till then for integrity of ſoul and generoſity of ſentiment, one would almoſt queſtion the hiſtorian's teſtimony. Polybius accounts for this extraordinary alteration, upon the ſuppoſition of his having been perverted by the Pharian Demetrius, a daring and moſt unprincipled ſtateſman; whilſt Plutarch is of opinion, that the virtues of which Philip had made a ſhew in the early part of his reign

Polyb. 5. 12. Et de virtut. et vitiis, 1371. In Arato.

reign were all feigned [1]; and that, as opportunity invited, as his fears diminiſhed, and his power increaſed, he diſcovered thoſe vicious principles which dark policy had taught him hitherto to conceal. If ſo, ſuch deep diſſimulation, ſuch finiſhed and unrelenting profligacy of mind, at ſo early a ſeaſon of life, is hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory; for at this period his twenty-fourth year was not yet completed; and Plutarch's honeſt indignation, at the review of ſuch a character, led him to pronounce, that the many and ſevere misfortunes, which befel him in the ſucceeding part of his reign, were judgments of heaven for his atrocious crimes: 'The vengeance,' ſays he, 'of 'Jupiter, the patron of hoſpitality and of friend-'ſhip, viſiting him for the breach of both, and 'purſuing him through life.' Bef. Chriſt 217.

AMIDST the abhorrence however, which the guilt of Philip naturally excites, it may be of uſe to obſerve, that to Aratus' own miſtaken counſels, the calamities that overwhelmed him were in a great meaſure to be imputed. Jealous firſt of Cleomenes, and afterwards of the Aetolians, he had called in that very Macedonian power, which in the end deſtroyed him; and in his laſt hours he had the mortification to reflect, that his country, his family, and himſelf, were the victims of an ill-directed ambition, which ſought too eagerly the aggrandiſement of Achaia at the expence of the reſt of Greece. Yet, with ſome blemiſhes, Aratus was certainly one of the greateſt men of antiquity. An able ſtateſman and a firm patriot, by his genius, vigour, and perſeverance, he gave

[1] It is evident from Polybius' own account, that, antecedently to any influence which Demetrius of Pharos could have had on him, he had been privy to all the machinations of Apelles and his fellows, and only then diſavowed them, when he found they were not likely to ſucceed.

to

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to his republic that form and ſplendor which raiſed it to the firſt rank among the ſtates of Greece: and, had he been leſs jealous of Sparta and of Aetolia, hiſtory perhaps had not left us a more finiſhed character.

Bef. Chriſt 217.

PHILIP, in the mean time, had ſeriouſly reſolved to paſs into Italy, and to co-operate with Hannibal in humbling the Roman power. With this view, he had ſent embaſſadors to the Carthaginian general; but they had been intercepted ſoon after their landing on the Italian coaſt. Pretending however, that their errand was to Rome, they in a little time obtained their releaſe, and made their way to Hannibal, with whom they concluded a treaty; but on their return, being taken at ſea by a Roman ſquadron, they were ſent with all their papers to Rome. This intelligence, however, did not diſcourage Philip. Another embaſſy was immediately diſpatched, and a ſecond ratification of the treaty was obtained. If we are to believe Livy, Philip engaged 'to furniſh a fleet 'of two hundred ſhips, to be employed in ſpreading devaſtation along the Italian coaſts; and alſo 'to aſſiſt Hannibal with a conſiderable body of 'land-forces:' in return for which, when Rome and Italy ſhould be finally reduced, the ſole poſſeſſion of which the Carthaginians were to retain, Hannibal was to paſs into Epire at the head of a Carthaginian army, to carry on the war there in any manner Philip ſhould deſire; and having made a conqueſt of the whole country, to yield up to him thoſe parts of it, and thoſe iſlands, that lay convenient for Macedon [2].

Liv. 23. 33.

3 IT

[2] The treaty, which we find in Polybius (Excerpt. 7. 2.) is of a different tenor, and ſeems to be conceived in more modeſt terms. It contains only general ſtipulations of mutual amity and aid between Carthage and Macedon, and that *the one* ſhould have the ſame

It is not the buſineſs of the preſent work, to enter into a detail of the wars which Philip had to ſuſtain againſt the Romans: they belong to another hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to take a ſummary view of the principal events, as far as they affect the fortunes of Greece. Bef. Chriſt. 217.

Philip's firſt exploits diſcovered little of that ſpirit, which his bold ſtipulations with Hannibal ſeemed to promiſe. He had equipped a conſiderable fleet, and ſetting ſail from Macedon, coaſted along the eaſtern ſhore of Peloponneſus, doubled the cape of Malea, entered the Ionian gulph, and advanced as high as the mouth of the Aous, on which ſtood the city of Apollonia; when, receiving advice that the Roman fleet, which lay off Sicily, had weighed anchor to give him battle, ſeized with a panic, he immediately haſtened back to Cephallenia, hauled his veſſels on ſhore, croſſed over into Peloponneſus, as if called away by ſome urgent buſineſs, and made his eſcape into Macedon. Polyb. 5. 11c.

His next attempt ended in a manner equally diſgraceful. He had ſurpriſed Oricum, on the coaſt of Epire, an unwalled and defenceleſs ſea-port, conſiderable only on account of its ſituation, as from thence there was a ſhort courſe to Italy. M. Valerius Laevinus, the Roman commander at Brunduſium, who knew Philip's connections with Hannibal, and had inſtructions from Rome to obſerve him, upon the firſt information of his having poſſeſſed himſelf of this port, haſtened to diſlodge him. Philip had in the mean while marched to

ſame friends and enemies as *the other*, except where otherwiſe bound by antecedent treaties; with a particular clauſe, by which the Carthaginians obliged themſelves, in caſe of a peace with the Romans, to inſiſt previouſly on their evacuating Corcyra, Pharos, and all the iſlands which they held along the coaſts of Illyricum and Epire, and on their reſtoring to liberty all *thoſe of the family* (οἰκείους) of the Pharian Demetrius, whom they had priſoners.

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Apollonia, ſituated at a ſhort diſtance from Oricum, and laid ſiege to it. Into this place, before Philip had the leaſt idea of his approach, Laevinus contrived to introduce a choſen body of Romans; who, together with the garriſon, having ſallied out in the night, broke into Philip's camp, and with much ſlaughter routed the whole Macedonian army, the king himſelf, half-naked, eſcaping with difficulty. He made towards his fleet, which lay off Apollonia, on the Aous, with an intention of puſhing to ſea; but Laevinus having blocked up the mouth of the river, Philip, after running his veſſels aground, or ſetting them on fire, was obliged to ſteal homeward acroſs the mountains.

Bef. Chriſt 217.

Liv. 24. 24.

THE embarraſſed ſituation, however, of the Romans did not permit them to attend to this Macedonian war. The flower of their nation had lately fallen at Cannae. Poſthumus with his whole army had been cut off by the Gauls. Campania had revolted. The faith of Calabria was doubtful. And excluſive of the variety of armaments, which theſe complicated dangers rendered neceſſary, they had wars to ſuſtain in Spain, in Sicily, and in Sardinia.

IT was therefore determined to endeavour, if poſſible, to raiſe enemies againſt Philip in Greece, that he might be employed at home in defending his own dominions. Valerius Laevinus applied accordingly to the Aetolians, of all the Greeks the moſt likely to liſten to ſuch an overture. He found in them the very temper of mind he wiſhed. Naturally warlike, they entertained a violent reſentment of what they had ſuffered from Macedon in the courſe of the laſt war, and they looked impatiently for opportunities of revenge. Theſe favourable diſpoſitions Laevinus took care to cultivate by the moſt laviſh promiſes on the part of Rome:

Bef. Chriſt 211.

Rome: 'they were, he told them, 'the firſt na- BOOK
'tion beyond ſea, with whom Rome had deigned V.
'to make alliance, and they might therefore be Sect. 2.
'aſſured of holding a more diſtinguiſhed place in
'her friendſhip than any other people [3]: Philip Bef. Chriſt
'had been hitherto a troubleſome and faithleſs 211.
'neighbour; he ſhould henceforth be diſabled
'from injuring them: and Acarnania, which they
'had formerly poſſeſſed, ſhould be reſtored to
'them.' The Aetolians believed theſe flattering declarations: they haſtened to conclude a treaty with the Roman ambaſſador, of which the principal articles were, 'that the Aetolians ſhould wage
'immediate war againſt Philip by land, which the
'Romans were to ſupport by a fleet of twenty
'gallies; that whatever conqueſts might be made
'from the confines of Aetolia to Corcyra, the
'cities, buildings, and territory, ſhould belong to
'the Aetolians, the other plunder of every kind
'to the Romans; and that the Romans ſhould
'endeavour to put the Aetolians in poſſeſſion of
'Acarnania.' The Aetolians made it their requeſt, that in this treaty of alliance the Eleans and Spartans, together with Attalus king of Pergamus, with Pleuratus and Scerdildus princes of Illyricum, ſhould, if agreeable to them, be alſo included. Nothing could conſpire better with the views of Lævinus. The more enemies Philip had to contend with, the leſs he was to be feared. Lae-

3 'Aetolos eo in majore futuros honore,' ſays Livy, 26. 24. 'quòd gentium tranſmarinarum in amicitiam primi veniſſent.' This, however, is not true. It appears from Polybius, 3. 22, 24, & 25, that ſo early as the conſulſhip of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, immediarely after the expulſion of the kings, the Romans had made a treaty of amity with the Carthaginians; and that this amity was ſolemnly renewed on two ſubſequent occaſions. Nay that ſuch a treaty ſubſiſted between Rome and Carthage, and had been thrice ratified, Livy himſelf, 9. 43. acknowledges. The language of negotiation had, it ſeems, its tricks and ſubterfuges in antient days, as well as in modern.

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Bef. Chriſt 211.

vinus, on the concluſion of this treaty, immediately employed his arms in reducing Zacynthus, a ſmall iſland on the Peloponneſian coaſt, with Oeniadae and Naſus, two cities ſituate in that part of Acarnania bordering on Aetolia; which, as an earneſt of what they might expect from the generoſity of Rome, he inſtantly gave up to the Aetolians; and having thus lighted up the torch of war in Greece, he retired to Corcyra.

Liv. 26. 24.

FROM this period the humiliation and final ſubjection of the Grecian ſtates advanced, for ſome time by ſlow degrees, but afterwards with wonderful rapidity. The Romans, having once obtained a footing in Greece, ſoon found means to eſtabliſh themſelves there with firmneſs. At firſt the confederates, and ere long, the imperious controllers of that very people who had opened to them the gates of Greece, they extended their influence from city to city, by artfully availing themſelves of the credulity, the domeſtic feuds, the ambition, and the avarice, of the different leaders; always ready to ſupport the weaker againſt the mightier, that the ſtrength of each individual ſtate being broken by degrees, it ſhould be leſs difficult in time to accompliſh the deſtruction of the whole; covering all the while their ambitious views with the ſmooth ſemblance of moderation, equity, and friendſhip; until the vigour of Greece being on every ſide gradually undermined, the whole tide of the Roman power ruſhed in, to its total ſubmerſion.

AMONG the many calamities, which the unfortunate introduction of the Romans brought immediately upon Greece, it had the effect to give Philip a ſtronger intereſt in moſt of the Grecian ſtates than he had ever before poſſeſſed. It was now no longer remembered, that he was the flagitious tyrant, who had rewarded hoſpitality with libidinous

Polyb. Excerpt. 10 38. Juſt. 29. 4.

libidinous violation and treacherous murder, and had harboured projects the moſt hoſtile to public liberty: the people began to look up to him as the champion of freedom, and their bulwark againſt the barbarians (for ſo they ſtyled the Romans) whom the perfidious Aetolians had invited into Greece; in conſequence of which, not only the Greeks to the north of the Corinthian iſthmus, but even the Achaean league, prepared to arm in his ſupport. The Achaeans, in particular, were at the ſame time ſtimulated by apprehenſions of immediate danger to themſelves. Between them and the Aetolians, as we have ſeen, an inveterate enmity had long ſubſiſted, and in the preſent poſture of affairs they had nothing to expect from the latter but hoſtility and devaſtation. The Spartans too, and the Eleans, the ancient enemies of Achaia, now in avowed confederacy with the Romans and Aetolians, were on their frontiers. The Spartans eſpecially, proud of their alliance with Rome, ſeemed to have reſumed all their antient ſpirit, and to meditate the recovery of that ſovereignty they had formerly claimed over the reſt of the Peloponneſian nations. The prince at preſent on the Spartan throne was, at the ſame time, of a warlike and enterpriſing temper. Lycurgus, who had purchaſed the kingdom of the Ephori, having died, after a ſhort and turbulent [4] reign, Machanidas, another adventurer, had uſurped the throne, and having expelled the young king Ageſipolis, reigned now the ſole tyrant of Sparta; and whether impelled by his own diſpoſition, or

BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 211.

[4] Chilon, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, formed the plan of dethroning Lycurgus; and, with a party of his friends, having fallen on the Ephori, who had ſold the kingdom to him, put them all to the ſword: but Lycurgus himſelf made his eſcape. And the Spartan people, though Chilon promiſed them a new diviſion of lands, refuſing to join him, he was obliged to abandon the deſign, and to go into baniſhment.—See Polyb 4. 81.

the

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the ſituation of affairs at home, he gladly availed himſelf of the opportunity of leading out his Spartans to war.

Bef. Chriſt 211.

DURING theſe commotions in Peloponneſus, the tumult of arms had already ſpread throughout the northern provinces of Greece. Philip, now ſenſible of the dangers he had brought upon himſelf, exerted a vigour far different from what he had lately ſhewn. He began by ſecuring his frontiers againſt the bordering nations, whom the preſent embarraſſments of Macedon, and perhaps the expectations of ſupport from Rome, might encourage to renew their incurſions. He even carried the war into Illyricum, and had taken Liſſus and Acroliſſus; the former, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, and the other, a fortreſs of remarkable ſtrength, at ſome ſhort diſtance, hitherto ſuppoſed to be impregnable: ſo that moſt of the other cities of thoſe parts, terrified at the vigour and rapidity of his progreſs, opened their gates without reſiſtance. Theſe ſucceſſes were followed by his marching to the relief of the Acarnanians, whom the Aetolians were preparing to invade: they had implored aid of Philip; but before he reached their borders, the Aetolians had retired. The like ſpirited meaſures he purſued throughout Theſſaly and the countries adjacent, counteracting the Aetolian influence, wherever he ſuſpected it to prevail, and putting in a poſture of defence every place, which he thought to be in danger of an attack from the enemy.

Polyb. Excerpt. 8. 10, 11.

HITHERTO, the Aetolians had gained little by their alliance with Rome. Their great object had been the reduction of Acarnania; but the report, that Philip was on his march to relieve it, together with the deſperate reſolution of the Acarnanians, who, determined not to ſurvive their liberties, had

Liv. 26. 25. Polyb. 16. 17. & fragm. 1519.

had armed all their males from fifteen years to sixty, and bound them under a heavy curse never to quit the field of battle unless victorious, had obliged them to abandon the attempt. And although Laevinus, at the return of spring, had re-entered Greece, the whole of his operations amounted only to the taking of Anticyra, a city of the Locri, on the north side of the Corinthian gulph; the spoils of which, with all the prisoners, he seized on as Roman property, leaving to the Aetolians, according to the strict letter of his treaty, the bare soil and a desolated city. Soon after this exploit he set out for Rome, to take possession of the consulship, to which he had been elected. BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Christ 210. Ibid. 26.

STIMULATED however by their hatred of Philip, and of the states confederated with him, they disregarded these discouragements, and pressed the war with the same ardour with which they had first engaged. Sulpicius, who had been appointed to the command of the fleet on the Ionian station, in the room of Laevinus, had sent them a supply of near a thousand men; and they had likewise received succours from Attalus. They immediately passed over into Peloponnesus, and, in conjunction with the Spartans, fell upon Achaia; but as they were returning homeward, laden with plunder, they were met by Philip, who, having had notice of the distressed condition of the Achaeans, was hastening to their assistance: a battle immediately ensued, and the Aetolians were defeated. Undaunted however, they a second time engaged, but were not more fortunate: they were again discomfited, with a loss of a great part of their army, the remainder with difficulty saving themselves in one of the neighbouring cities. Philip's success, however, roused the jealousy of some of the adjoining states. They saw the danger with

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with which they were threatened, ſhould the power of Macedon be encreaſed by the reduction of Aetolia; and they intereſted themſelves in mediating a peace [5]. Philip liſtened readily to the propoſal, his ambitious views leading him to other wars; and a peace was on the point of being concluded, when the Romans, to whom the prolongation of the war in Greece was of the utmoſt importance, ſent their fleet to the ſupport of the Aetolians; who, being emboldened alſo by aſſurances they at the ſame time received from Aſia, that Attalus was preparing to join them with a conſiderable force, ſet Philip at defiance; and, in the ſtyle of victory, talked of conditions, to which they knew he could not give his conſent.

Bef. Chriſt 208.

Liv. 27. 30.

THIS, however, was by no means prejudicial to Philip: it gave, on the contrary, his Greek confederates a high opinion of his moderation and pacific purpoſes, whilſt it ſtrengthened their indignation againſt the Aetolians. Theſe favourable diſpoſitions he ſoon found a brilliant opportunity of cultivating. He was aſſiſting at the celebration of the Nemean games, when tidings arrived that the Romans had landed, and were ravaging the country from Corinth to Sicyon. He inſtantly ſet out, attacked the enemy, obliged them to fly to their ſhips, recovered the booty they had taken, and was again at Argos before the games were concluded. This rapid and ſplendid atchievement againſt Roman troops gave to Philip a high degree of luſtre in the eyes of Greece, now aſſembled at the Nemean ſolemnity; which he greatly improved by the affability and familiar deportment he affected towards theſe republicans, who, accuſtomed to liberty, were wonderfully flattered in

[5] The principal mediators were, the Athenians, the Rhodians, the people of Chios, and the king of Egypt.

beholding

beholding a prince in the height of power, and just crowned with victory, mix freely among them, and divesting himself of the pomp of royalty, wear the garb and manners of a fellow-citizen. BOOK V. Sect. 2.

His next enterprise, though not so successful, was not less honourable to his valour. The Aetolians having got possession of Elis, near the borders of Achaia, Philip advanced in order to dislodge them; but upon giving them battle, he found they were stronger than he had conceived, and that they had Roman soldiers among them; Sulpicius, who lay off the Peloponnesian coast, having, unobserved by Philip, contrived to reinforce the Aetolian garrison with five thousand men. He nevertheless charged the enemy with vigour; when, his horse being killed under him, he continued to fight on foot, until, numbers being slain on every side, and the enemy pressing on, he must undoubtedly have been taken or killed, had not his men, by one bold effort, rushed in and borne him off. Disappointed in his design on Elis, he did not however return without success. There stood at some distance a strong castle, in which the Elean peasants had taken shelter, with their flocks and herds, the principal wealth of the country: this castle he surprised, and carried off twenty thousand head of cattle, together with four thousand prisoners. Bef. Christ 208. Liv. 27. 31.

But amidst all this exertion of vigour, and seeming regard for the independence of Greece, the unprincipled profligacy of Philip's character still betrayed itself. Not long before this period, he had, a second time, attempted the liberties of the Messenians, but had been baffled by the manly stand they had made against him; the Pharian Demetrius, to whom he had committed the conduct of his plan, having lost his life in the attempt. At Argos he had, at the same time, incurred Liv. 27. 32. Polyb. 3. 19.

BOOK V. Sect. 2.

curred much disgrace by his excessive dissoluteness; invading with the most daring licentiousness the honour of private families, and employing even terror and violence, where the powers of seduction failed. Happily for his Peloponnesian confederates, the necessities of Macedon called him away; a report of his death having encouraged domestic insurrections, and the inroads of hostile borderers.

Bef. Christ 208. Liv. ubi supra.

NOTWITHSTANDING Philip's departure, the military operations of the Achaean states suffered no interruption: a very important alteration having taken place in relation to that people, who now, instead of placing their whole dependence on foreign aid, displayed abilities and resources equal to the most spirited enterprise. It was by Philopoemen this change had been effected. Originally of Megalopolis in Arcadia, this great man had distinguished himself, from his early years, by ardent exertions for the liberties of his country, and a strenuous opposition to the Spartan power, then the most formidable in Peloponnesus; having chosen even to abandon his property, and submit to the miseries of exile, rather than live in subjection to the Spartans, who had made themselves masters of his native city. Aratus, about the same time, was employed in strengthening the commonwealth of Achaia, in order to form it into an effectual barrier against the ambitious attempts of his Spartan neighbours. The disinterested and enlarged views of Aratus attached Philopoemen to his interests; he co-operated in many of his schemes, and was active in bringing over several of the Arcadian citizens to join the Achaean league. Soon after the death of Aratus, the integrity and military capacity of Philopoemen gave him the principal lead in the Achaean councils;

Polyb. Excerp. 11. 7. Plut. in Philopoem.

Polyb. 2. 40.

cils; in the conduct of which, though inferior to Aratus in political abilities, he equalled him in zeal for the cauſe of freedom; and in the martial line, he far ſurpaſſed him. War indeed was peculiarly his province; ſo that, although he wiſhed to reſemble Epaminondas, whom he had propoſed for his model, it was only in his military genius, according to Plutarch, in his activity, his ſagacity, and his contempt of riches, that the parallel was ſtrong: but to the mildneſs, the gravity, and the wiſdom of that illuſtrious Greek, the character of Philopoemen could never riſe; the department of arms, ſays this hiſtorian, being far more ſuited to his genius than the adminiſtration of civil affairs. The firſt great battle, in which Philopoemen diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably, was that of Selaſia; the ſucceſs of that memorable day being in a great meaſure decided by a judicious movement of the corps which he commanded. He paſſed afterwards into Crete, in order to perfect himſelf in ſome parts of the military ſcience, for which the Cretans were famed. But it was not in the field of war alone, that Philopoemen ſhewed his genius for military affairs; they were his conſtant occupation: in his walks, even in his journeys, in his rural ſports, his whole attention was employed in obſerving the difficulties of ſteep or broken grounds; the advantages which might be derived from paſſes, woods, incloſed fields, or open plains; the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles, with every ſituation, where the ranks of an army ſhould be extended in front or in file. By this ſingular and inceſſant attention to the military line, he acquired an extraordinary knowledge and readineſs in martial affairs; no emergency, however ſudden, finding him unprepared. When advanced to be general of Achaia, he ſaw with concern

BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 208. Ubi ſupra. Polyb. 2. 67, 68.

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concern the ſtate to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and he conceived the noble reſolution of relieving them from their humiliating condition. He altered altogether their diſcipline; he made them acquainted with hardſhip and toil; he gave them weightier armour, and weapons of greater execution. Their cavalry, hitherto oſtentatious and uſeleſs, becauſe moſtly compoſed of young men of rank, who entered into it more from vanity than from public ſpirit, he modelled ſo as to render it vigorous and reſpectable. He turned even to advantage the frivolouſneſs of the Achaeans. The young men of wealth and rank affected much ſplendor in their dreſs: this taſte for magnificence he perſuaded them to transfer to their armour and military accoutrements. This diſplayed a great knowledge of the human heart. To combine a love of ſplendor with a love of arms, will ever have a powerful effect on youthful minds. To have attempted to enforce the ſimplicity of the antient garb, at the period of refinement to which the Achaeans had then arrived, would only, in all probability, have generated ſullenneſs and reſiſtance. Philopoemen judged therefore with wiſdom, when he made the foibles of his fellow-citizens ſubſervient to the glory of the ſtate; whilſt even the richneſs of their armour, among men naturally warlike, might powerfully aſſiſt the point of honour in the day of battle, and produce wonderful exertions, to prevent the loſs, as well as the diſgrace, of ſuch armour becoming the property of their foes. The effect indeed of this judicious and inſinuating diſcipline became ſenſibly felt. The Achaeans recovered much of the proweſs of former days; the armies of Aetolia and Elis, who, promiſing themſelves,

Bef. Chriſt 208.

Plut. in Philopoem. Polyb. Excerpt. 11. 7.

themſelves, as uſual, an eaſy victory, had ventured, upon Philip's abſence, to attack them, being totally defeated.

SULPICIUS had in the mean time engaged in an expedition againſt Euboea. Finding that Philip had marched from Peloponneſus, he ſailed to Aegina, and wintered in that iſland, after having made a conqueſt of it, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Attalus king of Pergamus having afterwards joined him with his fleet, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, they ſhaped their courſe towards Euboea. Of all the provinces of Greece, this, though an iſland, was one of the moſt conſiderable for fertility of ſoil, extent of territory, and ſituation. To the eaſt, it opened to the trade of Aſia, and the numerous iſlands that cover the Helleſpontine and Aegean ſeas; to the weſt, it reached along the coaſts of Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, from the Maliac bay to the promontory of Sunium; being divided from the continent by a channel, ſo exceedingly narrow in one part, as to admit a bridge over it. Oppoſite to this paſs was Chalcis, the principal city of the iſland, accounted, from its advantageous ſeat, the key to this quarter of Greece. The king of Macedon had a very valuable ſtake in theſe parts; moſt of the cities both of Euboea and the adjacent continent, being held by Macedonian garriſons.

Bef. Chriſt 207. Liv. 28. 5. et ſeq.

Strab. 10. 306.

PHILIP was not inattentive to the deſigns of the enemy. He had ſettled the affairs of his own kingdom in the beſt manner he could, and had moved down to Demetrias in Theſſaly; he had aſſembled a numerous force, and given aſſurances of effectual ſupport to all his allies. Signals by fire he ordered to be made from the heights of Euboea, from Peparethus, a ſmall iſland at ſome diſtance from it, and alſo from certain mountains of Phocis and

Polyb. 10. 42, 43, 44.

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and Theſſaly, that he might thereby have regular and ſpeedy intelligence of the enemy's motions, in order to haſten to the relief of places in moſt immediate danger. With all theſe ſpirited and judicious preparations, Philip did not remain merely on the defenſive. He endeavoured to ſurpriſe Heraclea, a city on the confines of Theſſaly, where the Aetolian ſtates had aſſembled in order to confer with Attalus; but before Philip got thither, the convention was diſſolved, and he could only lay waſte the country all around. In the mean time, Oreum, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Euboea, was taken by the Romans; having been betrayed to them by the governor, whom they had corrupted. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Sulpicius had laid ſiege to Chalcis. But the ſtrength of the place, and the vigorous defence made by the commanding officer, who was not to be tampered with, added to a report that Philip was approaching, obliged him to abandon the attempt. Whilſt Philip however was employed in ſaving Chalcis, Opus, a wealthy city of the Locri, his allies, was ſtormed and plundered by Attalus; and though the king of Macedon, upon the firſt advice of the movements of Attalus, marched towards Opus with all poſſible expedition, and warmly purſued the plunderers, who had haſtily retired on his approach, they nevertheleſs eſcaped to their fleet on the Euripus, and ſecured all the booty they had taken.

Bef. Chriſt 207. Liv. ubi ſup.

In this fluctuating manner had the war continued ſix years, neither the Aetolian confederates, nor thoſe of Macedon, having much cauſe to boaſt; when a ſudden revolution in the fortunes of Philip left him arbiter of Greece. Attalus was called to the defence of his own kingdom, which Pruſias of Bithynia was preparing to invade: the Romans alſo,

alſo, to whom the defeat of Aſdrubal had opened other views, who were tired at the ſame time of a war, the events of which were indeciſive, and the iſſue doubtful, withdrew from Euboea, and ſoon after ſailed homeward. Bef. Chriſt 207.

THESE changes were followed by an event very unfavourable to the intereſts of the Aetolians. Machanidas of Sparta, the moſt warlike and powerful of their Grecian confederates, fell in battle by the hands of Philopoemen. Upon the departure of the Romans and Attalus, Philip had returned to Macedon, to oppoſe the inroads of the bordering nations; and Machanidas, who had long ſought occaſion to reduce all Peloponneſus, availed himſelf of his abſence, and at the head of a conſiderable army advanced towards Mantinea, a city of Arcadia under the protection of the Achaean ſtates. Philopoemen was at this time general of Achaia. He obſerved all the tyrant's motions, and aſſembling immediately his forces, gave him battle. The victory at firſt inclined to the ſide of Sparta; Machanidas, who had begun the charge with great vigour, having broken and put to flight the left wing, compoſed of a body of Tarentines and other auxiliaries; but as he urged the purſuit too far, and ſeparated himſelf from the reſt of his army, Philopoemen marked his opportunity, and falling upon the main body of the Spartans, defeated them totally. Machanidas, who ſaw the confuſion of the Spartan line, haſtened back: but Philopoemen having poſſeſſed himſelf of a ditch, interſecting the field of battle, acroſs which it was neceſſary for Machanidas to paſs, in order to rejoin his troops; while the tyrant was attempting to ſpur his horſe over it, Philopoemen killed him with his javelin. The death, however, of Machanidas did not reſtore liberty

Polyb. Excerp. 11. 7. Plut. in Philopoem.

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liberty to Sparta. He was ſucceeded by Nabis, another tyrant, much inferior to him in military abilities, but infinitely more flagitious and cruel.

Bef. Chriſt 207. EVERY thing now, in appearance, favoured the ambitious deſigns of Philip. The Aetolians could no longer oppoſe his arms; and Italy lay open to him: where, notwithſtanding the declining ſtate of the Carthaginian affairs, he might ſtill make a powerful diverſion in favour of Hannibal. But he had at preſent adopted other views. He not only therefore made peace with the Aetolians, but entered alſo into terms with the Romans; who, though they affected to be diſpleaſed with the Aetolian ſtates for having liſtened to an accommodation with Philip, ſoon after followed their example, relieving themſelves with ſecret ſatisfaction from a war, which, whatever they might boaſt, had certainly greatly embarraſſed them.

Bef. Chriſt 205.

THE cauſe of this alteration in the Macedonian councils deſerves notice.

PTOLEMY Philopator was at this time on the throne of Egypt; a prince of the moſt diſſolute manners, and though in the prime of life, languiſhing under an infirm and decayed conſtitution, the conſequence of vicious exceſſes. He had only one child, an infant ſon, whoſe weakly conſtitution afforded but a precarious hope of long life. This complexion of Egyptian affairs ſeemed to open new and magnificent objects for Philip's ambition. He had already entered into a negotiation with Antiochus of Syria, in relation to the partition of the Egyptian monarchy, in caſe of Philopator's demiſe; and he now reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf in thoſe parts of Aſia and Europe, through which he might, upon occaſion, open himſelf a way into the adjoining Egyptian provinces.

Polyb. Excerp. 15. 20.

provinces. Under pretence therefore of aſſiſting Pruſias king of Bithynia, his ſon in law, he paſſed over to Cius, a free city on the Bithynian frontiers, laid ſiege to it, and took it; putting to the ſword, or ſelling for ſlaves, all the inhabitants, and ſeizing on all the rich plunder [6]. His views in this ſeverity were probably the amaſſing of treaſure, and at the ſame time, the making his name formidable in that country, near to which the Egyptian king had large poſſeſſions. The neighbouring ſtates however, provoked at the cruelties he had been guilty of at Cius, and perhaps ſuſpecting that he had deſigns alſo againſt them, took up arms; which immediately involved him in a new war with Attalus and the Rhodians. He attempted Pergamus, the capital city of Attalus; but was diſappointed in every effort againſt it. He laid waſte however the open country, and obtained ſome trifling advantages by ſea; but he was at length defeated, with the loſs of moſt of his ſhips and ſeamen.

BOOK V. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 204. Ibid. 21.

MEANWHILE, Philopator was dead, and Antiochus, in conſequence of his compact with Philip, had already begun the reduction of Coeleſyria and Paleſtine. Upon the firſt tidings of this event, Philip haſtened to ſecure thoſe places to the northward of Macedon, which belonged to Egypt; and entering the Thracian Cherſoneſe, attacked the ſtrong-holds which the Egyptians held there, and, either by intrigue or force of arms, ejected all their garriſons. Croſſing over, he laid ſiege to Abydos, the moſt important place of this part of

Bef. Chriſt 201. Liv. 31. 14 & 16.

[6] It appears from Polybius, (Excerpt. 15. 21.) that theſe Cianeans were a people exceedingly corrupted, employed in the oppreſſing, and the compaſſing of the deſtruction of, each other. Continual feuds were the natural conſequence of ſuch a ſpirit. Philip availed himſelf of the opportunity which theſe feuds afforded him, and laid their city in ruins.

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the Aſiatic coaſt: it commanded the paſs of the Helleſpont on that ſide, as Seſtos did on the ſide of Europe; and whoever was maſter of it, had in his hands the key of Aſia. Philip found here a reſiſtance he little expected. Spirited up by promiſes of aid from Attalus and the Rhodians, the inhabitants, who abhorred Philip, had determined to bury themſelves under the ruins of their city, rather than to ſubmit to his dominion. He was not, however, diſcouraged. The more difficulties he had to combat, the more ſtrenuouſly he puſhed the ſiege; and, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate defence, he ſoon reduced the garriſon to the laſt extremity.

Bef. Chriſt 201.

But, whilſt employed in theſe ruthleſs works of ambition, he ſaw not the ſtorm which threatened to retaliate upon himſelf the miſeries with which his luſt of empire had overwhelmed other ſtates. The Romans, diſtreſſed by the Carthaginian war, had unwillingly conſented to a peace with Macedon: but that war was at an end; and they now wiſhed for a pretence to break with a prince, whoſe power, if not humbled, might one day become too formidable. A pretence ſoon offered. Philip ſtood charged with having, in direct violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between him and Rome, ſent ſupplies both of men and money to Hannibal. Attalus and the Rhodians likewiſe complained, that, regardleſs of their being expreſsly compriſed in that treaty, he had waged war againſt them. The Athenians accuſed him of infractions of the ſame treaty in relation to them: they had been acknowledged by the Romans as their allies, and yet Philip had aſſiſted the Acarnanians in their invaſion of Attica. The Egyptian miniſtry alſo, terrified at the dangers which threatened their young prince from the rapacity of Antiochus

Bef. Chriſt 200.

tiochus and Philip, ſued to Rome for protection againſt the confederate kings, and implored the ſenate and Roman people to accept of the guardianſhip of the infant Ptolemy, and to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of his kingdom [7]. Bef. Chriſt 200.

EVERY thing that tended to criminate Philip was heard favourably in the Roman ſenate. They had, however, the policy to begin by that act, which did moſt honour to Rome. Embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched into Egypt, to take upon them the guardianſhip of the young king, in the name of the ſenate and Roman people, and to command Antiochus to withdraw from the Egyptian territories. The youngeſt of the embaſſadors, Marcus Aemilius, had alſo inſtructions, on his way to Egypt, to inform Philip of the intentions of the Roman ſenate. Aemilius found Philip before Abydos, in a ſituation which muſt probably have not a little heightened that impatient ferocity for which he was remarkable; at the head of an army flushed with victory, on the point of carrying the city he was beſieging, and in high exultation from the alliance he had lately concluded with Antiochus. Philip ſeemed to feel the importance of his ſituation; yet, unabaſhed at the Macedonian monarch's deportment, the

[7] Theſe complaints had a plauſible appearance, the accuſation from Athens excepted. Even the Roman hiſtorian, Liv. 31. 14. though the Athenians were now in the intereſts of Rome, obſerves with indignation the meanneſs they ſhewed on this occaſion. In fact, they themſelves had been the aggreſſors. They had cruelly murdered two young men of Acarnania, who had innocently ſtrayed into the temple of Eleuſis, at the time of the myſtical celebration, and by the queſtions they aſked, had betrayed their ignorance of the rites of initiation. Provoked at this, the Acarnanians, together with ſome Macedonian troops, had ravaged Attica; and the Athenians, not having the ſpirit either to ſupport the outrage they had committed, or to make due reparation for it, called in a foreign force, and, in the gratification of their revenge, aſſiſted in ſubverting the liberties of their country.

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Bef. Chriſt 200.

Roman delivered his orders with dignity and firmneſs. He charged Philip not to attack the poſſeſſions of the crown of Egypt, nor to wage war againſt any of the Grecian ſtates, and to ſubmit to fair arbitration the diſcuſſion of the matters in diſpute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians. —Philip's pride could endure no longer. 'Attalus and Rhodes,' replied he, 'provoked the war, 'of which they complain. They themſelves were 'the aggreſſors.'—'And were the Athenians,' ſaid Aemilius, 'were the people of Cius, were the unhappy Abydenians, the aggreſſors alſo?'—'The 'boaſtful inexperience of youth,' interrupted the king, 'thy gracefulneſs of perſon perhaps, and 'ſtill more, the name of Roman thou beareſt, 'inſpire thee with this haughtineſs. It is my wiſh, 'that Rome may prove faithful to the treaties 'which ſubſiſt between us. But ſhould ſhe be 'diſpoſed to try again the iſſue of arms, I truſt, 'with the protection of the gods, to render the 'Macedonian name as formidable as that of 'Roman.'

Polyb. 16. 19. Liv. 31. 17. 18.

Soon after the departure of Aemilius, followed the deſtruction of Abydos. No hope of eſcape remaining, the Abydenians determined to man the breaches with the few fighting men they had left; to reſiſt, until they were all either ſlain or diſabled; and then, having put to the ſword their women and children, to conſume with fire what remained of the city. This deſperate reſolution was executed in part, when ſome of the prieſts, though ſolemnly ſworn to the execution of the dreadful reſolution, found it to be more than humanity could bear, and opened the gates of the city to Philip. Upon the entrance of the Macedonians was exhibited one of the moſt tremendous ſcenes recorded in hiſtory; fathers, huſbands, in every

every quarter of the city, plunging the poniard into the breaſts, or daſhing out the brains, of their deareſt connexions; and then, pierced by their own hands, expiring on heaps of mangled carcaſes. Philip himſelf felt the horror of the ſight. He would have checked the fury of the infatuated multitude, but in vain; and was at laſt obliged to draw off his troops, and to allow them three days for completing the carnage. So that, the priſoners excepted, hardly one man ſurvived of this unhappy and devoted people. Polyb. ubi ſup.

Bef. Chriſt 200.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK VI.

SECTION I.

ROME could hardly have chosen a conjuncture more favourable to her ambitious designs, than that which marks the commencement of the second Macedonian war. Carthage was subdued: all remains of revolt and popular tumult had subsided throughout Italy: Sicily, the prize so long contended for, in fertility and opulence the pride of the western world, was now, together with most of the adjacent islands, annexed to her dominions: even those nations, whom her arms had not reached, heard with terror the fame of a power, to which Hannibal had proved unequal.

BOOK VI. Sect. I. Bef. Christ 200.

PHILIP,

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 200.

PHILIP, on the other hand, inſtead of availing himſelf of the barrier pointed out by nature for his defence, ſeemed to be laying himſelf open to invaſion and diſcomfiture. He was on hoſtile terms with moſt of the circumjacent nations. He had loſt the affection and confidence of the moſt conſiderable of the Grecian ſtates. From Egypt no ſuccours were to be expected; and from Aſia but few. The Rhodians, who, on account of their maritime ſtrength, might have been powerful allies, had by his depredations, and ill-timed attempts, been compelled to take part with his enemies. And Antiochus, of whoſe alliance he made his boaſt, was too intent on his own ſchemes of empire, and too remote from Macedon, to be anxious about the fate of a kingdom, on which, he injudiciouſly imagined, the proſperity of Syria did not at all depend.

THREE years had elapſed, ſince peace had been concluded with Philip, when the Romans, under the command of the conſul Sulpicius, landed on the coaſt of Epire. The oſtenſible cauſe of this expedition was the relief of Athens, then beſieged by Philip. Accordingly, part of the Roman fleet was detached to Attica, and was ſoon after joined by the combined fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians. Philip was fired with indignation againſt the Athenians, whom he looked upon as the cauſe of the war, and marked them out as objects of his keeneſt vengeance. To add to his reſentment, the Roman commander had detached from the coaſt of Attica ſome armed veſſels to Chalcis, which ſurpriſed the city, deſtroyed the arſenals and military ſtores, and left the place a ſmoaking ruin. Philip, who lay at Demetrias in Theſſaly when tidings were brought him of this event, immediately ſet out, at the head of a choſen body of men, in hopes of overtaking the enemy; but diſappointed

appointed of his aim, he advanced towards Attica, continuing his march all night, with the design of surprising Athens, and of treating it as the Romans had treated Chalcis. He had probably succeeded, had not one [1] of those couriers, whom the Greeks usually employed on occasions of dispatch, descried him on his march, and alarmed the Athenians. Finding that he could not carry this point, he took his revenge in another manner. The country of Attica was every where adorned with the most exquisite works of art, stately temples, sumptuous villas, statues of finished beauty, and noble sepulchral monuments; in which the richness of the marble, though of the most perfect kind, was of small value, when compared with what had been stamped upon it by the hand of the artist. All of them fell victims to his fury, the temples excepted; he spared not even those awful remembrances of the illustrious dead, which the violence of war had hitherto respected. He then attempted Eleusis, and afterwards the Piraeus, but failed in both; and having made a short excursion into Peloponnesus, he returned again, with redoubled rage, and destroyed even the temples, which till now he had seemed to venerate; mangling and defacing every work of art in such a manner, that scarce a vestige of symmetry or beauty remained. Liv. 31. 24, 26.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 200.

The Athenians, on their part, had recourse to the only weapons they were now expert in, the invectives of their orators, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was resolved, 'that 'Philip should for ever be the object of the exe-'cration of the Athenian people—that whatever 'statues had been raised to him, or to any of the 'Macedonian princes, should be thrown down;

[1] Ἡμεροδρόμος—See Polluc. Onomast. 1. 7.

'whatever

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 200.

'whatever had been enacted in their favour re-
'ſcinded; and the ſeveral feſtivals and orders of
'prieſts, which had been inſtituted in their ho-
'nour aboliſhed—that every place, in which had
'been ſet up any inſcription or memorial in praiſe
'of Philip, ſhould henceforth be accounted pro-
'fane and defiled—that in all their ſolemn feaſts,
'when their prieſts were to implore a bleſſing on
'Athens and her allies, they ſhould pronounce
'curſes againſt him, his kindred, his arms by ſea
'and land, and the whole Macedonian name and
'nation—in a word, that whatever had in antient
'times been decreed againſt the Piſiſtratidae,
'ſhould operate in full force againſt Philip—and
'that whoſoever propoſed any mitigation of the
'reſolutions now formed, ſhould be adjudged a
'traitor to his country, and be forthwith put to
'death.' Liv. 31. 44.

NOR was Athens leſs extravagant in her adulations of thoſe, from whom ſhe had received aſſiſtance. The Romans and Attalus were diſtinguiſhed particularly by the moſt fulſome honours; ſolemn proceſſions of all the prieſts and prieſteſſes attended their entrance into Athens, as if celebrating the reception of tutelary deities. Every Rhodian born was decreed a denizen of Athens. And, in further compliment to Attalus, one of their tribes aſſumed the name of Attalis. Into ſuch meanneſs has corruption of manners the power of betraying the mind of man! Polyb. Legat. 3. 1092. Liv. 31. 14, 15.

PHILIP ſoon found, that from the other parts of Greece he had ſomething yet more formidable to dread, than the wordy war of the frivolous Athenians. He had applied to the Achaean ſtates, in their convention at Argos, for ſuccours, offering to repel the attacks of Nabis, who was infeſting their frontiers, on condition that ſome of

of his cities ſhould be garriſoned by a body of their beſt troops. But the Achaeans, well appriſed of his inſidious views, rejected the propoſal[1]. He applied afterwards, with as little ſucceſs, to the national convention of the Aetolian ſtates; embaſſadors from Athens and the Roman conſul having appeared in the aſſembly, and urged their complaints in ſo forcible a manner, that had not Damocritus, then praetor of Aetolia, bribed (as it was ſuſpected) by Philip, put off the final determination of the matter till the next aſſembly, war had unqueſtionably been immediately declared againſt him. Liv. 31. 32. Bef. Chriſt 200.

MEANWHILE, Sulpicius, who was encamped on the banks of the Apſus[2], had ſent off a detachment, with directions to penetrate through the countries that covered the weſtern borders of Macedon, and attempt an impreſſion on the Macedonian frontier. This operation had all the effect that could be expected from it. The caſtles and ſtrong holds in this part of the country, though advantageouſly ſituated in the midſt of defiles and broken precipices, were taken by the Romans; while the Illyrians, the Dardanians, the Athamanes, terrified at the progreſs of the Roman arms, declared againſt Philip. Encouraged by theſe fair appearances, the conſul entered the country of the Daſſaretii, from which there was ſaid to be an eaſy paſſage into Macedon, and got poſſeſſion of all the towns throughout the canton. Diſmay and Liv. 31. 27. et ſeq.

[1] It was probably on this occaſion that Philip attempted the life of Philopoemen; Plutarch (in Philopoem.) informing us, that he meant to have had him aſſaſſinated at Argos. This honeſt Greek, who was too much a friend to his country to be in amity with Philip, no doubt oppoſed his demand; and the king, to whom crimes are ſaid to have been familiar, meditated an effectual revenge.

[2] A river of Illyricum, which empties itſelf into the Ionian gulph between Apollonia and Dyrrachium.

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Bef. Chriſt 200.

desolation spread on every side as he advanced. Philip himself began to tremble for the safety of his kingdom: he drew near to those parts which seemed to be most in danger, and employed all his military skill, of which historians allow him a large share, in watching, and as occasion offered, obstructing the motions of the enemy; when an unlucky event not only damped his vigour for the present, but left such an impression on his spirits, as well as on the minds of his subjects, as is thought to have had a considerable influence on their subsequent fortunes. A troop of Macedonian horsemen had encountered a party of Roman cavalry, and a skirmish ensuing, forty of the former were slain, and of the Romans thirty-five. Among the Greeks the rites of sepulture were highly revered: Philip therefore, to shew the respect he had for his gallant soldiers, removed the bodies of the Macedonians to his camp, in order to the celebration of their funeral obsequies. Hitherto the Macedonians, whose wars had chiefly been with the nations of Greece and Illyricum, had been only accustomed to wounds made by the spear, the javelin, and the arrow, which in their appearance had nothing hideous: but when they saw the bodies of their companions mangled by wide-yawning wounds; when they beheld their headless trunks, entire limbs lopped from the mutilated carcase, with all the shocking marks of slaughter, which the broad Spanish faulchion is suited to inflict; they were struck with horror and dismay. Even Philip shuddered at the thoughts of encountering such a foe, and was observed, for a considerable time afterwards, carefully to avoid any decisive action; contenting himself with skirmishes, and with cutting off occasionally some straggling parties of the enemy's foragers.

Liv. 31. 34.

In

In this languid and indecisive kind of war two years elapsed, during the consulship of Sulpicius, and that of his successor Villius, not much to the honour of the Roman commanders, whose spiritless or interested conduct was said to be the cause that nothing more had been effected. From this protracted war, however, Philip had reaped no advantage. He had met with discomfiture in almost every attempt; his frontiers had suffered severe depredation; and far from strengthening himself with new allies, the Aetolians, who at first had preserved a kind of neutrality, had now avowedly espoused the cause of Rome, and appeared against him in the field. Bef. Christ 200.

Thus stood affairs at the close of the second year of the war, when the command of the Roman army devolved on the new consul, Titus Quintius Flamininus. The important share this Roman had in effecting the humiliation of Greece, and the subtilty and dark perfidiousness of those councils, with the conduct of which he was intrusted, render his character the object of particular attention. Bef. Christ 198. Polyb. passim. Liv. 32. & seq. Plut. in Flamin.

Though not remarkably eminent for military abilities, he was however, what a Roman in those days generally was, a soldier, and well acquainted with the science of war. But his excellence chiefly consisted in the business of negotiation. Gentle and conciliating in his manner, he knew how to employ every art to gain the confidence of those, to whom he was deputed. Impenetrable in his designs, yet wearing the captivating shew of cordiality and frankness, he coolly marked every opportunity, and improved every advantage, that could serve the schemes he had in view. To Greece he professed himself the zealous vindicator of her liberties, though in effect their most refined destroyer; conducting himself in every

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every ſtep with ſuch complete diſſimulation, that even to this day it is with ſome a queſtion, whether he was not guiltleſs of the treacherous policy which Rome practiſed on this occaſion, and in the honeſty of his heart promiſed what he believed was to be religiouſly fulfilled.

He had been elected to the conſulſhip when he had not completed his thirtieth year, and without paſſing through the intermediate offices of aedile and praetor. This extraordinary diſtinction, as Plutarch informs us, he owed chiefly to the reputation he had obtained among the Tarentines, over whom he had been appointed governor towards the end of Hannibal's war. Encouraged by theſe coloniſts with promiſes of powerful ſupport, he ſtood for the conſulſhip, and carried it; the people warmly eſpouſing his intereſt, in oppoſition even to ſome of their own tribunes, and the ſenate underhand favouring his pretenſions. Having drawn lots with his collegue, he had for his allotment the Macedonian war. The proſpect of ſo noble a field rouſed all his ambition, and he was reſolved to purſue it with activity and ardour. It had been uſual with the conſuls to waſte a conſiderable portion of their year at home, in the enjoyment of official parade: hence they ſeldom joined the army until the ſeaſon was far advanced. Flamininus adopted a different plan. Regardleſs of the pomp of Rome, he haſtened over into Greece, as ſoon as the neceſſary religious ceremonies were over, at which his office obliged him to preſide.

In Flamin.

He found Villius in that part of Epire called Chaonia, near the mouth of the [3] Aous, in a ſituation rather diſgraceful to a Roman conſul, in

[3] Plutarch (in Philopoem.) calls it the Apſus. It appears from Livy, 32. 5. as well as from ſeveral circumſtances, that it ſhould be the Aous. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. 1. 26.

fight

ſight of the enemy, without daring to attack them. Philip, truſting to the ſlender abilities of Villius, had ventured to look the Romans in the face, and had intrenched himſelf in ſuch a manner as gave him a very formidable appearance[4]. He was poſted in a narrow vale, through which the Aous rolled a deep and rapid ſtream. The banks of the river were ſteep and narrow, and ſecured by ſtrong entrenchments: on either ſide roſe high and rugged mountains, and he had taken poſſeſſion of all the hollows and defiles. Flamininus having taken the command, employed ſome days in reconnoitring the ſituation of the enemy, and conſidering the practicability of forcing their lines. At length, by means of ſome neighbouring ſhepherds, he diſcovered a path, which led to the ſummit by a winding courſe. Having detached a party to occupy the heights which hung over the Macedonian camp, on ſeeing the concerted ſignal, he began the attack. In the heat of the engagement, the ſhouts of the Romans on the hills, who now poured down on the Macedonians, threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and ſoon completed their overthrow; Philip, with the remains of his army, making his eſcape through the ſtraits of the mountains into Theſſaly, and from thence into Macedon. Liv. 32. 11, 12.

Bef. Chriſt 198.

IT would have little availed to have purſued Philip through a country, with every ſtrong paſs and intricate winding of which he was intimately acquainted. Flamininus choſe a method of operation far more effectual: he prepared to deſtroy all remains of power or influence which his Plut. in Flamin. Liv. 32. 14. & ſeq.

[4] Livy, 32. 10. gives us an account of an interview between Philip and the conſul, of which no mention is made by Plutarch, and which, all circumſtances conſidered, appears exceedingly improbable.

enemy

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enemy poſſeſſed among the Grecian ſtates, and if poſſible, finally to diſſolve every connexion of intereſts between Greece and Macedon. This plan, artfully laid, was carried into execution with the moſt conſummate ſkill. He began his progreſs at Epire, through which he marched, not as an enemy, but as a protector. Philip, in his flight, had marked his route with plunder and devaſtation. Flamininus, on the contrary, committed no hoſtility, and reſtrained his ſoldiers from every act of depredation: ſo that the Epirots, inſtead of being active in the cauſe of Macedon, to which, before this conſul's arrival, they were well affected, now offered themſelves as his guides, or inliſted under his banners. From Epire he marched into Theſſaly, and took poſſeſſion of almoſt every place of ſtrength in the country; conquering oppoſition by lenity and perſuaſion, and employing arms only where gentler means had proved ineffectual. Meanwhile Lucius, brother to Flamininus, who commanded the Roman fleet, had reached the eaſtern coaſt of Greece, and being joined by the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, made a deſcent on Euboea, where Philip, as we have already ſeen, had many important ſettlements. Philocles, who commanded on the iſland, was defeated: Eretria and Caryſtus, two conſiderable cities, were taken. Flamininus, after a ſhort ſtay in Theſſaly, haſtened into Phocis, with the deſign of extending his conqueſts towards the ſouthern provinces of Greece. His great object was, to gain over the ſtates of Achaia to the intereſts of Rome. For this purpoſe, he gave inſtructions to his brother, to ſend a joint embaſſy to Achaia, in the name of the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians, requeſting a convention of the Achaean ſtates, in order to propoſe to them a treaty of alliance with the Romans; while the combined

Bef. Chriſt 198.

combined fleets, entering the Corinthian gulph, were to be ſtationed off Cenchreae, one of the Corinthian ports, under colour of laying ſiege to Corinth, then poſſeſſed by Philip; but in fact, the more powerfully to enforce the object of the embaſſy. Alarmed at a meaſure of the higheſt conſequence to him, Philip likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to plead his cauſe at the enſuing diet, which was appointed to be held at Sicyon; directing them to place in the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt point of view the validity of the treaties ſubſiſting between Macedon and the Achaeans, and to remind them of the ſolemn oaths by which they had pledged themſelves; oaths rendered, if poſſible, more ſtrikingly awful by a cuſtomary yearly renewal. Upon the opening of the diet, the ſeveral embaſſadors having firſt been heard, the members were called upon to deliver their ſentiments. But a ſullen ſilence enſued: ſtunned by the variety of dangers they ſaw around them, they were either at a loſs what opinion to give, or fearful of delivering it. Ariſtaenus, general for the year, and the devoted creature of Rome, having urged the convention in vain, at laſt took the lead, declaring himſelf, in the moſt decided manner, in favour of the Romans. 'The ſucceſs,' he ſaid, 'of their 'arms in Epire, in Theſſaly, in Euboea, was the 'cleareſt proof of the power of this people to pro-'tect thoſe whoſe friendſhip they condeſcended to 'ſolicit; their fleets and armies, whilſt Philip was 'lurking in his own faſtneſſes, were now in ſight 'of Achaia; their chief motive, in their Grecian 'expedition, was to deliver Greece from the yoke 'of Macedon, under which it had long groaned; 'and they mildly deigned to requeſt, what they 'might eaſily command.' At the ſame time, he poured forth the bittereſt invectives againſt the Macedonian king, whoſe crimes, whether real

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 198. Liv. 23. 19 & ſeq.

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or imputed, he dwelt on with every poſſible aggravation. This ſervile ſtrain, ſo unworthy of the firſt magiſtrate of a yet free people, raiſed an outcry of indignation, not only from the friends of Philip, but from all who had a real concern for the liberties of their country. The Macedonian party in the convention was conſiderable, and attached to Philip by particular acts of kindneſs. There were, beſides, many of the Achaeans, who, though they diſliked the king's perſonal character, and were cautious of repoſing much confidence in him, had, with great reaſon, no leſs gloomy apprehenſions from this foreign power, which they ſaw eſtabliſhing itſelf in the midſt of their country, and conſidered the ſupporting of the royal houſe of Macedon as a meaſure of the higheſt moment to the general welfare of Greece. The aſſembly now became a ſcene of wild uproar; ſome, with indecent clamour, ſupporting the intereſts of Rome, while others as loudly and indecently oppoſed them. Both parties ſeemed callous to every tender or ſacred tie, breathing all the virulence of civil diſcord, and mutually accuſing their opponents with harbouring the moſt traitorous deſigns. What heightened the embarraſſment, the numbers on each ſide appeared nearly equal; and even of the council of ten, a majority of whom was requiſite to the formation of a decree, five were for Macedon, and five for Rome. In this ſtate of turbulence and irreſolution had the diet continued two days; and on the third, by the laws of Achaia, it was to be diſſolved. Next day however ſeemed likely to end as the preceding, each party making more ſtrenuous exertions, as the hour of deciſion approached: when Rhiſaſus of Pellene, a member of the diet, and in the intereſts of Rome, but whoſe ſon Memnon, one of the council of ten, notwithſtanding his father's repeated

repeated entreaties, had ſteadily refuſed to abandon the ſide of Macedon, once more attempted to ſhake the reſolution of his ſon, ſolemnly ſwearing, that he would, with his own hand, put him to death, if he did not deſiſt from an oppoſition, which muſt involve his country in ruin. A ſtriking inſtance this, both of the virulence of party ſpirit, and of the ferocity even of Grecian manners in thoſe times! Awed by his father's menaces, Memnon changed ſides, and the queſtion was carried in favour of Rome. BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 198.

It is worthy of notice, that the deputies from Megalopolis, Argos, and Dymé withdrew, as ſoon as it was perceived what would be the determination of the convention, to avoid giving a ſanction, by their preſence, to reſolutions ſo injurious to Philip. The Dyméans, particularly, alledged their obligations to the Macedonian king, who had ranſomed ſeveral of their fellow-citizens that had been ſold for ſlaves by the Romans, and reſtored them to their families. This generous reaſon, Livy ſays, met the approbation even of Philip's enemies; which leads us to ſuppoſe, that he was not altogether ſo profligate a monarch as the writers of thoſe days, who ſeem to be the adulators of Rome, rather than hiſtorians, have repreſented him. Ubi ſup.

Soon after this affair was brought to a concluſion, the ſiege of Corinth was raiſed. It had been promiſed by the Roman conſul to the Achaeans: but it was now pretended, that the obſtinate defence made by a number of Roman deſerters, together with the reinforcements which the Macedonians had thrown into the garriſon, had forced Flamininus to abandon the ſiege; which, were it even to end ſucceſsfully, was likely to be bought at too high a rate. Probably, the determination of the Achaean diet had rendered the ſiege no

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longer neceſſary. About the ſame time too, Argos had been betrayed by ſome of its citizens into the hands of Philip. So that, after all that the Achaean ſtates had reſolved, this prince ſtill remained maſter of two of the principal cities of Peloponneſus.

Bef. Chriſt 198. Liv. 32. 25.

PHILIP, however, was alarmed. Though poſſeſſed of theſe two cities, yet their diſtant ſituation afforded him but a precarious and expenſive tenure. He clearly foreſaw the approaching fate of Macedon; abandoned by her moſt uſeful confederates, deprived of her wonted reſources, and reduced to a narrow and naked frontier. Urged by the embarraſſment of his ſituation, he requeſted a conference with the Roman conſul; who made choice of Nicaea, a ſea-port on the Maliac bay, for the place of interview. Flamininus repaired thither, attended by the chief leaders of the Aetolian and Achaean ſtates, by Amynander king of the Athamanes, by the embaſſador of the king of Pergamus, and the commander of the Rhodian fleet. This pompous retinue not only adminiſtered to the conſul's pride, but anſwered alſo certain political ends: it gave him an opportunity of making a plauſible diſplay to his allies of his attention to their ſeveral intereſts; and it afforded him the means of humbling Philip, to whom it muſt have been a ſevere mortification to ſee ſo conſiderable a part of the ſtrength of Greece on the ſide of his adverſary. The Macedonian king, as he approached the ſhore, for he had come by ſea, could not ſuppreſs his indignation; and, being invited by the conſul to land, declined it. 'Whom do you 'fear?' ſaid Flamininus. 'I fear none but the 'immortal gods,' anſwered Philip; 'but I ſuſpect 'the faith of thoſe by whom I ſee you ſurrounded, 'eſpecially your Aetolians.' The conſul obſerved, that, in all caſes of this kind, there was reciprocal danger

Bef. Chriſt 197. Polyb. Excerpt. 17. 1 et ſeq. Liv. 32. 32 & ſeq.

danger: 'But in the preſent caſe,' replied Philip, 'the temptation is not equal; for ſhould miſchief befal Phaenea (the Aetolian praetor, who accompanied Flamininus) Aetolia may eaſily get another praetor; but if I am taken off, who is to ſucceed me on the throne of Macedon?' After a ſhort pauſe, the conſul requeſted the king to make his propoſals, which, as the interview had been appointed at his ſolicitation, were properly to come from him. 'It belongs not to the vanquiſhed to propoſe,' anſwered the Macedonian, 'it is theirs only to accept.'—'If ſo,' reſumed the conſul, 'I ſhall at once name the conditions, without which no peace is to be expected. You are to evacuate thoſe places you hold in Greece, and relinquiſh all claim to every part of it—you are to give up all priſoners and deſerters belonging to Rome and her allies—you are to ſurrender the cities you have taken in Illyricum, ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, and the places belonging to the crown of Egypt, you ſeized on the death of Philopator.——Theſe our allies have, beſides, demands of their own; it is juſt they ſhould be heard and attended to.'

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 197.

THE embaſſador of king Attalus then demanded the reſtoration of the ſhips and priſoners taken in the engagement off the iſland of Chios, and that he ſhould indemnify Attalus for the ravages committed in his dominions. The Rhodians required Peraea, a certain diſtrict on the continent of Aſia, oppoſite to Rhodes, which had formerly belonged to them; together with the evacuation of all the cities and ſea-ports [5] he poſſeſſed on the Aſiatic coaſt:

[5] Whatever opinion we may be induced to form of Philip's moral character, it clearly appears, from the demands made on him by the Rhodians, that he muſt have been a prince of great abilities, and ſtrenuous in promoting the ſtrength and opulence of his kingdom,

BOOK VI. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 197.

coaſt: the Achaeans claimed Argos and Corinth: and the Aetolians, beſides the demand of certain cities in Theſſaly, inſiſted on an ample compenſation for all the loſſes ſuſtained by them and their allies, and his total and final excluſion from the Grecian territories.

FROM the various charges againſt Philip, which Polybius and Livy have preſerved to us, and in which, without doubt, whatever could make againſt him is accurately recorded, it appears evidently, that he had only done what ambitious monarchs generally do, and that, however guilty he might be in the eye of reaſon, thoſe very ſtates, which preferred theſe complaints, the Aetolians eſpecially, and even the Romans, thoſe ſpirited aſſertors of the rights of mankind, were at leaſt equally criminal. In reality, his guilt conſiſted in being at the head of a kingdom of great ancient reputation, and ſtill ſuppoſed to be of conſiderable ſtrength, which obſtructed the meditated plan of Roman domination. Philip ſeems to have been aware of the Roman deſigns, and by his tameneſs on this occaſion, ſo different from his former character, to have endeavoured either to lead them to gentler purpoſes, or to diſplay to other nations what *they* might in future times ex-

dom. In the beginning of his reign, when invited by Aratus into Peloponneſus, the Macedonians had no marine, they had ſcarcely a ſeaman; and yet, in about twenty-two years after, we find him in poſſeſſion of many conſiderable ſea-ports; and that he had eſtabliſhed a number of mercantile ſettlements (*portus et emporia*) along the Aſiatic coaſt; while he, at the ſame time, poſſeſſed ſuch a navy, as to be in a condition to diſpute the empire of the Archipelago with the Rhodians, in thoſe days the greateſt maritime power in Greece. This accounts for the Rhodian enmity. They ſuſpected, that he meant to rival them in the Levant-trade, the principal ſource of their wealth. Thus mercantile jealouſy drove them into the arms of the Romans. They had ſoon cauſe to repent! Inſtead of a competitor, they brought upon themſelves imperious maſters, the ſlighteſt contradiction to whoſe will was a crime worthy of extermination.

pect

pect from the insatiable rapacity of Rome. Notwithstanding the extent of the demands made on him, many of them ill-founded, and the asperity of language with which they were urged, he calmly laboured to remove the obstructions which he saw industriously thrown in the way of peace, yielding point after point, far beyond what could have been expected from a prince not yet of desperate fortunes. To the Romans, he said, he was ready to resign whatever they had asked, those possessions in Greece excepted, which had descended to him from his ancestors. Of his Asiatic settlements he desired to retain nothing but Bargylia and Jassus [6], two places on the coast of Caria, valuable from the commercial advantages they enjoyed; Jassus, in particular, from its fishery. Whatever else he held in Asia, he consented to abandon to Attalus and the Rhodians, together with their ships of war, and all the prisoners then alive. And as the embassador of Attalus had charged him with having laid waste his master's gardens and orchards, since such matters were not unworthy royal notice, he would send over gardeners and trees to new-plant them. Of the Achaeans he complained much. They had become unprovoked enemies, in contradiction to their own public acts, in which every possible honour had repeatedly been decreed to him, and in vi-

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 197.

[6] Bargylia, on the coast of Caria; Jassus, a small island opposite to it. Of this Jassus there is a pleasantry related by Strabo, 14. 453. Casaub. A musician landed there, and was performing to a crouded audience; when on a sudden, upon the ringing of a certain bell, the usual signal for the opening of the fish-market, the whole assembly went off, one person excepted. The musician, well pleased to find his performance had power at least over one, began to compliment him upon the excellence of his taste, 'who 'had not, like the rest of his country men, suffered the fish-bell to 'call him away.'——'The fish-bell!' replied he; 'why has the 'fish-bell rung?' and immediately hurried after his companions. The man was deaf, and had not heard the bell.

olation

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Christ 197.

lation of a number of treaties ſolemnly ſworn to: he agreed, however, that both Argos and Corinth ſhould be reſtored to them. But his reſentment ran higheſt againſt the Aetolians. There was, previous to this event, as has been already mentioned, an avowed enmity between them; which was now encreaſed by the indecent petulance of the Aetolian delegates, in the courſe of the preſent congreſs. In the very firſt conference, Alexander the Aetolian had attacked the king with remarkable acrimony, and upon his attempting a reply, Phaeneas interrupted him in theſe inſolent terms: 'You talk like a fool [7]: all that remains for the 'vanquiſhed is ſubmiſſion to the commands of the 'conqueror.' 'True,' ſaid Philip, 'that is clear 'even to a blind man [8]: a tart, but juſtly merited repartee: Phaeneas, it ſeems, had weak eyes. In diſcuſſing their demands, he therefore began by expreſſing the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation, that thoſe ſhould talk of excluding him from Greece, who knew not even the limits of the country, and were themſelves Greeks but in part,

7 Φάσκων αὐτὸν λήρειν· δεῖν γὰρ ἢ μαχόμενον νικᾶν, ἢ πείθειν τοῖς κρείττοσι τὸ προσταττόμενον. See Exc. Polyb. 17. 4.

8 Polybius and Livy blame Philip's pleaſantry on this occaſion. *Erat dicacior*, ſays the Roman hiſtorian, *quàm regem decet, et ne inter feria quidem riſu ſatis temperans.* Is it not ſtrange, that they have not at the ſame time paſſed any cenſure on the illiberal attack of the Aetolian praetor, nor the Roman conſul's ſarcaſtical reproach. At the cloſe of the firſt day's conference, Philip requeſted that he might have a copy of the ſeveral demands produced againſt him, and be allowed time to deliberate concerning them: *for*, ſaid he, *I am here alone, I have no counſellor with me.—With good reaſon are you alone*, anſwered Flamininus; *you have deſtroyed every faithful counſellor you had.* He had put to death ſome of his ſubjects on various ſuſpicions. Philip replied only with a ſmile of indignation, μειδιάσας σαρδόνιον. Mr. Hume, Eſſay 14, imputes this illiberality of language to the manners of the times. The reflections of Polybius and Livy ſeem to ſay otherwiſe. But why ſhould not their cenſure fall in part on the Roman and Aetolian? and why is it aimed wholly at the king of Macedon? Are we to ſuſpect, that *his being a king*, and the enemy of Rome, were the circumſtances that aggravated the charge againſt him?

ſeveral

ſeveral of the provinces of Aetolia lying beyond the boundaries of antient Greece. What injuries they had ſuffered, he ſaid, were no more than the cuſtomary and unavoidable conſequences of war. And as to allies, they had none: influenced merely by the allurements of pay and depredation, they fought indiſcriminately for any ſtate, Aetolians being often to be found in two oppoſite armies. That, however, he would deliver up to them Lariſſa and Pharſalus, two cities lying convenient for their frontiers; but that he could not poſſibly evacuate the other Theſſalian cities which they claimed, conſiſtently with his own ſafety. Bef. Chriſt 197.

In theſe altercations two days had elapſed, and peace ſeemed to be as diſtant as ever; Philip's relinquiſhing all claim to every part of Greece, and engaging never to paſs beyond the boundaries of Macedon, being, excluſively of particular demands, a preliminary from which none of the allied ſtates would depart. Philip's only reſource now was an application to the conſul for permiſſion to ſend embaſſadors to lay his propoſals before the ſenate of Rome; which if not deemed equitable and ſatisfactory, he proteſted that he would ſubmit implicitly to the conditions and award of the conſcript fathers. This requeſt, hardly indeed to be refuſed, was graciouſly complied with, and a two months' truce accordingly granted; with this previous ſtipulation, that he ſhould immediately withdraw his garriſons from Locris and Phocis. Beſides gaining this important point, the conſul had other views in complying with what Philip requeſted. It was winter, and the army could not act; ſo that no military operation was ſuſpended by it: and the election of new conſuls was at hand, when he might poſſibly be ſuperſeded. His plan therefore was, to have the appearance of finiſhing the war by treaty, if he ſhould find he was to be recalled, or to have it in his power

BOOK VI. power to purſue it, if continued in the command.

Sect. 1. THE ſenate gratified Flamininus to the utmoſt of his wiſhes. They continued him in the command, with full powers either to proſecute or to end the war, as he ſhould judge expedient. What they really meant, it was eaſy for him to underſtand The Macedonian embaſſadors, it is true, had been admitted to an audience; but not till the deputies from Flamininus, with the miniſters of the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, had been examined, and the ſenate fully informed of the ſituation of Macedonian affairs, with whatever the intereſts of Rome required. When therefore the perſon, who was at the head of the embaſſy from Philip, began to enter upon his maſter's defence, the ſenate, inſtead of ſuffering him to proceed, ſtopped him with this ſhort queſtion, 'Has your maſter authoriſed you to give 'up Demetrias in Theſſaly, Chalcis in Euboea, 'and Corinth?' termed by the Macedonians, the *fetters of Greece*. The embaſſadors, in confuſion, making anſwer, that they had not received any inſtructions in relation to theſe points, were ordered inſtantly to withdraw, and full powers ſent to Flamininus; who thenceforth refuſed to receive any farther propoſals from Philip, unleſs he previouſly renounced all claim to every part of Greece.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

THAT unfortunate monarch, now hopeleſs of any equitable conditions from Rome, and probably rouſed to a more ſpirited exertion by the mockery with which he ſaw he had been treated, employed his utmoſt vigour in providing for his defence. Argos was too diſtant to be of effectual ſervice, and was not to be retained without a force he could ill ſpare: he therefore reſolved to abandon it, and in a manner, as he imagined, more pregnant with miſchief, than if it had ſtill been held by a Macedonian garriſon. Nabis was at this time

Liv. 32. 38, 39.

time the ſcourge of Peloponneſus. Hiſtory re- BOOK
cords for him one of the moſt profligate tyrants that VI.
ever diſgraced a throne: he maintained himſelf in Sect. 1.
the ſovereignty of Sparta by means of an army of
mercenaries, compoſed of the moſt cruel and fla- Bef. Chriſt 197.
gitious of outcaſts, whom he daily exerciſed in deeds of villainy, violence, and bloodſhed. Againſt the Achaeans in particular, on whom Philip would gladly have been revenged, Nabis profeſſed a deadly enmity. Philip offered to put him in poſſeſſion of Argos, on condition of his reſtoring it when Macedon was again in tranquillity; and the more ſtrongly to cement the alliance, he propoſed to give his daughters in marriage to the tyrant's ſons. Whatever Philip aſked, Nabis promiſed to perform; and, ſuch is the fidelity of tyrants, no ſooner was he maſter of Argos, than he offered his ſervices to Flamininus; who, not very delicate in his choice of means, provided advantage could be derived from them, received him without heſitation among the allies of Rome, and accepted of his tendered ſuccours.

PHILIP merited the deceit with which he was repaid. The caſe of the unhappy Argives was infinitely more to be lamented. Nabis immediately put in practice his uſual ſubtilties, to diſcover the wealth of every man in Argos, and plundered them of all. So low did his rapaciouſneſs deſcend, as to employ his wife Apega to extort from the Argive ladies, by artifice or terror, whatever jewels or ornamental trinkets they poſſeſſed. It appears, that avarice was the ruling paſſion of this wretched miſcreant. Polybius makes mention of Exc. 13. 5. an extraordinary inſtrument of extortion, deviſed by him, which upon a leſs grave authority we ſhould be apt to account fabulous. He had contrived a figure of iron, in form like Apega, to move with ſprings, whoſe arms and breaſt were furniſhed

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 197.

furniſhed with a number of ſpikes. This machine, dreſſed out as if it had really been the queen, was ſeated in his apartment; and when he found his ſolicitations for money ineffectual, 'Apega,' he would ſay, 'will perhaps plead more forcibly:' raiſing up the figure, therefore, he cauſed the arms to cling round and preſs the body of the unhappy delinquent, who generally expired under the torturing embrace.

SOON as the ſeaſon permitted, the two armies haſtened to take the field, and began to move towards Theſſaly. Previous to this meaſure, Flamininus had finiſhed a tranſaction of conſiderable importance. Philip was known to have a powerful intereſt among the Boeotians: they had hitherto obſerved a kind of neutrality, but it was uncertain how long they might retain the ſame pacific appearances, and in the preſent ſituation of affairs the proconſul earneſtly wiſhed to engage them, if poſſible, to act decidedly for Rome. The difficulty was, how to effectuate this purpoſe. The arts of perſuaſion and intrigue had been ſo repeatedly employed throughout Greece, that their notoriety hindered their effect; and on the Boeotians, a rough people, they had already probably been tried in vain. So that Flamininus found it neceſſary to have recourſe to a different and unhackneyed ſcheme, and as the execution was of a delicate nature, to take the management upon himſelf. Attalus and the proconſul ſet out attended by a ſmall retinue, as on a friendly viſit to Thebes, where the convention of the Boeotian ſtates was uſually held. The ſlenderneſs of the train raiſed no alarm, and the Thebans opened their gates with an unſuſpicious cordiality; their chief magiſtrate himſelf, to do the greater honour to the Roman general, and perhaps in the ſecret, going forth to meet him. But ſcarcely was he within the walls, when a body of two thouſand

Liv. 33. 1. 2. Plut. in Flamin.

ſpearmen

ſpearmen, whom the winding of the hills had hitherto concealed, appeared in ſight, and mixing with the proconſul's attendants, entered the city Flamininus, nevertheleſs, ſtill affected the language of peace. An aſſembly having been convened, he made it his ſuit, with all the rhetoric of reſpectful entreaty, that the Boeotians would be pleaſed to admit him into their friendſhip and alliance; in ſupport of which, Attalus, the faithful advocate of Rome, ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that in the midſt of his harangue he fell down ſpeechleſs, and being immediately conveyed on board his fleet, which ſailed for Aſia, he ſoon after expired. But there was, indeed, little neceſſity for argument to convince the Boeotians of the propriety of a meaſure, which was ſupported by two thouſand men in arms: they readily agreed to all the proconſul's requiſitions. This kind of fraud [9], we learn from hiſtory, began now to be

Bef. Chr. 197.

[9] There is, however, good reaſon to ſuſpect, that Flamininus had ſoon recourſe to other means, far worſe than even deceit, to ſecure the influence he had thus acquired. Livy, 33. 27, 28, 29, ſhall furniſh the account. The Thebans, a great number of whom, notwithſtanding the low ſtate of Philip's fortunes, (it being ſoon after his defeat) were ſtill attached ſtrongly to him, had, in oppoſition to the Roman party, choſen for Boeotarch one Barcillas, in the Macedonian intereſt, and who had lately ſerved in the armies of Macedon. By way of retaliation, proper inſtruments were employed, and Barcillas was aſſaſſinated. But the authors of this aſſaſſination having been traced out, it was found, that one of the chief leaders among the partiſans of Rome was the principal perſon concerned; who, upon the diſcovery, immediately fled to Athens, then Flamininus' place of reſidence. The character and connexions of the man, the place he fled to, the protection he found, together with ſome other circumſtances, not mentioned by this hiſtorian, fixed the ſuſpicions of all Thebes on Flamininus. And ſo exaſperated on account of it, Livy himſelf (ibid. 29) confeſſes, was the whole Theban nation againſt all of Roman race, (efferavit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotoſque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum) that they murdered every Roman ſoldier they could find, and were not to be checked but by the march of a Roman army into Boeotia.—Polybius, (Legat. 8. 1103) is yet more particular. The conſpirators, he expreſsly tells us, applied to Flamininus, and communicated their plan to him: he promiſed not

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. practiſed by the Romans. Time was, when they would have ſcorned the acquiſition of a victory gained at the price of treachery. But having declined from their ancient ſimplicity, they had loſt much [10] of that blunt and inartificial courage for which they were remarkable in their earlier ages. Such, unhappily, has been the progreſs of manners among all nations; the advancing of refinement produces the decline of virtue.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

AFTER ſome movements of little conſequence, the two armies advanced from the ſouthern parts of Theſſaly towards Scotuſſa, a city near the Peneus; the Macedonians in queſt of forage; and the Romans, to deprive them of it, by laying waſte the country. As they had taken different routes, they had encamped near to each other without knowing it, being ſeparated only by a range of hills, called *Cynoſcephalae* [11]. Philip, uncertain as to the poſition of the Roman army, had detached a party to the top of the hills, to reconnoitre, if poſſible, the ſituation of the enemy; who unexpectedly fell in with a detachment of

Polyb. Excerpt. 17. 14 & ſeq. Liv. 33. 3 & ſeq.

not to give any hindrance to it, though he was unwilling to appear himſelf in the buſineſs; but referred them to Alexamenes, a truſty Aetolian in the Roman intereſt, in concert with whom they carried the ſcheme into execution. Polybius calls the Boeotarch Brachyllas.

Flamininus afterwards made peace with the Boeotians, by the mediation of the Achaean ſtates. And, from a circumſtance mentioned by Livy, (ibid. 29.) we may collect, that there was ſomething exceedingly pitiable in the caſe of the Boeotians. The Achaeans reſolved, ſhould Flamininus not to conſent to a peace, to march themſelves to the aſſiſtance of the Boetians, and join them againſt Rome: (*ni impetraſſent pacem Boeotis, bellum ſimul gerere decreverunt.*) Nothing but the ſtrongeſt conviction of the juſtice of the Boeotian cauſe could have drawn ſuch a declaration from the Achaeans, at this time much fallen from their independence, and in ſtrict connexion with the Roman people.

[10] See the ſecond and third ſections of this book; and ſection the firſt of book the ſeventh.

[11] The *dogs-heads*, from the appearance which their ſummits exhibited.

Romans,

Romans, that had marched with the like deſign to diſcover Philip. By reaſon of the hazineſs of the morning, the Macedonians did not diſcover the Romans till they were within reach of their weapons, when a ſkirmiſh immediately enſued; and each party, as they happened to be preſſed, ſending to their reſpective camps for reinforcements, in a ſhort time a general engagement became almoſt unavoidable. BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 197.

It appears that Philip, whether under the impreſſion of ſome diſcouraging omen, as Plutarch[12] ſeems to think, or, according to Polybius, diſliking the ground, which was ill ſuited to the operations of his infantry, would have deferred the deciſion to ſome future day. But the advantage being at firſt on the ſide of the Macedonians, and his army, encouraged by the ſucceſs of their fellow-ſoldiers, eagerly ſoliciting to be led againſt the enemy, he at length yielded to their ardour, and drew up his whole forces, conjuring them, as they paſſed, 'to ſhew themſelves mindful of their anceſtors, and not to permit Macedon, illuſtrious by ſo many glorious atchievements, to bend to the yoke of Rome.' Flamininus, having formed his troops, employed, with no leſs anxiety, every argument which he ſuppoſed likely to inſpire the moſt vigorous exertions. He reminded them, 'of their recent conqueſts in Italy, in Sicily, in Spain, in Afric, over nations no way inferior to whatever Macedon had to boaſt, even in the days of her glory; that thoſe, with whom they were now to engage, were Macedonians only in name; Juſt. 30. 4.

[12] Some days before, haranguing his men, he perceived that the place he was ſpeaking from was burial-ground; which circumſtance, having been noticed by the ſoldiers, caſt a deep gloom over the whole army. As ſoon as Philip obſerved it, he withdrew. Omens of this kind were ſuperſtitiouſly attended to by the antients.

not,

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

not, as the Romans, great by their own exploits; but deriving whatever diſtinction they enjoyed from the remembrance of the atchievements of their forefathers, being themſelves a degenerate race, who with difficulty repelled even the predatory incurſions of a few neighbouring barbarians.'

Juſt. ibid.

THE right wing of the Macedonians had reached the heights before the enemy, and having preſerved in their march all that compactneſs and depth, which conſtituted the ſtrength of the Macedonian phalanx, bore down with their whole weight upon the Romans, now aſcending the hill; who, unable to withſtand the ſhock, gave way on every ſide, and had been totally routed, but for the timely ſupport of the Aetolian horſe. On the left, the Macedonians fought not with the ſame advantage. They had formed later than the other wing; and a precipitate march, over broken ground, had thrown the troops into diſorder. Flamininus perceiving their ſituation, and directing his attack where their broken lines admitted of an impreſſion, without much difficulty completed the confuſion: their arms, which in a great meaſure derived their power of execution from being interwoven together, and wrought as it were into one maſs, added to their embarraſſment, becoming, in the hands of the ſingle ſoldier, unwieldy and almoſt uſeleſs. Meanwhile, diſcomfiture began alſo to reach the right wing. A legionary tribune, obſerving that this was the only part of the Macedonian army which ſtill maintained the diſpute, wheeled round with a few choſen men, and made an attack on the rear of the phalanx. Here the Macedonians, from their order of battle, were incapable of reſiſtance; for the phalanx could only advance, and the men were precluded from all power of facing about, by the cloſeneſs of

of their ranks, and the length of their interwoven ſpears. The Romans therefore, having opened to themſelves a paſſage, ſlaughtered the Macedonians with impunity; who, finding they could make no reſiſtance, threw down their arms, diſperſed, and fled. Philip, who, according to Polybius, had performed the duties both of the general and the ſoldier, ſeeing the day irretrievably loſt, retreated towards Tempe, on his way to Macedon, endeavouring, as he retired, to collect the ſcattered remains of his army, more than one half of which had either been made priſoners, or fallen in the field of battle; but he previouſly diſpatched meſſengers to his head-quarters at Lariſſa, with directions to have all his papers deſtroyed. Had they fallen into the hands of the Romans, the conſequences might have been fatal to his friends, of whom he had ſtill numbers in almoſt every Grecian ſtate.

Bef. Chriſt 197. Polyb. 17. 25, 26, 27, 28.

THIS victory, important as it was, became yet more conſiderable by the effect which it had on the councils of the Macedonian king, who immediately ſent a deputation to Flamininus, deſiring a truce for the burial of the dead, and begging that the proconſul would again admit him to a conference. Both theſe requeſts being complied with, the Roman general found little difficulty in adjuſting the preliminaries of peace. Philip, now completely humbled, readily accepted even the moſt mortifying conditions; and the ſenate, approving of the plan laid down by Flamininus, he was impowered, jointly with ten commiſſioners ſent from Rome, to grant a peace to Philip on the following terms:

Polyb. Legat. 9. Liv. 33. 30.

'ALL the Greek cities, both in Aſia and in 'Europe, to be free, and reſtored to the enjoy-'ment of their own laws [13].

[13] This article deſerves particular notice. From the uſe to which it was afterwards applied, we ſhall ſee with what an inſidious policy it was thus worded.

BOOK VI. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 197.

'PHILIP, before the next Iſthmian games, to 'deliver up to the Romans all the Greeks he had 'in any part of his dominions, and to evacuate all 'the places he poſſeſſed, either in Greece or in 'Aſia [14].

'To give up all priſoners and deſerters.

'To ſurrender all his decked ſhips of every 'kind; five ſmall veſſels, and his galley of ſixteen 'banks of oars, excepted [15].

'To pay the Romans a thouſand talents; one 'half down, the reſt at ten equal annual pay-'ments.

LASTLY, if we are to believe Livy, 'not to 'exceed five hundred men in his military eſta-'bliſhment; not to have an elephant; and not 'to make war beyond the confines of Macedon, 'without permiſſion from the Roman ſenate.'—Theſe three articles, however, Polybius does not mention

As a ſecurity for the performance of theſe ſtipulations, he was to give hoſtages, his ſon Demetrius being one.

THE Aetolians, whoſe ſervices in the late battle gave them, they imagined, a right to interfere, warmly oppoſed the peace. But Flamininus, already highly offended at their having appropriated to themſelves too large a proportion of the ſpoils, magiſterially over-ruled their objections. We ſhall ſee, of what miſchiefs this diſpute was afterwards productive.

[14] The cities in Aſia were expreſsly mentioned, viz. Euromus, Pedaſa, Bargylia, Jaſſus, Abydus, Thaſus, Myrina, and Perinthus; all in Aſia, or on the Aſiatic coaſt. In relation to Cius, Flamininus was to inform the Bithynian king, what the pleaſure of the ſenate was. See Polyb. Legat. 9.

[15] This laſt, by Livy's own confeſſion, was merely a veſſel of parade, and probably left with him on account of its unwieldy and uſeleſs bulk.—Liv. 33. 30.

PHIDIP'S

PHILIP's conduct, on this occaſion, does little honour either to his abilities or to his ſpirit. Had he, inſtead of expoſing himſelf to a deciſive action, at once abandoned Greece, which, in his preſent ſituation, he could not expect to preſerve; had he retired to the ſtrong-holds of Macedon, and harraſſed the Romans by occaſional excurſions; had he, at the ſame time, ſought new reſources, either among the northern tribes (which he did at laſt, when it was too late) or in the friendſhip of Antiochus, who now began to perceive what *he* was to expect, when the fate of Macedon ſhould be determined; he might eaſily have protracted the war beyond the term of Flamininus's command; and, if he had not tired out the Romans, might at leaſt have made his advantage, as formerly, of the imbecillity or inexperience of the generals ſent againſt him. Even after the fatal blow at Cynoſcephalae, had not all judgment and reſolution forſaken him, this line of conduct might, in ſome meaſure, have been purſued. But having loſt a battle, which he ought not to have fought, ſubdued by his terrors, he tamely accepted of a peace, which he ought rather to have periſhed than have ſubmitted to.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

IT was the policy of the Romans, on this occaſion, artfully to diſguiſe what farther views they had on Macedon; and, as if ſolely actuated by a generous concern for the liberties of Greece, to content themſelves with having reduced the power of Philip, and obliged him to withdraw within the antient boundaries of his hereditary kingdom. Had they at once attempted to deprive him of his crown, deſpair might have rendered him formidable; the princes of Aſia, from intereſt, if not from affection, might have joined him; and even the Greeks themſelves would probably have had

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ſuſpicions of a deſign, which delivered them from one danger, only to expoſe them to a greater.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

AT the ſame time, under the ſpecious character of *avengers of oppreſſed nations*, the Romans had an opportunity of attacking every prince, whom an extent of dominion made conſiderable, until, none remaining to oppoſe them, they might without controul complete their plan of univerſal empire.

PEACE being thus concluded with Philip, Flamininus, with the commiſſioners, proceeded to arrange the affairs of Greece, and the ſettlement of thoſe cities and countries which had been diſmembered from Macedon.

Bef. Chriſt 196.

Polyb. Legat. 9. 1108. et ſeq Liv. 32, 33. 33. Plut. in Flaminino.

THE iſthmian games were now begun, whither all Greece had repaired with anxious ſolicitude for their future deſtiny. When, at Flamininus' command, an herald, with ſound of trumpet, ſtepped forth, and proclaimed: 'The ſenate of Rome, and 'the general Titus Quinctius, having vanquiſhed 'king Philip and the Macedonians, grant freedom, 'with immunity from all garriſons and taxes, and 'the enjoyment of their own laws, to the Corin-'thians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Achaeans 'of Pthiotis, Magneſians, Theſſalians, and Per-'rhaebians.' Many among this vaſt multitude had not heard the proclamation diſtinctly; and even thoſe who did, could ſcarcely believe it, ſo much did it exceed their expectations. Numbers, therefore, from every ſide calling on the herald to repeat what he had ſaid, the proclamation was made again, which was anſwered with the loudeſt and moſt joyful acclamations. The games were no longer attended to. The whole aſſembly crouded around Flamininus, hailing him their protector and preſerver; ſome ſtriving to embrace him, others heaping on him flowers and garlands; ſo that, had he not retired within his pavilion, he had

had fallen a ſacrifice to this burſt of joyous grati- BOOK
tude. At the celebration of the Nemaean games, VI.
which followed ſoon after, and at which Flamini- Sect. 1.
nus likewiſe preſided, the ſame proclamation was
made. Bef. Chriſt 196.

THE ſtates, mentioned in this decree, were thoſe which had been in ſubjection to Macedon. The other Grecian communities, however, had not been forgotten. Flamininus informed them, what had been reſolved upon in favour of all the faithful allies of Rome. To ſome an encreaſe of territory was granted. Others were re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe poſſeſſions, which had been wreſted from them in the courſe of the late wars. The Achaeans had Corinth, Heraea, and Triphylia, reſtored to them. Even Pleuratus, an Illyrian prince, and Amynander king of the Athamanes, who had aided Flamininus, were rewarded with a portion of Illyricum, and certain caſtles, which had lately belonged to Philip. And the Oreſtae, though within the confines of Macedon, were declared free, as a recompence for their early revolt to the Romans.

To theſe gracious acts were added many others no leſs pleaſing. All the Grecian priſoners of war, in every part of Philip's dominions, returned to their families. The exiles throughout moſt of the ſtates in confederacy with Rome were recalled; Flamininus himſelf employing his good offices to ſuppreſs faction, and to heal the breaches occaſioned by the late civil diſtractions. Roman garriſons ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth; but even theſe he promiſed ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon as it was known what Antiochus deſigned. Theſe conciliating meaſures, which had alſo an additional efficacy from the affability and courteous deportment of Flamininus, united the greateſt part of Greece

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 196.

in the intereſts of the Romans: even the few individuals, who doubted the ſincerity of Rome, were cautious, amidſt this general exultation and confidence, of uttering their ſuſpicions. So that in their aſſemblies, and feſtive meetings, nothing almoſt was to be heard but effuſions of gratitude and praiſes of the Roman people. 'Regardleſs 'either of expence or of toil (it was ſaid) they 'had thus intereſted themſelves, merely to obtain 'liberty to Greece: that, except the battles of 'Marathon, of Salamis, of Plataeae and Thermo-'pylae, with what Cimon had atchieved on the 'banks of the Eurymedon and near Cyprus, 'Greece had fought to no other purpoſe but to 'bring the yoke upon herſelf, and to raiſe monu-'ments to her own diſhonour: but theſe ſtran-'gers, of whoſe deſcent from Grecian anceſtors 'only a faint tradition [16] remained, and from 'whom neither friendly interpoſition nor even 'compaſſionate regard were to have been expect-'ed, had expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dan-'gers, to deliver her from oppreſſion.'

In this kind of language, we learn from Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, did the Greeks of thoſe days ſpeak of this memorable tranſaction. And, which is more extraordinary, in the ſame ſtyle of panegyric it is mentioned by theſe hiſtorians themſelves. It is certainly a mortifying reflection, that theſe writers have not expreſſed themſelves in another manner; and that they, who lived after the final cloſe of this illuſive proſpect, and who therefore muſt have known, beyond a poſſibility

[16] It was an old tradition, of which Virgil has made great uſe, that the ſouth-eaſt parts of Italy had been peopled with colonies from Greece, long before the foundation of Rome. And no doubt the firſt inhabitants, if not the founders, of Rome (ſee Dion. Halicarn.) were adventurers, and perhaps outcaſts from theſe early eſtabliſhments.

of

of doubt, for what ends this ſpecious appearance of liberty had been granted [17], had not the ſpirit to tell poſterity, at the concluſion of this pompous recital, 'Such was the fond dream, that credu- 'lous Greece indulged! Little did ſhe think, that 'all this ſhew of favour was only the prelude to 'her ruin! and that when Rome appeared the 'kindeſt, it was only that ſhe might ſtrike the 'more effectually!'—But, ſo juſtly to be dreaded is the fatal influence of deſpotiſm: it checks the pen even of reſpectable hiſtorians [18].

Bef. Chriſt 196.

THIS tranſaction, however, ſhews in the ſtrongeſt light the conſummate artifice of Rome. She meditated the ſubjection of Greece. But while Antiochus was warlike and enterpriſing, while Macedon was not yet enſlaved, and humbled Carthage ſtill exiſted, the attempt had been dangerous. Greece, beſides, was weak only from diſunion; and if once united at home, an effect which ſuch an attempt would probably have produced, they might have proved again formidable. As the Romans therefore had with ſo much ſucceſs employed their policy in keeping Macedon disjoined from Hannibal, Antiochus from Philip, and Greece from Macedon; ſo was the ſame policy now to be employed in diſuniting the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, not only from the great powers of Aſia and Europe, but likewiſe from each other.

[17] Polybius, eſpecially, perſonally experienced the treachery of Rome, and beheld the liberties of his country expire.

[18] Plutarch, however, has thrown in an obſervation, under which there ſeems to be couched ſomewhat more than he choſe to ſay. 'Freedom,' he tells us, 'was twice proclaimed to Greece, by 'Flamininus, and afterwards by Nero; and by both at Corinth, 'and at the celebration of the Iſthmian games; with this differ- 'ence, that Nero paid Greece the higher compliment; he himſelf 'announced the DECREE OF LIBERTY; Flamininus employed 'an herald.'—What account ought to be made of the freedom conferred by Nero, is well known. Did the hiſtorian mean that we ſhould draw a parallel?

And

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And in no way could this be done ſo effectually, as by the renovation of their antient laws and government. Each ſtate having its own laws, each its peculiar form of government, each a diſtinct and independent ſovereignty, they would all naturally be engaged in the ſame proud pretenſions, the ſame jealouſies and conteſts, which had animated them before; and by affording to the Roman ſenate opportunities of interfering as arbiters in their differences, or as redreſſers of their wrongs, gradually and imperceptibly they would reduce Greece to the vaſſalage, which that artful people had in view. Beſides, *liberty* was the darling object of the Grecian ſtates: they had often been led away even by the name; and the reſtoration of their *liberties*, though but in appearance, gave the Romans a wonderful influence, eſpecially over the multitude; who, provided they enjoyed their rights of ſuffrage, the debates of their orators, and the buſtle of their public aſſemblies, imagined themſelves bleſt with all that liberty has moſt valuable.

I. of Chriſt 196.

In this general tranſport of joy the Aetolians, however, took no ſhare. Diſcontented, that, in contempt of their repreſentations, a peace ſhould have been granted to Philip, and high in their reſentment againſt Flamininus, who had not treated them, they conceived, as a free people and a faithful and brave confederate deſerved, they in revenge accuſed the Roman of having ſold the peace to Macedon; they charged him with ingratitude to a people, to whoſe valour he owed the victory, and with aſſuming to himſelf a reputation he did not deſerve. They accuſed him alſo with a want of perſonal courage: 'Whilſt I was engaged with the enemy,' it was the common vaunt of every Aetolian, 'Flamininus was at his 'prayers.' They even charged the Romans with perfidious

Polyb. Legat. 6. Liv. 33. 31. Plut. in Flaminino.

perfidious deſigns, and the Greeks with folly in believing their profeſſions. 'They boaſt of having beſtowed freedom on Greece, by ſetting at liberty ſome diſtant and inconſiderable places, whilſt your principal and moſt important cities, Demetrias, Chalcis, Corinth, are garriſoned by their troops: they have unfettered the legs, and fixed their yoke upon the neck.' This laſt accuſation, particularly, gave Flamininus much pain, becauſe it was but too well founded. The commiſſioners had in fact propoſed, that the Romans ſhould retain theſe ſtrong-holds as pledges of the fidelity of Greece; and it was only in conſequence of the apprehenſions excited throughout the Grecian ſtates by the murmurings of the Aetolians, that the proconſul at laſt evacuated them. It certainly had been eaſy for Flamininus to have regained the affections of this brave people, whom on the contrary he endeavoured rather to exaſperate by ſtudied ſlights, and by rejecting claims to which they apparently had a juſt right. But the pride of the Roman would not bend to ſuch conciliating meaſures. And perhaps it was more agreeable to the views of Rome, that ſome ſparks of diſaffection ſhould remain, from which, at a convenient ſeaſon, the flame of war might be re-kindled.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 196.

THE Aetolians had ſoon an opportunity of manifeſting their diſcontent. Nabis ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Argos; and, as ſovereign of Sparta, was alſo maſter of a number of ſea-ports, and particularly of Gythium, a place of great ſtrength on the Cretan ſea, and the moſt conſiderable harbour on the ſouthern part of Peloponneſus. Flamininus thought it dangerous, that ſo conſiderable a ſhare of power ſhould remain in the hands of a tyrant, on whoſe faith he could place no dependence: he was beſides willing to gratify the Achaeans, Liv. 34. 22 et ſeq.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 196.

ans, who had a natural jealouſy of Sparta, by the recovery of Argos, formerly one of their ſocial cities. Having accordingly aſſembled the confederate ſtates at Corinth, he propoſed to attack the tyrant, and diſpoſſeſs him of Argos. He obſerved, 'that this was a matter which related 'immediately to themſelves, and in which he had 'no other concern, than as a friend to their liber-'ties and welfare; but that it became them to con-'ſider, whether to have ſo ancient a city in ſlavery, 'in the heart of Greece, was not of pernicious 'example, as well as reproachful to them all; 'and whether therefore they ought not to reſtore 'it to the enjoyment of rights, which other Gre-'cian ſtates enjoyed, rather than ſuffer it to re-'main in bondage under a tyrant.' He cloſed his ſpeech by telling them, 'that whatever the majo-'rity ſhould decree, he was ready to execute.' The Aetolians with great eagerneſs laid hold of this occaſion to inveigh againſt the Romans, 'who manifeſted,' ſaid they, 'the ſincerity of their 'concern for the rights of Greece by the partial 'and nominal liberty they had proclaimed: that it 'was abſurd to talk of a new war, in order to ob-'tain Argos for the Achaeans, whilſt the Aetoli-'ans were deprived of thoſe cities, which they 'were to have poſſeſſed by expreſs ſtipulation, 'and which the Romans themſelves with-held 'from them: that what the Romans really had in 'view, was to perpetuate war in Greece: Nabis 'was now the pretence, another would ſoon ariſe; 'until that ambitious people had ſo effectually 'eſtabliſhed themſelves, that their diſpoſſeſſion 'would baffle the united powers of Greece.'

THESE repreſentations, however juſtly founded, were heard impatiently by all the other ſtates: the Aetolians were not beloved; and the attack upon the tyrant was popular. So that, the war being reſolved

resolved on by the unanimous suffrages of the whole assembly, the Aetolians excepted, the armies immediately took the field, and after a fruitless attempt on Argos, advanced, by Flamininus' advice, towards Sparta, where Nabis kept his head-quarters, where his most valuable possessions lay, and where, of course, whatever impression they made would have the greater effect. Bef. Christ 196.

NABIS was astonished at seeing the Romans turn their arms against him. 'You Romans,' said he, in a conference with the proconsul, 'received me 'into your alliance; how have I deserved to forfeit 'it? You talk of Argos: but Argos was already 'mine, by the voluntary cession of the king of 'Macedon, when I entered into an alliance with 'you; and my holding it at that time was not 'made a ground of objection. Or is it because I 'am, as you pretend, a tyrant, and guilty of 'lawless deeds? But was I less a tyrant, or less 'criminal, at the very time this alliance was 'made?'

IN cases of this kind, the strongest are always the best reasoners. 'The alledged treaty,' the Roman unblushingly replied, 'was altogether null 'from the beginning: he was a tyrant, and with 'tyrants Rome could not constitutionally have 'connection.' Nabis, the most perfidious of men, well deserved this perfidious answer. He had even then, in providing means for his defence, been guilty of new cruelties. He had arrested eighty of the principal citizens of Sparta, that they might not be exposed, he said, to suspicion, during the invasion; promising that, as soon as peace was restored, they should be released: but the ensuing night they were every one murdered. Their estates and wives he bestowed on some of the most favoured profligates, of which his army was composed Liv. 34. 33. Liv. 34. 27.

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poſed. Pretending alſo that the Helotae [19] favoured the enemy, he put many thouſands of them to the ſword.

Bef. Chriſt 195.

MEANWHILE, Flamininus and his confederates made the moſt vigorous exertion. The Roman fleet, together with the fleets of Pergamus and the Rhodians, had taken or blocked up all the ſea-ports belonging to the tyrant; and even Gythium, though at firſt obſtinately defended, at laſt ſurrendered. By land, the army, after reducing all the places around, had laid ſiege to Sparta. Philopoemen, who commanded the Achaeans, had, in the courſe of theſe operations, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner. Beſides the particular intereſt the Achaeans had in the ſucceſs of this war, and his perſonal hatred of Nabis, he was actuated by another powerful conſideration, his deſire of ſhewing the Romans, that the Greeks were not inferior to them in military proweſs. It appears, that this brave man could not, without indignation, behold his country dependent on foreign councils; and equally an enemy to every power that meant to inſlave Greece, he was on all occaſions as earneſt to vindicate her liberties againſt Rome, as he had been againſt Macedon.

NABIS, who had been obliged to retire into Sparta, now offered not only to cede Argos, but alſo to make other large conceſſions. But the confederates declared againſt peace with him on any terms: they inſiſted on the deliverance of Sparta; and that he ſhould be expelled from Peloponneſus, which could never otherwiſe hope for permanent tranquillity. Flamininus, nevertheleſs, under various pretences, oppoſed the continuance of the war; and at laſt, when Sparta appeared on

[19] The ſlaves employed in tillage, who had their ſettlements throughout the country of Laconia.

the

the point of being taken, and even Argos, by an insurrection of its citizens, had been forced out of the tyrant's hands, he concluded a treaty with the man to whom, when it ſerved his purpoſe, he had made this haughty reply: *Rome can form no treaty with a tyrant.* BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 195.

WHAT makes this ſtep appear the more extraordinary is, that Ageſipolis [20], confeſſedly lawful heir to the throne of Sparta, whom the tyrant Lycurgus had expelled, was at this very time in the Roman camp, together with a number of Spartan exiles, who, under the protection of Rome, now expected to be reſtored to their country, and whoſe intereſts were all ſacrificed on this occaſion. The treaty does not even make mention of them, one article excepted, which ſeems rather a cruel mockery, than a clauſe in favour of friends and allies. It was ſtipulated, that the wives of the Spartan exiles (the richeſt of whom, however, Nabis had already diſpoſed of among his mercenaries) ſhould have permiſſion to join their huſbands, if they choſe it. The chief of the other articles were, that the tyrant ſhould have no fortified places, that he ſhould ſurrender all his ſhips, and pay a certain ſum to the Romans.

IT appears, from the pains taken by antient hiſtorians to account for this tranſaction, that it expoſed Flamininus to much cenſure. 'Nabis,' they tell us, 'could not have been deſtroyed, 'without involving the Spartans in ſevere calami-'ties. To ſpare them, Flamininus was obliged to 'ſpare the tyrant.—Lacedaemon, beſides, was in

[20] It appears from Polybius (Legat. 49.) that this unhappy prince was afterwards ſent on an embaſſy to Rome from the Spartan exiles, and having in his paſſage thither fallen in with pirates, was ſlain by them.

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'a condition [21] to ſtand a long ſiege; and Antiochus was preparing to invade Greece. The conſequences might have been fatal, had he found Nabis in arms, and effected a junction with him. —Winter alſo was approaching, and the army had not the neceſſary proviſions for remaining in the field during the inclement ſeaſon.'

Bef. Chriſt 195.

Liv. 34. 33.

THESE arguments Flamininus is ſaid to have advanced in his juſtification. The laſt argument, eſpecially, he employed with great art. The Greek confederates were earneſt for continuing the war; 'which it had been better,' they ſaid, 'not to have commenced, if the tyrant is not to be cruſhed.'—'I am content', replied the Roman; 'let us then proſecute the war. But we 'ſhall want a large reinforcement of troops, and 'a number of expenſive machines: ſufficient 'ſtores muſt alſo be provided, and ample proviſion made for the ſupport and convenience of 'the army, without which it will be impoſſible 'for them to ſuſtain the rigours of a winter ſiege. 'Write therefore to your reſpective ſtates, and 'know what proportion of men, money, and 'proviſions, they are willing to furniſh on this 'occaſion.'—He knew what their anſwer would be. Low in their finances at beſt, theſe republicans had alſo been exhauſted by the repeated wars they had been engaged in. It was therefore left entirely to his determination, either to urge or put an end to the war.

Liv. ibid. 34.

BESIDES the reaſons here alledged, there were other motives, as we are informed, which he did not chooſe to mention; his fear of being ſup-

[21] Lacedaemon, nevertheleſs, was walled only in part, and juſt before the peace granted to Nabis, had been on the point of being taken by ſtorm, the confederate troops having carried part of the town by aſſault; ſo that the beſieged were under the neceſſity of ſetting fire to a quarter of the city, in order to diſlodge them.

planted

planted by a ſucceſſor, and what Plutarch thinks made the deepeſt impreſſion on his mind, a jealouſy of Philopoemen. It is certain, that this Grecian commander was generally looked upon as the hero of this war; he was placed on a footing of equality by the moſt zealous of Flamininus' friends; and it mortified the Roman exceedingly, that the exploits of an Arcadian, who had only commanded in ſome inconſiderable diſputes on the confines of his own country, ſhould, in the eſtimation of Greece, be raiſed to an equality with his own atchievements. Perhaps he conſidered alſo, that the Spartans, if now relieved from the tyrant's yoke, might not only become again formidable, but be apt to aſcribe their deliverance to the Achaeans and their general; whilſt Achaia, from ſuch a revolution, might probably derive a larger ſhare of power, than it was the intereſt or the intention of Rome ſhe ſhould poſſeſs. In continuing Nabis on the Spartan throne, Flamininus acted, therefore, according to the cuſtomary policy of Rome: he prevented Sparta's riſing from her preſent debaſement, while he left ample matter of anger and conteſt among the ſeveral Peloponneſian ſtates; and thus prepared a plentiful harveſt for Rome's ambitious arms.

BOOK VI. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 195. In Flamininо.

FLAMININUS returned ſoon after to Rome; and, to the great ſatisfaction of all Greece, withdrew, as he had promiſed, all the Roman garriſons. From this, however, it may be ſuſpected, that his fears of Antiochus, which he pleaded in excuſe for the peace with Nabis, were not ſo ſtrong as he had pretended. Had he really thought that Antiochus was on the point of invading Greece, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he would have left the country ungarriſoned.

BEFORE his departure, he made it his requeſt to the ſeveral Grecian ſtates, as the moſt acceptable return

BOOK VI. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 195.

return he could receive from them, to grant him the freedom of all Roman ſlaves. Theſe priſoners had been taken in the war with Hannibal, and ſold by the Carthaginians. 'It were a reproach to the 'Greeks,' he added, 'ſhould any Roman want 'liberty in a country that owed its liberty to 'Rome.'—A requeſt highly to his honour, and which was chearfully complied with; each ſtate ranſoming, at the public expence, whatever Romans were found in ſlavery within their territories. Among the Achaeans only, Livy informs us, twelve hundred were found, whoſe ranſom, at five minae a man, amounted to one hundred talents.

Liv. 34. 50.

16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* 19,375*l.*

How many of theſe wretched men muſt there have been in Greece, when in ſo ſmall a part of it were found ſo great a number!

BOOK

BOOK VI.

SECTION II.

THE humiliation of Antiochus was the object Rome had next in view. The magnificence of his court, the intimate connection he had formed with Egypt, on whoſe young king he had juſt beſtowed his daughter in marriage, the reports diſſeminated of his immenſe treaſures, numerous armies, and all the formidable apparatus of war, gave this prince a reputation for power far beyond what he really poſſeſſed. He was, beſides, high in fame for political wiſdom and martial abilities. By his vigorous conduct he had extinguiſhed a dangerous rebellion, fomented by his own miniſters, in the heart of his dominions; and he had reſtored peace to the eaſtern provinces of his empire, which, during the three laſt reigns, had been involved in a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion. He had alſo at this period viſited the coaſts of the Helleſpont, formerly ſubject to the kings of Syria; he had even paſſed over into Thrace, where he had likewiſe claims; and he was preparing to raiſe from its ruins Lyſimachia, antiently the royal city of Lyſimachus,

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 197.

BOOK VI. machus, in order to make it again the ſeat of government in thoſe countries.

Sect. 2. THESE ſpirited exertions of a prince, who ſeemed well able to ſupport his pretenſions to countries which the Romans had already marked as their own, rouſed and ſtimulated their ambitious jealouſy. As long, however, as the fate of Greece and Macedon was doubtful, they had concealed their views, and great care had been taken to keep up a friendly intercourſe with Antiochus. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance from Livy.

Bef. Chriſt 197.

Bef. Chriſt 198.

Liv. 32. 8. At the beginning of the ſecond Macedonian war, Attalus, then with the conſul in Greece, complained to the Roman ſenate that Antiochus had attacked his frontiers; and he applied for ſuccours againſt the invader. It was anſwered, 'that 'Antiochus, as well as Attalus, was the ally of 'Rome; that the Romans could not employ 'their arms in favour of one ally againſt another; 'but that they would ſend embaſſadors to Anti-'ochus, to repreſent that Attalus was engaged in 'their ſervice, and would eſteem it a kindneſs 'done to them, if the Syrian monarch would with-'draw from his territories:' with which requeſt Antiochus accordingly complied.

AT this time, they ſpoke in a very different tone. No ſooner was peace concluded with Philip, than it was notified to the embaſſadors of Antiochus, who then attended Flamininus, 'that, by 'the treaty with Macedon, the Grecian cities, in 'Aſia as well as in Europe, had been declared 'free; that Rome expected their maſter would 'conform to that declaration;' and farther, 'that 'henceforth Aſia was to be the boundary of his 'dominions, and any attempt to make a ſettle-'ment in Europe would be conſidered by Rome 'as an act of hoſtility.' The ſame notification was afterwards repeatedly made to him in perſon, by

Liv. 33. 34.

Section the firſt of this book.

by commiſſioners deputed for the purpoſe. In vain was it alledged by the king and his miniſters, 'that he had nothing in common with Philip or 'his fortunes, and was not therefore intereſted in 'the ſtipulations to which he had agreed; that the 'poſſeſſions he held in Aſia and Europe he inhe- 'rited from his anceſtors; and as it did not con- 'cern him, in what manner the Romans dealt 'with the cities of Italy, to the liberties of which, 'though of Grecian origin, Rome paid little re- 'gard, his treatment of the Aſiatic cities did not 'appear to him at all a Roman concern.' The requiſition nevertheleſs was peremptorily inſiſted upon. And though he ſent embaſſadors to remonſtrate with the ſenate, he found it impoſſible to obtain any mitigation of the imperious mandate.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 198. Liv. 33. 39. 40. 41. 5 16.

We have in this place a freſh opportunity of admiring the profound policy of the Roman councils. A method of injury, more effectual than the preſent, could not have been deviſed againſt Antiochus. The greater part of the cities of the lower Aſia had in ſome ſhape or other availed themſelves of the weak or turbulent reigns of the late Syrian kings: many of them had aſſumed an independent ſovereignty; ſome had extended their territories at the expence of the provinces around them; new ſtates had even ſprung up amidſt the confuſion of the times, and riſen to a conſiderable degree of ſtrength and independence. All theſe ſtates were with good reaſon apprehenſive, that Antiochus would ſeize the firſt opportunity of recovering what had been loſt by the fault or misfortune of his anceſtors. But by the public declaration of the Romans in favour of the Grecian coloniſts (to which denomination the inhabitants of theſe cities had a claim) they were not only confirmed in their defection, but became fixed in the intereſts of Rome. In her cauſe, of

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

consequence, the cause of all the Asiatic Greeks seemed necessarily to be involved: whilst Antiochus, in the midst of his two dominions, saw himself encompassed with jealous states or declared adversaries.

Bef. Christ 195.

Much art had at the same time been employed to fill Italy with apprehensions of mighty danger from Antiochus; 'his forces were already collected, and he was to appear immediately on their 'coasts:' while the several commissioners, in their return from Asia, laboured to confirm this belief, by their pompous accounts of his alarming preparations, and by asserting that all was in readiness for the invasion of the Roman territories. This nevertheless was the tale of artifice, and the contrivance of the Roman chiefs, in order to deceive the Plebeians, who tired of wars that administered only to the ambition and insolence of the Patricians, affording the people nothing but bloodshed and toil, had strenuously opposed the last expedition into Greece, and it was expected, would more strongly resist the launching into the vast and seemingly boundless tracts of Asia. It is in fact plain, from the unprovided condition in which the war found Antiochus, that, whatever hostile purposes he may be supposed to have meditated against Rome, they were not yet ripe for execution. He even seems, from the train of negotiation he entered into, and the instructions to his embassadors at Rome, evidently to have wished for peace, and in order to obtain it, to have been inclined to make large concessions, could any thing less than the utter humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition.

Liv. 33. 44. et 35. 23.

Liv. 31. 6. Liv. 34. 58, 59.

Bef. Christ 193.

He soon after, however, abandoned all thoughts of accommodation. Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, upon the first tidings of his meditating a war against the Romans, made his escape from Carthage

'Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Aetolians alſo earneſtly ſolicited him to come and vindicate the cauſe of Greece, 'enthralled,' ſaid they, 'more than ever, not-'withſtanding the ſpecious grant of liberty Rome 'had mocked her with.' Hannibal warmly recommended the invaſion of Italy, where alone, he affirmed, the Romans were vulnerable; and with a body of only eleven thouſand land-forces, and a ſuitable naval equipment, he offered to make a deſcent, and to carry the war into the heart of the country, provided Antiochus ſhould appear at the ſame time at the head of a powerful army on the weſtern coaſt of Greece, and make a ſhew of preparing for an invaſion from that quarter; that the Romans, perplexed by a variety of dangers, might find it more difficult to obſtruct his operations.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 193. Liv. 35. 22. Liv. 34. 56.

Ten thouſand, ſays Appian (de bello Syr.) 147.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plauſibility of this idea, a narrow jealouſy prevented Antiochus from adopting a plan of operations, of which another was to have the direction, and if ſucceſsful, would inherit the largeſt ſhare of the glory. He choſe rather to liſten to the Aetolians, who told him, if Greece was made the ſeat of war, a general inſurrection would immediately take place; that not only Theſſaly and Euboea, but Nabis, the Achaeans, and even Philip himſelf, waited impatiently for an opportunity of declaring againſt the Romans; and that, the inſtant he entered the Grecian frontiers, he ſhould have ample ſupplies of men and money pouring in from every quarter. To theſe aſſurances Antiochus liſtened with a fond attention, and entertained them, in return, with exaggerated accounts of the mighty armaments he had in readineſs; his fleets were to cover the Helleſpont, and numerous nations from every part of

Bef. Chriſt 192. Liv. ib. 42, 43.

Liv. 35. 12, 18.

Aſia

BOOK VI. Aſia were already on their march, before whom the Romans would not dare to appear.

Sect. 2. THE amount of theſe mutual promiſes and boaſted power was ſoon diſcovered. When Antiochus entered Greece, the utmoſt force he could muſter was ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants; for the ſupport alſo of which, he informed his confederates of Aetolia they were to provide. Of the Grecian ſtates, the Aetolians had influence to bring over to their party none but the Spartan tyrant, the Acarnanians, with the city of Demetrias in Theſſaly, of which they had even acquired poſſeſſion by the treachery of one of its citizens. The Achaeans, at the ſame time, were, from principle, particularly adverſe to any cauſe eſpouſed by Nabis and the Aetolians. And Philip, beſides his dread of the Roman arms, and the conſideration that his ſon Demetrius, with many of his nobles, were then hoſtages at Rome, had ſtrong reaſons to complain of the conduct of Antiochus. Indifferent to Philip's fate, that prince, during the late diſaſtrous war, had not only left him unaſſiſted, but taking advantage of his ſituation, had afterwards attempted an eſtabliſhment on the Thracian Cherſoneſe, where Philip's pretenſions were at leaſt equally ſtrong, and where he now ſaw with indignation a rival kingdom riſing on the confines of Macedon.

Bef. Chriſt 192. Liv. 35. 43, 44.

A SUDDEN revolution had entirely changed the face of affairs in Sparta. The Spartan tyrant, upon the proſpect of being joined by the Aetolians and Antiochus, had taken up arms, and laid ſiege to Gythium, then held by an Achaean garriſon for the Romans: and he had even defeated, in a naval combat, Philopoemen, then at the head of the commonwealth of Achaia; who, though highly jealous of the influence the Romans had

Liv. 35. 25, 30, 35, 36. & Plut. in Philopoem.

had obtained in Greece, gladly laid hold of an opportunity of making war on the infamous Nabis, and immediately haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the Gythian garriſon. Philopoemen was not expert in naval affairs, and in his precipitate zeal he had put to ſea with ſuch ſhips as were ready, moſt of them old and unfit for ſervice. Nabis, ſenſible of the advantage, attacked him without delay, deſtroyed his fleet, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping; in conſequence of which victory, Gythium ſoon ſurrendered to the Spartans. This diſcomfiture did not, however, diſconcert Philopoemen. He was ſoon in a condition to proſecute the war by land; and having, by his judicious conduct, obtained two victories over the tyrant, obliged him to retire towards Sparta, and to provide for the defence of his capital. Nabis, held in deteſtation at home, could ill maintain himſelf againſt enemies abroad; and the Aetolians, beginning to fear that Sparta muſt, in the end, fall into the hands of the Achaeans, diſpatched Alexamenus with a thouſand men, under colour of ſuccouring Nabis, but with ſecret inſtructions to deſtroy the tyrant, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, and to make himſelf maſter of Sparta. The miſconduct of the Aetolian commander rendered the ſcheme abortive. Soon after his arrival, under the pretence of getting Nabis to review the auxiliary troops, he drew him aſide from his guards, and put him to death; but inſtead of proclaiming himſelf the vindicator of the Spartan people, and engaging their confidence, he employed himſelf and his Aetolians in plundering the city. The citizens, rouſed to indignation and reſiſtance, attacked theſe treacherous invaders, and Alexamenus, with moſt of his men, fell in the tumultuary combat. During the confuſion, Philopoemen appeared before their gates, and invited them to accede

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 192.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. accede to the Achaean confederacy: they accepted his invitation, and were incorporated into the commonwealth of Achaia.

Bef. Christ 192. MEANWHILE, the Romans haſtened to improve the favourable opportunity, which the unhappy policy of the Syrian king and his Grecian confederates preſented to them. Their object was the ſubjection of Antiochus; and he was delivering himſelf into their hands. A firm union in Greece might have baffled the Roman deſigns; but the Aetolians were again diſtracting that country by their infatuated councils. To take advantage of this ſituation of affairs, the praetor Baebius was diſpatched into Theſſaly; two fleets were ordered to be fitted out, the one for Sicily, the other for Greece; and Quintius Flamininus, from whoſe influence among the Grecian ſtates much was expected, had orders, together with three other commiſſioners, to viſit the principal cities, and prevent their defection from the intereſts of Rome. It was in the courſe of this ſervice, that he made the memorable reply to the embaſſadors of Antiochus, as recorded by hiſtorians of thoſe times. He met them in the Achaean diet, whither they had come to ſolicit an alliance with their maſter, 'who,' ſaid they, 'zealous for the liberties 'of Greece, waited not until his forces were all 'aſſembled, but would be followed by numerous 'armies from every province of his empire, the 'Dahae, the Medes, the Caddufians, the Elymae-'ans, from the ſtroke of whoſe weapons there 'was no eſcaping.'——'This pompous detail,' anſwered Flamininus, 'reminds me of an entertain-'ment, to which I was once invited by a certain 'Grecian hoſt. Though in ſummer, the table was 'covered with wild fowl and veniſon of every ſpe-'cies, and all excellent in their kinds. Amazed, I 'enquired how, at that ſeaſon of the year, he 'could

Liv. 35. 48, 49.

'could be ſupplied with ſuch a variety of delica- BOOK
'cies. Be not ſurpriſed, my friend,' replied the VI.
honeſt Greek: 'what you ſee is all ſwine's fleſh; Sect. 2.
'the art of the cook has given it the various forms
'and flavours you admire. In like manner are Bef. Chriſt 192.
'you to judge of the various nations, which have
'now been mentioned. Whatever different ap-
'pellations the ſkill of the orator has beſtowed on
'them, they are in fact one people; all abject
'Syrians, ſtrangers themſelves to liberty, and
'therefore little capable of vindicating the liber-
'ties of others.'

THE Romans, indeed, had little to fear from Antiochus. Unable, from the ſlender force he had brought into the field, to exert himſelf vigorouſly, and depending for the maintenance of his troops on the money and proviſions which the Aetolians could ſupply, his progreſs muſt have been inconſiderable, had he even found no enemy to oppoſe him. The acquiſition of the principal cities of Euboea, and a few towns in Theſſaly, and the gaining over of Amynander, the petty king of the Athamanes, to his intereſt, were all the exploits he had to boaſt of. But beſides the difficulties which aroſe from his ſituation, his own conduct was, in many reſpects, feeble and ill-judged. His wiſeſt plan had been a reconciliation with the king of Macedon, and Hannibal earneſtly recommended this meaſure: but, on the contrary, he provoked Philip by new indignities. He ſet up againſt him a pretender to his crown, one Liv. 35. 47. of the ſame name, ſaid to be deſcended from the antient kings of Macedon, whoſe ſiſter was wife to the king of the Athamanes: and that he might eſtabliſh this adventurer in the affections of the Macedonian people, as well as to inſult Philip, he ſent him to Cynoſcephalae, to inter the bones Bef. Chriſt 191. of thoſe Macedonians who had fallen in the battle; Liv. 36. 8. which

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

which pious act Philip, in the midſt of his embarraſſments and diſtreſs, had hitherto neglected to perform. But what was moſt prejudicial to the affairs of Antiochus, was his diſſipation at Chalcis. At his firſt arrival in Greece, he endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that city, and failed: but by means of an underſtanding between him and a party of the citizens, he had carried it upon a ſecond attempt. Inſtead, however, of making a proper uſe of this important acquiſition, he abandoned himſelf to the purſuit of a ſilly amour. Though upwards of fifty, he married a maiden under twenty, the daughter of his hoſt; and in the feſtivities of this unſeaſonable and ill-ſuited match he waſted that time which his public affairs demanded, his whole army following his example in unwarrantable and ill-timed indulgences.

Bef. Chriſt 191.

Liv. ibid. 11.

UPON the election of new conſuls, the care of the war in Greece had been allotted to Manius Acilius Glabrio, one of the conſuls elect; who, as ſoon as the neceſſary levies were completed, paſſed over from Brunduſium, and advanced into Theſſaly. Alarmed at the approach of the enemy, Antiochus was roufed from his lethargy, and took the field: but the numerous forces, which he had boaſted were to follow from Aſia, had not yet arrived, and four thouſand men were the total amount of the Aetolian ſuccours. His only reſource was to ſtop the progreſs of the Romans by poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſtreights of Thermopylae, and ſecuring the heights of mount Oeta, over which the Perſians had made their way in the days of Leonidas. Theſe precautions availed little. Cato, whoſe name was afterwards rendered illuſtrious by his ſpirited diſcharge of the Cenſorial office, having been ſent over the mountains at the head of a conſiderable detachment, ſoon diſlodged the Aetolians to whom the defence of that poſt had

Liv. 36. 14 & ſeq.

Plut. in Catone.

had been committed; and while his victorious troops were pouring down from above, the conſul having forced the paſs below, a general diſcomfiture involved the whole Syrian army: Antiochus, who was wounded in the mouth by a ſtone, eſcaping only with five hundred men into Chalcis, from whence he retired, with precipitation, to his Aſiatic dominions.——What conſequences his inconſiderate conduct produced afterwards to his affairs, and the ruin it entailed on his unhappy kingdom, are matters that belong not to the preſent hiſtory. Bef. Chriſt 191.

ANTIOCHUS was defeated, and had fled. He was now to be followed into Aſia, where his great ſtrength lay, and where, if joined by Greece, he might have proved more formidable than ever. But the firſt uſe which the Romans made of their victory was, to annihilate whatever influence the Syrian monarch was thought ſtill to poſſeſs among the Grecian ſtates, and to confirm thoſe in the intereſts of Rome, who had declared againſt him. They accordingly were laviſh of their favours to Philip and the Achaeans. The latter had, in the courſe of the war, extended their dominions over all Peloponneſus; and the Romans, without expreſſing the leaſt jealouſy of this increaſe of power, left them in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all they had acquired. Philip, in aſſiſting the Romans had recovered ſeveral towns on the ſide of Theſſaly and Athamania which he had formerly held, and which he had been obliged to cede upon the concluſion of the late peace: he was ſuffered to retain whatever he had taken; his embaſſadors, who bore his congratulations to Rome, were treated with diſtinguiſhed regard; his ſon Demetrius, and the reſt of the Macedonian hoſtages, were ſet at liberty; and ſoon after, that part of the tribute, which remained unpaid, was remitted.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. remitted. Rome ſhewed lenity even to thoſe, whoſe fidelity had been the moſt doubtful: the people of Chalcis had their lives and eſtates ſecured to them; and the Epirots and Boeotians, though ſtrongly ſuſpected of a connexion with Antiochus, and of having ſent him ſupplies, were pardoned upon their ſubmiſſion. The Aetolians themſelves might have had favourable terms, the conſul offering them peace, provided they renounced all alliance with Syria, and delivered up their chief city, Heraclea, into his hands: but, whether apprehenſive that the Romans, when poſſeſſed of Heraclea, would impoſe harder conditions, or prevailed upon by the intrigues of Damocritus, one of their popular leaders, the avowed enemy of Rome, who encouraged them with hopes of immediate ſuccours from Antiochus, they rejected the offer. To the counſels, principally, of this demagogue, was owing their firſt treaty of alliance with the Syrian king. Damocritus was then chief magiſtrate of Aetolia, and ſo violent againſt the Romans, that when Flamininus, at that time embaſſador from Rome to the Aetolian ſtates, demanded of him a copy of the decree in favour of Antiochus, 'I have other matters,' replied he, 'to attend to at preſent; I 'ſhall deliver it to you on the banks of the 'Tiber.'

Bef. Chriſt 191. Liv. 36. 22. Liv. 35. 33.

MORE vigorous meaſures having thus become neceſſary, the conſul urged the ſiege of Heraclea [1]; which, notwithſtanding its ſtrength of ſituation, and the obſtinate defence of the Aetolians, did not long reſiſt the Roman arms; the garriſon, with Damocritus their turbulent com-

[1] A city at the foot of the mount Oeta, on the river Aſopus, defended by a caſtle, from its ſituation ſuppoſed to be of great ſtrength.

mander,

mander, surrendering at discretion. Soon after the reduction of Heraclea, Lamia, at a small distance, surrendered also to the Romans; who, following these successes, prepared to attack Naupactus, a sea-port on the Corinthian gulph, of the first consequence to the Aetolian nation. Alarmed at this rapid progress, and disappointed of the aids they expected from Asia, the Aetolians would now gladly have accepted of the peace which they had formerly spurned at: but the consul at first refused to treat with them, and with much difficulty was at length prevailed on to admit the Aetolian deputies into his presence. At the head of this deputation was Phaeneas, of whom mention has been already made: he began his discourse, by bewailing the ill-advised conduct of the Aetolians, who now, repenting of their imprudence, had decreed *to submit themselves to the faith of the Roman people*. It would appear, that Phaeneas did not apprehend the full import of the expressions he had employed; which, as the consul chose to understand them, implied a total surrender of all Aetolia to the Romans. Acilius laying hold on what he had said, 'Is it then true, 'that the Aetolians submit themselves to the 'faith of Rome?' Phaeneas confirming it, 'If it 'is so,' resumed the consul, 'let no Aetolian from 'henceforth, on any account public or private, 'presume to pass over into Asia; and let Dicae-'archus [2], Menestratus the Epirot [3], and Amy-'nander, with all the Athamanes who have had 'any share in his revolt, be delivered into my 'hands.'—'The Aetolians,' interrupted Phaeneas, 'in submitting themselves to the faith of the Ro-'mans, meant to rely upon their generosity, but

Bef. Christ 191.

Polyb. Legat. 13. Liv. 36. 28, 29.

[2] One of the Aetolian leaders, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.

[3] Who had entered Naupactus with a body of auxiliaries.

'not

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 191.

'not to yield themſelves up to ſervitude. The 'requiſitions which you make, neither the honour 'of Aetolia, nor the cuſtoms and laws of Greece, 'will allow us to comply with.'—'It is inſolent 'prevarication,' anſwered the conſul, 'to men- 'tion the honour of Aetolia! and the cuſtoms 'and laws of Greece! It even deſerves that I 'ſhould command you to be put in chains.' He inſtantly ordered chains to be brought forward: but the repreſentations of his chief officers prevented him from violating the ſacred character of embaſſador; and a truce of ten days was granted, in order that the Aetolian deputies might lay the conſul's demands before the general aſſembly of their nation.

THE report made by the deputies highly exaſperated the Aetolians, who ſeemed reſolved to ſubmit to every extremity rather than ſurrender their liberties to imperious Rome. What made them more determined, Polybius informs us, was the favourable account brought by Nicander, one of their chiefs. He had been diſpatched to Antiochus, and returned in twelve days, with a conſiderable ſupply of money, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that early in the ſpring all the forces of Syria ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Aetolians. He added, that he had alſo had an interview with Philip, having, on his return, as he avoided the Roman camp, fallen in with a party of the Macedonian army. They carried him to their king, who not only ſet him at liberty, but employed him to inform the Aetolians of his friendly diſpoſitions; that, although their imprudence in calling in foreign aid, firſt from Rome, and now from Aſia, had occaſioned the calamitous condition to which Greece was reduced he nevertheleſs ſhould forget the injuries he had ſuſtained from them, and expected that they, in return, would

Ubi ſupra.

would bury in oblivion the enmity they bore to him. BOOK VI.

THERE is reaſon to ſuſpect the truth of this account of Philip. In his preſent ſituation, he had an opportunity of recovering much of what he had loſt, and was apparently in high favour with the Romans: accordingly, he could hardly have entertained the thoughts here aſcribed to him; or, if he had, would ſcarcely have diſcloſed them to a people with whom he had generally been on terms of hoſtility. Whatever may be in this, Nicander's purpoſe was anſwered. Ready to believe whatever flattered their hopes, the Aetolians determined to bid defiance to Rome, and drew all their forces to the city of Naupactus, which Acilius with the whole conſular army ſoon after inveſted. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 191.

BUT with whatever vigour the Aetolians exerted themſelves, their bad fortune continued: the promiſed ſuccours did not appear; and Naupactus, after a ſiege of two months, was reduced to the laſt extremity. Philip, meanwhile, was availing himſelf of the war, and under pretence of fighting the battles of Rome, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Demetrias, and ſeveral conſiderable diſtricts both in Epire and Theſſaly. Flamininus, who, ſince the flight of Antiochus, had taken up his reſidence at Chalcis, and was perfectly acquainted with the views of the ſenate in relation to Philip, ſaw with concern the re-eſtabliſhment of his power, and haſtened to the Roman camp, in order to induce the conſul to purſue different meaſures. 'Do you know,' ſaid he to Acilius, 'how prejudicial to the intereſts of the republic 'your conduct is? waſting your time in humbling 'the contemptible Aetolians, whoſe ſubjection we 'can effect when we pleaſe, you are ſuffering the 'Macedonian king, Rome's moſt dangerous foe, Liv. 36. 34.

'to

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

'to render himſelf more powerful than ever.' Acilius was ſoon convinced by the reaſoning of Flamininus: the only difficulty that remained, was to raiſe the ſiege without impeachment of the conſul's honour; and this difficulty Flamininus undertook to remove. The Aetolians had applied to him for his mediation, under colour of which, he adviſed them to ſue to the conſul for a truce, that they might ſend embaſſadors to Rome to implore the clemency of the ſenate. This requeſt he promiſed to ſupport; and a ſuſpenſion of arms having accordingly taken place, Philip was obliged to diſcontinue his military operations.

Bef. Chriſt 191.

THE ſequel of the fortunes of the Aetolians, till their final ſubjection to the Roman power, may, from its connexion with the preceding narrative, not improperly be recorded here. At Rome their embaſſadors found little favour. The only conditions they could obtain were, either to pay the republic a thouſand talents (a ſum which, they declared, far exceeded their abilities) and to have neither friend nor foe but with the approbation of Rome, or to ſubmit to the pleaſure of the ſenate. They deſired to know, what they were to underſtand by '*ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the ſenate*;' but a particular explanation was refuſed, and an implicit obedience to whatever orders the ſenate ſhould be pleaſed to iſſue was peremptorily inſiſted upon. With this anſwer they returned home; and in this ſtate of terror the Aetolians remained, uncertain of their future deſtiny, until the arrival of Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the newly-elected conſul, to whom the command in Greece and Aſia had been aſſigned. To him they made their application, but without ſucceſs, though the Athenians, and even Scipio Africanus, the conſul's brother, interceded in their behalf. The ſevere terms, which the ſenate had decreed, he alſo pronounced; but,

Bef. Chriſt 190. Polyb. Legat. 16. Liv. 37. 1.

Polyb. Legat. 17.

but, as a mighty favour, he granted a ſix months truce, that they might again proſecute their cauſe at Rome. In fact, this truce, whatever the Aetolians were made to believe, was not leſs agreeable to Scipio than to them. He was impatient to have the glory of paſſing into Aſia, ground hitherto untrodden by any Roman general; and if obſtructed by an Aetolian war, he feared that he might loſe perhaps the grand object of his purſuit. BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 191.

THE day of Magneſia decided the fate of Antiochus; and the Romans were now at leiſure to attend to the reduction of the Aetolians. Theſe people had rendered themſelves more obnoxious than ever. Whilſt the Romans were employed in Aſia, they had driven Philip not only out of ſome of their territories in which he had eſtabliſhed himſelf, but alſo from others to which he had a good claim, and had beſides recovered Athamania, and reſtored it to Amynander, to whom it legally belonged. The Romans, not ill-pleaſed that the power of Philip ſhould be circumſcribed, confirmed the kingdom of Athamania to Amynander; but at the ſame time declared their reſentment at the Aetolians, whom they required to evacuate their conqueſts. What at the ſame time greatly hurt their cauſe, was the ſtrange conduct of the embaſſadors they had ſent to Rome. They had circulated a report, that the Roman armies in Aſia were defeated, and the two Scipios taken priſoners; and this piece of intelligence they urged as an argument to induce the Romans to grant the peace they applied for. The Roman indignation was provoked at this inſult: the embaſſadors were ordered immediately to leave the city, with inſtructions to the Aetolians never to preſume again to ſend plenipotentiaries to Rome, Bef. Chriſt 190. Liv. 37. 48, 49.

BOOK VI. without the expreſs permiſſion of the Roman commander in Greece.

Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 189. Liv. 38. 4 et ſeq.

AFTER the election of new conſuls, the Aetolian war was allotted to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who immediately prepared for the expedition, and began his operations with the ſiege of Ambracia [4]. Every thing that ingenuity could deviſe, or valour atchieve, was employed for the defence of this important place. But deterred by no difficulties, the Romans perſevered; when, far inferior to them, both in reſources and numbers, the Ambraciots found themſelves at laſt obliged to capitulate. The payment of five hundred Euboic talents was ſtipulated; two hundred down, the remaining three in ſix equal payments; and they were to deliver up to the conſul all the priſoners and deſerters then in Ambracia [5]; on which terms the Aetolian garriſon was permitted to march unmoleſted. Amynander was of great ſervice to the Romans on this occaſion: he was again their faithful ally, and to make amends for his late defection, had employed all his influence to bring about the capitulation.

[4] A ſtrong city near the mouth of the Arachthus, on the borders of Epirus and Acarnania, formerly belonging to Epirus, but now held by the Aetolians, and the key to the Aetolian dominions.

[5] It appears, nevertheleſs, (Liv. 38. 43, 44) that Fulvius' proceedings againſt the Ambraciots were afterwards diſapproved of at Rome; whether upon a principle of juſtice, or as Livy thinks, by the contrivance of the conſul Aemilius and his party, to whom Fulvius was obnoxious, it is now difficult to determine. However, it was decreed by the ſenate, 'that the Ambraciots ſhould not be 'conſidered as a conquered people—that they ſhould have their 'laws and liberties reſtored to them, and enjoy again all tolls and 'cuſtoms formerly enjoyed by them; the Romans only, with 'their Latin allies, not to be ſubject to the payment of any ſuch 'tolls, &c.'—and 'that as to the paintings and other ornaments, 'of which their temples had been plundered, and which Fulvius 'had ſent away to Italy, it ſhould be referred to the college of the 'prieſts to decide about them.'—What *their* deciſion was, may eaſily be conjectured.

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ALARMED at the progreſs of the Roman arms, the whole Aetolian nation applied to the conſul for mercy. The requiſitions he made were nevertheleſs ſo humiliating, that the commiſſioners ſent to treat with him, not thinking themſelves authorized to agree to ſuch hard conditions, returned for more full and explicit inſtructions. But a general deſpondency had now ſeized the Aetolians, and the commiſſioners were hurried back with orders to ſign whatever terms were dictated by the imperious conqueror. The moſt remarkable of theſe were, 'That *obſervance* ſhall be paid to the *empire* and *majeſty* of the Roman people' (ſuch is the inſolence of victory) 'throughout all Aetolia—'that the friends and enemies of Rome ſhall be 'the friends and enemies of Aetolia---that the 'Aetolians ſhall immediately pay down to the 'conſul two hundred Euboic talents of ſilver, of 'the ſame fineneſs as the Attic ſtandard, with per-'miſſion to pay the third part in gold, a mina of 'gold to be accounted equal to ten minae of ſilver; 'to pay, beſides, a tribute of fifty talents yearly for 'ſix years, which was to be ſent to Rome at their 'own riſque and charges—that all cities and coun-'tries, with their reſpective inhabitants, which have 'formerly been ſubject to the Aetolians, and have, 'ſince the time of Flamininus' conſulſhip, either 'by conqueſt or voluntary ſurrender become ſub-'ject to Rome, ſhall from henceforth be deemed 'the property of the Roman people; and the 'Aetolians ſhall relinquiſh all claim to them—'that they ſhall deliver into the hands of the con-'ſul forty hoſtages, to be choſen by him, none 'under twelve or above forty years of age; the 'chief magiſtrate of Aetolia, the general of the 'horſe, and the ſecretary of ſtate, to be excepted 'out of the number; and, in caſe of the death of 'any hoſtage, another to be given in his room.'

Bef. Chriſt 189. Liv. 38. 8, 9.

Polyb. Legat. 28. Liv. 28. 10, 11.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 189.

EVEN theſe conditions, when laid before them for approbation, the Roman ſenate refuſed at firſt to confirm; a ratification being at length with difficulty obtained, by the interceſſion of ſeveral Roman patricians, and of the Rhodian and Athenian embaſſadors. Damis, the Athenian, more particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion: Livy calls him Leon.

'Whatever the Aetolians have been guilty of, is 'not,' ſaid he, 'to be laid to the charge of the 'body of the Aetolian people. In all ſtates, the 'multitude are like the ſea: the ſea, in its natural 'ſituation, is ſmooth and compoſed, and not dan-'gerous to the navigator; but when ruffled 'and agitated by ſtorms, it becomes raging and 'tremendous. Thus the Aetolians, when left to 'themſelves, were of all the Greeks the beſt af-'fected to the intereſts of Rome, and ready to 'aſſiſt in all her enterprizes; but when a Thoas 'and a Dicaearchus from Aſia, and a Meneſtas 'and Damocritus from Europe, began to excite 'a ferment, and to throw the multitude into 'commotion, then boiſterous councils and mad 'reſolves naturally followed. Againſt the authors 'of theſe miſchiefs pronounce, therefore, as you 'ſhall pleaſe; but let the multitude experience 'your clemency.'

NEVERTHELESS, all the *clemency* obtained, was a confirmation of the conſul's terms, without the leaſt mitigation.

THIS treatment of a people who were the firſt that opened Greece to the Romans, harſh as it may appear, was exceedingly merciful when compared with what followed, when the final overthrow of the royal houſe of Macedon left Rome at liberty to avow the genius of her empire. That tranſaction ſhall have its place hereafter.

THE moſt important buſineſs the Romans had now in contemplation in Greece, was to reduce within

Bef. Chriſt 189.

within narrower limits the power of the Macedonian king, and of the republic of Achaia, which had acquired a formidable encreaſe of territory during the late Syrian and Aetolian wars. The Achaeans, as we have already obſerved, were maſters at preſent of all Peloponneſus; and Philip had not only recovered moſt of thoſe provinces of which his wars with Rome had deprived him, but had alſo made conſiderable acquiſitions. The deſign upon theſe allies was a matter to be managed with the greateſt delicacy. Both ſtates had been firm in the intereſts of Rome, and ſeveral of the Roman commanders had ſpoken highly of the ſupport they had received from them. To repay their ſervices with diſtruſt and acts of hoſtility, becauſe they were no longer neceſſary, had been to avow the very purpoſes which Rome was induſtrious to conceal. The political form of government, which prevailed throughout Greece, afforded to the Romans the wiſhed-for opportunity. Though confederated with Achaia, the Peloponneſian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a kind of independent ſovereignty, which naturally gave riſe to many jealouſies and conteſts. In like manner, Philip had but a limited authority in moſt of the Grecian ſtates over which he had eſtabliſhed his dominion; his title to ſome of them was controverted, and much was to be done before the rights of the numerous claimants could be adjuſted. The Romans ſaw what advantages were to be derived from theſe particular circumſtances, and took their meaſures accordingly.

Liv. 36. 33, 34.

They began with Achaia. Fulvius, when peace was concluded with Aetolia, had adjudged the iſland Cephalenia to Rome, and fixed his reſidence there, to be at hand to decide whatever diſputes ſhould ariſe between the Grecian cities; that

BOOK VI. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 189.

Liv. 38. 30 & ſeq.

that iſland being divided from the coaſt of Peloponneſus by an arm of the ſea only twenty-four miles over, from whence an eaſy paſſage lay open into that country. Upon the firſt diſpute therefore in Achaia, he paſſed over into Peloponneſus. The general convention of the Achaean ſtates had, from antient time, been held at Aegium; but Philopoemen, now chief magiſtate of Achaia, having thought fit to divide among all the cities of the Achaean league the advantages which thoſe aſſemblies brought to the place where they were held, had named Argos for the next ſucceeding diet. This innovation the inhabitants of Aegium oppoſed, and applied to the Roman conſul for his determination. The conſul, it appears, behaved on this occaſion in the moſt cautious manner. He favoured, as Livy tells us, the cauſe of the Aegienſes: but finding a great majority to be againſt them, he concealed his private ſentiments, and made no oppoſition to the appointment of Philopoemen. He had gained, however, the main point he had in view; an appeal had been made to him, and the judicial authority of Rome over the Peloponneſian ſtates was thus virtually acknowledged.

A CAUSE of much greater moment ſoon preſented itſelf. The Lacedemonian exiles, who had been expelled in the days of the tyrants, and who on account of the domeſtic feuds ſtill prevailing in Lacedemon, had never been reſtored, reſided in certain towns along the coaſt of Laconia, under the protection of Achaean garriſons. The inhabitants of Lacedemon, thus cut off from all intercourſe with the ſea-coaſt, bore the reſtraint impatiently; and to free themſelves from it, attacked, in the night-time, one of the maritime towns called Las, but were repulſed by the exiles with the aſſiſtance of the Achaean ſoldiery. Philopoemen,

lopoemen, who was ſtill at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, having convened an aſſembly, repreſented this attempt upon Las as an inſult to the whole Achaean body, and obtained a decree, commanding the Lacedemonians to deliver up the authors of that outrage, on pain of being treated as enemies. Proper officers were ſent to Lacedemon, to notify the decree. But this ſtep ſerved only to exaſperate the Lacedemonians. They immediately put thirty citizens to death, who were known to be in the Achaean intereſt, diſſolved their alliance with Achaia, and ſent embaſſadors to Fulvius, entreating him to come and take poſſeſſion of their city. To revenge this inſult, Philopoemen declared war againſt Lacedemon, and though the ſeaſon was far advanced, entered the Lacedemonian territory, ſpreading devaſtation wherever he came. Bef. Chriſt 189.

On the return of ſpring, both ſides ſtill remaining exceedingly exaſperated, Fulvius croſſed over into Peloponneſus, and demanded that an aſſembly ſhould be convened at Elis, in order to diſcuſs the pretenſions of Achaia over Lacedemon. After hearing both parties, unable, or perhaps unwilling, to bring the perplexed claims to a final deciſion, he adviſed them to ſend embaſſadors to Rome, and while the cauſe was depending, to ſuſpend hoſtilities. They complied; the Achaeans ſending as their deputies, Lycortas the father of Polybius, who as a ſpirited aſſerter of the liberties of Achaia, was ſtrenuous in the ſupport of Philopoemen's meaſures, and Diophanes, a man in appearance of moderate counſels, but in fact devoted to the intereſts of Rome. Diophanes, accordingly, in his application to the ſenate, referred the deciſion of the cauſe wholly to their arbitration; whilſt Lycortas, on the contrary, maintained the decree of Philopoemen, which, he

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Bef. Chriſt 189.

he aſſerted, could not be reverſed without making void the regulations of Flamininus, who had committed to Achaia the protection of the ſea-coaſt. The ſubtle Romans however, ſecretly pleaſed to ſee the confederates of Achaia in arms againſt her, framed their anſwer in ſuch ambiguous terms as left the matter juſt as they found it; the Lacedemonians inſiſting, that the determination was in their favour; while the contrary was as ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by the Achaeans. The conſequence was, that Philopoemen, who had been re-elected chief magiſtrate, marched to Lacedemon, and demanded by name the authors of the attempt upon Las; promiſing at the ſame time that they ſhould not be condemned unheard. Truſting to this promiſe, theſe men ſet out for the Achaean camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedemon, who conſidered their cauſe as a national concern. But as they entered the camp, they were inſulted with reproaches by the exiles, who having engaged the Achaean ſoldiers in their quarrel, ſuddenly attacked them with ſuch fury, that ſeventeen were killed upon the ſpot: the remainder, ſixty-three in number, were reſcued with difficulty by Philopoemen, not in order to ſave them, but that it might not be ſaid, they had been put to death without trial. Next morning, being accordingly produced before the multitude, they were condemned and executed, being hardly allowed the ſemblance of a defence. This ſevere proceeding ſtruck the Lacedemonians with ſuch a panic, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Philopoemen, reſolving to humble them effectually, treated them as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. He commanded them to demoliſh their walls, to diſband their mercenaries, to expel the ſlaves whom the tyrants had enfranchiſed, to reſtore the exiles, and to renounce the laws of Lycurgus;

curgus; the laws of Achaia being to be conſidered from that time as the laws by which Lacedemon was to be governed.

Bef. Chriſt 189.

PHILOPOEMEN's conduct on this occaſion (ſuch are the fatal violences into which the ſpirit of dominion, ſucceſs, and revenge, are apt to betray us!) was certainly cruel, and in regard to thoſe whom he had abandoned to the fury of the exiles, highly perfidious. The Romans, however, ſhewed nothing of that vigour in behalf of this oppreſſed people, which they had often diſplayed in more trifling matters. Though a ſolemn appeal had been made by the Lacedemonians to Rome, the Roman conſul, Lepidus, contented himſelf with coolly informing the Achaeans, that the ſenate did not approve of theſe ſevere proceedings. And Nicodemus of Elis, having been deputed from the Achaean diet to juſtify what had been done, received for anſwer, 'that Rome was 'not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the Spartan 'government, but did not annul what the Achae-'ans had decreed.'

Plut. in Philopoem.

THE infant ſtate of the Roman empire in Aſia, and the attention required in marking the deſigns and controlling the power of thoſe ſtates that bordered on the dominions lately belonging to Antiochus, produced this temporiſing policy. Macedon, beſides, was again growing formidable; and the Romans were cautious of provoking Achaia, who, had ſhe at this period boldly declared againſt Rome, had probably united in her cauſe not only the greater part of Greece, but many of the neighbouring potentates. Such at this time was the reputation of the Achaean republic, that her friendſhip was courted by the kings of Pergamus and Egypt. And ſoon after, Seleucus, having ſucceeded to the throne of Syria upon the death of his father Antiochus, ſent embaſſadors to the

Polyb. Legat. 37. 41. Bef. Chriſt 187.

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the Achaean ſtates, to ſolicit their alliance. Eumenes even propoſed a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty talents, towards the eſtabliſhment of a fund for the ſupport of the members of the general aſ-
Bef. Chriſt 187. ſembly. Ptolemy preſented them with ſix thouſand ſhields, and two hundred talents; and Seleucus offered them ten ſhips of war completely equipped. The preſent from Ptolemy was the only one accepted; to Eumenes particularly they returned an anſwer worthy of a free republic, 'that they were 'rather to deem him an enemy, ſince he ſought to 'corrupt the members of that venerable aſſembly; 'which he would not have attempted, had he not 'entertained views unfriendly to the liberties of 'Achaia.'

THOUGH Rome in the preſent ſituation of her affairs found it neceſſary to diſſemble, ſhe was not inattentive to the councils of a ſtate, whoſe riſing
Bef. Chriſt 186. importance ſhe beheld with a jealous eye. Caecilius, who with two other commiſſioners had been ſent to viſit Macedon, had orders in his return to paſs through Achaia, and to employ himſelf in ſupporting the cauſe of Sparta, as the moſt effectual means of diminiſhing the conſequence of the Achaean confederacy. At the ſame time Rome had taken care to gain over a party among the Achaeans themſelves, to oppoſe Philopoemen, and ſupplant him if an opportunity offered. Among theſe was Diophanes already mentioned, and Ariſtaenus, now firſt magiſtrate of the Achaean ſtates, who diſplayed a ſtriking ſpecimen of his intriguing genius, in rendering abortive the purpoſed alliance with Ptolemy. We have an account of this tranſ-
Ubi ſup. action from Polybius. It had been carried in the general aſſembly, 'that the treaty of alliance with 'the Egyptian king ſhould be renewed.' To elude therefore the force of a reſolution which interfered with the purpoſes of Rome, Ariſtaenus produced

duced a number of treaties made at different periods between the Achaeans and Egypt, and deſired to be informed to which of theſe the reſolution referred; and thus, by perplexing the queſtion, contrived that nothing ſhould be done. BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 186.

CAECILIUS ſhewed conſiderable ability in the execution of his commiſſion. Having obtained an audience of the council, he complained of the treatment the Lacedemonians had received, but rather in the language of expoſtulation; tempering his cenſures with high encomiums on the wiſdom of their government, and their zeal for the proſperity of their country. Ariſtaenus, general of the year, with whom probably the whole matter had been previouſly concerted, made no reply, as if he acknowledged by his ſilence, that the conduct of Achaia towards the Lacedemonians did not admit of a juſtification. Diophanes, however, went farther. He made a formal charge againſt Philopoemen; imputing to him not only the ruin of Lacedemon, but the violent meaſures alſo which Achaia had lately adopted, particularly the unjuſt and ſevere treatment of the Meſſenian exiles, who had not been reſtored, as Flamininus had ordained; and this oppreſſion of the Meſſenians he repreſented as the crime of Philopoemen alone.

PHILOPOEMEN did not want ſpirit to defend himſelf; and he was ſo effectually ſupported by Lycortas and other Achaean chiefs, that notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Roman party, it was reſolved, 'that nothing ſhould be altered in 'the decrees, which the Achaean ſtates had en-'acted; and that this anſwer ſhould be given to 'Caecilius.' Highly exaſperated, he then deſired, that the national diet ſhould be convened. But to this it was replied, that by the laws of Achaia he muſt

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muſt produce a letter from the ſenate of Rome authoriſing his requeſt; and as he had no ſuch document, he was obliged to return home, with the mortification that always attends defeated projects, and with the additional regret of being baffled by men he held in contempt.

Bef. Chriſt 186.

Bef. Chriſt 185. Polyb. Legat. 42.

THE Achaeans nevertheleſs thought it neceſſary, that their embaſſadors ſhould immediately follow him to Rome, and lay before the ſenate their reaſons for not complying with his requiſition. They had hardly arrived, when embaſſadors from Sparta alſo appeared. What was yet more ſurpriſing, the perſons employed in this embaſſy were Areus and Alcibiades, two of thoſe very exiles lately reſtored to their country by means of Philopoemen, an action now imputed to him as a crime. Theſe ungrateful men, either to ingratiate themſelves with their fellow-citizens, or ſtimulated by Rome, had undertaken to plead the cauſe of Sparta. They made accordingly a moſt affecting repreſentation of the condition to which Lacedemon, once the pride of Greece, was now reduced; her walls laid in ruins, her citizens led into ſlavery, and the ſacred laws of Lycurgus aboliſhed; and concluded by praying the Romans to extend their protection to this afflicted people, and to relieve them from deſpotiſm and oppreſſion.

A SUIT ſo congenial with the deſigns of Rome eaſily found attention and favour. It was decreed, that three commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to the Achaean diet, in order to determine upon the ſpot all matters in diſpute between Achaia and the Spartans: and that the Achaeans ſhould be required to convene their general aſſembly, whenever the demand was made by the Roman embaſſador; as the ſenate, on their part, admitted the Achaeans to an audience as often as they deſired it.

Polyb. Legat. 42.

WHEN

WHEN the Achaeans received an account of theſe proceedings, they could not ſuppreſs their indignation. The general aſſembly was inſtantly called together, in which it was reſolved, 'that 'the Spartans, by their appeal to Rome, had de- 'parted from their plighted allegiance to the 'Achaean ſtates; that Areus and Alcibiades were 'therefore in rebellion againſt their rightful lords, 'and ſhould be adjudged to death.' Bef. Chriſt 184.

THESE reſolutions, the paſſionate ebullitions of an impetuous multitude, were as vain as they were intemperate. Areus and Alcibiades, protected by Rome, were beyond their reach, bidding defiance to a power from which, in other circumſtances, they had every thing to fear.

SCARCELY was the decree enacted, when the Roman commiſſioners, at the head of whom was Appius Claudius, arrived at Cleitor in Arcadia, where the Achaean ſtates had been convened; and what was moſt mortifying to thoſe people, Areus and Alcibiades accompanied them. The gloomy apprehenſions, to which this circumſtance gave riſe, were fully juſtified by the ſequel. The commiſſioners entered the diet, not as miniſters deputed to deliberate with a free ſtate, but rather as judges, inveſted with full authority to paſs ſentence, and to puniſh. 'You have incurred,' ſaid Appius, 'the diſpleaſure of the Roman ſenate, by your 'meaſures: you have perfidiouſly murdered thoſe 'Spartans who, on the faith of Philopoemen, had 'delivered themſelves into your hands: and as if 'this were unimportant, you afterwards demo- 'liſhed the walls of that antient city Lacedemon; 'you deprived her of her laws, and you deprived 'her of that diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, 'which for many ages had been her ſtrength and 'her glory.' Polyb. Legat. 43. Liv. 39. 35, 36, 37.

BUT

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Bef. Chriſt 184.

Ubi ſup.

BUT neither the haughty port theſe Roman commiſſioners aſſumed, nor the imperious language which they held, could ſubdue the ſpirit of Lycortas. He was the friend of Philopoemen, co-adjutor in all his councils, and at this time firſt magiſtrate of Achaia. From his reply, (which Livy, ſurely a competent witneſs, has preſerved to us) the pretenſions of Rome, as well as their foundation, may be eaſily perceived. 'The 'ſupport which the Achaeans had afforded to the 'Spartan exiles,' he told Appius, 'was in conſe-'quence of the alliance Achaia had entered into 'with Rome; Rome had conſigned them to her 'protection, and, the more effectually to protect 'them, the Achaeans had taken up arms againſt 'the inhabitants of Lacedemon: with regard to 'the ſlaughter of the Lacedemonians who had 'ſurrendered, the Achaeans were guiltleſs; it 'was the act of thoſe very exiles, whoſe cauſe the 'Romans were now patronizing, Areus and Alci-'biades being bound to anſwer for that violence, 'if ſuch it was to be called. In regard to the 'demolition of the walls of Lacedemon, which 'the Achaeans acknowledged to be their act, the 'Spartans, far from complaining on that account, 'rather owed them thanks; thoſe walls were in-'deed the diſgrace of Sparta, monuments of her 'ſervitude, raiſed in expreſs violation of the inſti-'tutions of Lycurgus, by the tyrants who had 'ruled over her, and which the lawgiver, were 'he to reviſit the earth, would rejoice to ſee in 'ruins. The laws of Lycurgus, of which Achaia 'was ſaid to have deprived her, had, by the ma-'nagement of thoſe tyrants, long ſince ceaſed to 'exiſt in force, or even to be known in Sparta: 'the Achaeans finding therefore the bands of go-'vernment diſſolved, and her polity in ruin, had 'admitted her to a participation of the laws and 'privileges

'privileges enjoyed by the whole Achaean body.— BOOK
'It is, however,' continued he, 'juſt matter of VI.
'ſurpriſe to the Achaeans, that they, a free and Sect. 2.
'independent ſtate, and in alliance with Rome,
'ſhould thus be called upon to account for their Bef. Chriſt 184.
'actions, as if they were not the confederates but
'the ſlaves of Rome. If the voice of the herald,
'that proclaimed liberty to Greece, meant any
'thing; if the league, that ſubſiſts between us, is
'not an illuſion; and if the rights of friendſhip
'and alliance are to be held mutually ſacred; why
'may not we as well ſcrutinize your proceedings
'in Italy, as you decide upon our tranſactions in
'Greece? Admit then, that we have ſacrificed
'ſome Lacedemonians to our reſentment; has your
'treatment of Capua's ſenators been leſs ſevere?
'or ſay that we have levelled the walls of Lacede-
'mon; has not Capua not only beheld her walls in
'ruins, but her territories, her ſole means of ſub-
'ſiſtence, ſwallowed up by Roman rapacity? We
'ſhall perhaps be told, that what freedom remains
'to us is only in name, and that, in reality, we
'are the ſlaves of Rome: I know it well, Appius;
'and if I muſt ſuppreſs my indignation at the
'thought, I will. Let me nevertheleſs conjure
'you, however great the diſtance is between the
'Romans and the Achaeans, not to ſhew a more
'jealous ſolicitude for the privileges of our com-
'mon enemies than for thoſe of your own allies.
'To bring the Lacedemonians to a level with our-
'ſelves, we wiſhed them to be governed by the
'ſame laws: they want more; though vanquiſhed,
'they refuſe to ſubmit to regulations with which
'the victors themſelves are ſatisfied; and they re-
'quire us to infringe compacts, which we have
'ſworn not to violate. No, Romans; we honour
'you, and if you will ſo have it, we fear you:
'but

BOOK VI. 'but we honour more, we fear more, the immortal Gods!'

Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 184. APPIUS avoided entering into the diſcuſſion of arguments, which probably he could not anſwer. He contented himſelf with this haughty reply: 'A voluntary compliance is more eligible than 'that which is extorted by force.' At theſe words, a deep groan, the voice of an injured and an oppreſſed people, was heard to iſſue from every part of the aſſembly. But they felt the inequality of the conteſt, and that all reſiſtance would be vain. The following humiliating requeſt to the commiſſioners was the ſole reſult of their deliberations: 'that the Romans themſelves would re-'ſcind whatever part of the decrees of the Achaean 'diet they wiſhed to have reſcinded, and not re-'quire a free people to annul what they had ſworn 'to obſerve.' This apparent ſubmiſſion ſeems to have ſoftened Appius: he only reverſed the decree pronounced againſt Areus and Alcibiades; and referred them, reſpecting all other matters, to the pleaſure of the ſenate. It appears as if the ſenate themſelves thought it dangerous, in the preſent ſituation of their affairs, to exaſperate the Achaeans farther. They ſeem to have done little more than copy the deciſion of their commiſſioners, by decreeing, that thoſe who had been condemned by the Achaeans ſhould be reſtored, and all ſentences repealed, that had been pronounced in the aſſembly of Achaia againſt Lacedemon. They only added, by way of ſoftening theſe ſtern injunctions, 'that for the future, the Lacedemonians ſhould be deemed members of the Achaean league, and be ſubject to its regulations.' Liv. 39. 48.

SOME other device was now to be employed, of which Rome however might ſeem innocent, and which at the ſame time might ſtill more effectually humble

humble the importance of these high-spirited republicans. The Messenians formed a considerable part of the Achaean body: a plan was framed to detach them from the league; and the execution was committed to Dinocrates, a Messenian leader, bustling and bold, in the confidence of Flamininus, a foe of course to Philopoemen, and ready to engage in any hostile enterprise against the Achaean generals. Philopoemen, now for the eighth time chief magistrate of Achaia, no sooner had advice of the movements of the Messenians, than, though ill of a fever, he mounted his horse, and being joined by Lycortas with some Megalopolitan cavalry, advanced to Carone, a fortress belonging to the Messenians; but finding the enemy already in possession of it, he marched towards Messene, their capital, with the view of taking it by surprise On his march he was met by Dinocrates, at the head of a small detachment, whom he charged and defeated; when, unexpectedly, a body of five hundred horse came up to the assistance of the Messenians, who attacking the Achaeans in their turn, forced them to give way. Philopoemen excelled in this branch of the military art: he commanded his men to retreat through defiles and hollow grounds, where the enemy must pursue with disadvantage, he himself covering the rear, and repeatedly facing about to repel the attacks of the pursuers. At length his horse, entangled in rocky ground, stumbled and fell; and the venerable Philopoemen, now in his seventieth year, weak, at the same time, from his late illness, and exhausted by the fatigue of the day, unable by exertion to overcome the shock, remained stunned and senseless on the ground. He was immediately surrounded by Dinocrates and his Messenians, who proud of their captive, the

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Bef. Christ 184.

Bef. Christ 183. Liv. 49, 50. Plut. in Philopoem.

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champion of Achaia, entered the city in triumph. The fight, nevertheleſs, excited the compaſſion of the multitude. They remembered Philopoemen's great exploits, and what Meſſenia in particular, when oppreſſed by the Spartan tyrant, owed to his gallantry: thus, inſtead of an *enemy*, they beheld in him the *deliverer* of their country. Dinocrates and his faction, whoſe purpoſe it was to break the ſtrength of the Achaeans by depriving them of their gallant general, beginning to dread to reſult of theſe workings of compaſſion, next morning commanded the executioner to deſcend into the ſubterraneous vault where Philopoemen was impriſoned, and put him to death. When the brave Achaean ſaw him enter with the fatal bowl in his hand, raiſing himſelf up, though with difficulty, 'Canſt thou,' ſaid he, 'inform me of 'the fate of Lycortas, and the young men with 'him?' the executioner anſwering, they were ſafe; 'then,' replied Philopoemen, taking the bowl with a chearful countenance, 'we are not 'altogether wretched;' and having drank the deadly draught, he ſoon after expired.

Bef. Chriſt 183.

WHEN the Achaeans were informed of this baſe tranſaction, they were fired with indignation. Lycortas, now appointed chief magiſtrate in the place of Philopoemen, immediately ſent a formal complaint to Rome againſt the Meſſenians, and at the ſame time demanded that aſſiſtance which the Romans, by treaty, were bound to furniſh. The anſwer was worthy of the policy of Rome. The Achaeans were told, 'that ſhould even the 'Lacedemonians, or the Corinthians, or the Ar-'gives, ſeparate themſelves from the Achaean 'confederacy, the Achaeans were not to wonder 'if Rome looked upon it as a matter that no way 'concerned her.' Had Rome expreſsly invited all

Peloponnesus to disclaim farther dependence on Achaia, she could not have spoken plainer.

Bef. Christ 183.

THE Achaeans were still more exasperated by this perfidious declaration. They instantly flew to arms, and led on by Lycortas, marched to Messene, threatening destruction to that city, unless all who had shared in the guilt of Philopoemen's murder were delivered into their hands. The Messenians, who in general highly disapproved of Philopoemen's inhuman execution, gladly accepted of the conditions. Dinocrates, unable to support the idea of falling into the power of this enraged people, laid violent hands on himself: several of his associates followed his example; and the rest being abandoned to the vengeance of the Achaeans, were stoned at the tomb of Philopoemen. The obsequies of their favourite general they celebrated with the greatest splendour, and the most passionate lamentations. Polybius the historian, son to Lycortas, surrounded by the principal nobility of Achaia, carried his urn; and not only the army, but the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns, attended the funeral procession from Messene to his native city Megalopolis, where his ashes were deposited. He was accounted by the Romans themselves, according to Plutarch, the last of the Greeks. He certainly was the most able as well as the most zealous defender of Grecian liberties, from the time Rome began to extend her influence over this ill-fated people. It appears, that his countrymen even carried their veneration for his memory so far, as to pay him divine honours.

Polyb. Legat. 51. Polyb. Legat. 52. Plut. in Philopoemen.

In Arato.

WHEN the Romans found the bad success which had attended the revolt of Messenia, they changed their tone; applauding the Achaeans for having revenged the death of Philopoemen, and assuring their embassadors of the particular care the senate had

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had taken, that neither arms nor proviſions ſhould be ſent from Italy to their enemies. But this applauſe and theſe friendly profeſſions the Achaeans eſtimated at their real value.

Bef. Chriſt 183.

WE have not ſufficient authority from hiſtory to ſay, how far Flamininus was concerned in this criminal tranſaction, in which he ſeems to have acted a part. Dinocrates was confeſſedly his creature, and in exciting [6] the Meſſenians to revolt, acted, it appears evidently, with his privity, if not by his inſtigation. Flamininus, beſides, hated Philopoemen, both as a man whoſe unſeaſonable loyalty to his country obſtructed the views of Rome, and as his rival in military glory. Whether his inſtructions to Dinocrates pointed to the execution of Philopoemen, is a circumſtance impoſſible now to be determined; but had not the Meſſenian expected that Rome would not diſavow the action, he probably had not embrued his hands in the blood of that great man. It is recorded by Polybius, that Flamininus had, before this period, in conjunction with Dinocrates, formed a plan to throw the Achaean councils into confuſion, by ſupporting the Meſſenian intereſt in oppoſition to that of Achaia; and in order to try his influence among the Peloponneſian ſtates, had required a general aſſembly to be convened. But Philopoemen, at that time chief magiſtrate, ſuſpecting ſome ſiniſter deſign, demanded that he ſhould firſt ſignify in writing, what was to be the buſineſs of this convention. As the Roman would not comply with this requiſition, Philopoemen rejected his requeſt.

Polyb. Legat. 51.

Polyb. Legat. 47. See alſo De virt. et vitiis, 1435.

BUT the behaviour of Flamininus bears a more unfavourable aſpect, from the recollection that he

[6] It is remarkable, that Livy (39. 48.) makes ſlight mention of this revolt; into the cauſes and progreſs of which he ſays he will not inquire, as being a matter altogether foreign to his object, the hiſtory of the Roman people.

himſelf

himſelf had adjudged Meſſenia to the Achaeans, and in conſequence of this deciſion, had afterwards prevailed on them to cede Zacynthus [7] to the Romans. The argument he employed on this occaſion, deſerves notice. 'Achaia,' ſaid he to them, 'is a kind of tortoiſe, around which nature 'has placed a ſhell by way of armour; and if it 'thruſts out its head or feet beyond this armour, 'it is in danger of receiving injury. Your fron-'tier cities, O Achaeans! are your ſhell, your 'natural defence: but whatever acquiſitions you 'make beyond the continent, thoſe are the parts 'which, lying without your ſhell, are expoſed to 'inſult, and which are not to be ſecured without 'an expence far greater than their real worth.' The ſhrewdneſs of the obſervation, aided by thoſe arts of intrigue in which he excelled, ſecured the wiſhed-for ſucceſs.

BOOK VI. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 183. Liv. 36. 31, 32.

But the part, which Flamininus acted in relation to Hannibal, who died the ſame year with Philopoemen, evinces, that this commander, the boaſted favourite of Roman hiſtorians, poſſeſſed little of that noble generoſity of ſpirit by which the brave are generally diſtinguiſhed. After the total overthrow of Antiochus, the Carthaginian, fearing he ſhould be given up to his enemies, had retired to the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia, who promiſed him protection. Flamininus being on an embaſſy to the Bithynian monarch, in order to negotiate a peace between him and the king of Pergamus, took this opportunity, either in conſequence of ſecret inſtructions from the ſenate, or from a mean paſſion for fame, as Plutarch thinks, to demand, that Hannibal ſhould be delivered into

Liv. 39. 51. Plut. in Flamininо.

[7] An iſland lying between Sicily and Peloponneſus, which the Achaeans had lately purchaſed, and from its ſituation, of conſiderable importance to Rome.

his

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Bef. Chriſt 183.

his hands. Pruſias at firſt, according to the laſt-mentioned hiſtorian, earneſtly pleaded the rights of hoſpitality and his plighted faith, of which ſo diſhonourable an action would be an avowed violation. But the Roman, regardleſs of ſuch conſiderations, perſiſted in his demand; and the daſtardly Pruſias at length agreed to comply. Hannibal, who had but ſlight dependence on the Bithynian's honour, and from the time of Flamininus's arrival, ſuſpected the object and reſult of his machinations, had contrived in the caſtle of Libyſſa, where he reſided, ſubterraneous paſſages, to favour his eſcape in caſe of danger: when having information that his caſtle was ſurrounded by ſoldiers, he had recourſe to theſe ſecret outlets; but finding them all guarded, and no hope of eſcaping, he at once formed his reſolution. Taking then in his hand the cup, which contained the ingredients long before prepared for ſuch an occaſion, 'Let us,' ſaid he, 'deliver Rome from her 'perpetual diſquietude, ſince ſhe thinks it tedious 'to wait for the death of a poor, yet dreaded, old 'man. What a change in Roman manners! 'their fathers warned Pyrrhus, even when in 'arms againſt them, of the poiſon that was treacherouſly prepared for him; while their degenerate ſons are not aſhamed of employing their 'embaſſador, a man of conſular dignity, to prevail 'on the perfidious Pruſias to give up a gueſt to 'whom he had promiſed protection.' Then invoking the gods to take vengeance on Pruſias and his kingdom for his violation of hoſpitality, he ſwallowed the fatal draught, and expired. When an account of this tranſaction reached the ſenate, ſeveral members of that auguſt body, Plutarch tells us, expreſſed the higheſt diſpleaſure at a conduct, which diſgraced not only Flamininus, but the Roman name.

AFTER

After an inſtance ſo notorious, the deciſion is obvious with regard to the character of this conqueror of Greece.

His conduct to the virtuous Cato was not leſs diſhonourably mean; and though foreign to the preſent hiſtory, it may, further to illuſtrate the character of this celebrated general, not improperly find a place here. Lucius, brother to Titus Quintius Flamininus, had been guilty of a crime of the blackeſt dye. A favourite boy, whom he had carried with him into his province of Gaul, was reproaching him, in the hours of dalliance, for taking him from Rome juſt before a ſhew of gladiators was to have been exhibited, and thereby depriving him of the pleaſure of ſeeing a man killed, a fight which he moſt ardently deſired. At that inſtant the proconſul was informed, a Boian Gaul, a man of diſtinction in his own country, was come to take the oaths of allegiance to Rome, and with his wife and children waited without. He immediately ordered him to be admitted. And turning to his pathic, 'to ſatisfy thy longing, 'wilt thou then,' ſaid he, 'that I ſhew thee this 'Gaul in the agonies of death?' ſo ſaying, with his own hands he ſtabbed the unſuſpecting Boian. This flagitious action came to the knowledge of Cato, who, when cenſor, charged Lucius with it, and the fact being fully proved, degraded him from the ſenatorial dignity, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of his brother and his powerful relations. In revenge, Titus purſued Cato with unrelenting animoſity. He leagued againſt him with his inveterate enemies. By means of a corrupt majority which he had acquired in the ſenate, he annulled all contracts, leaſes, and bargains, which Cato had entered into relative to the public revenue; not on account of any

Bef. Chriſt 183.

Liv. 39. 42. Plut. in Flaminino.

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any defect, but merely becauſe Cato had made them; and he took every opportunity, upon the ſlighteſt grounds, of harraſſing him with frivolous and vexatious proſecutions.

Bef. Chriſt 183.

WRETCHED Greece! what had ſhe to expect from an adminiſtration directed by men of the character we have deſcribed! And yet of all the Romans to whom the care of Grecian affairs was committed, one of the moſt humane, ſays hiſtory, was TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMININUS.

Plutarch. Parallel. Philopoem. & Flaminin.

BOOK

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SECTION III.

WE are now to view the affairs of Macedon during the period of which we have been ſpeaking. Bef. Chriſt 183.

ROME jealous, as we have ſeen, of the encreaſe of dominion which Philip had acquired in the courſe of the late wars, ſeized every opportunity of confining him within narrower limits. Athamania had already been wreſted from him, a few inconſiderable fortreſſes excepted, under pretence of reſtoring it to its lawful prince. Thoſe cantons of Theſſaly, in which he had re-eſtabliſhed his authority, were now encouraged to aſſert their independence; and whatever violences, either here or in the countries adjacent, the Macedonian king had committed whilſt employing his arms on the ſide of Rome, though perhaps nothing more than the natural conſequences of war, were brought into account againſt him, as wanton outrages for which reparation was to be exacted. Even thoſe parts of Thrace which, chiefly through his means, had been recovered from Antiochus, and to which the

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Bef. Chriſt 183.

the Macedonian kings had antient pretenſions, were demanded by Eumenes of Pergamus. A large portion of it had been already decreed to Eumenes by the ten commiſſioners, employed, after the battle of Magneſia, in the partition of the provinces of Antiochus in Europe and the Lower Aſia: but not content with this acquiſition, he now demanded more.

To all claimants againſt the Macedonian monarch the Romans gave a favourable hearing. And, as if they had nothing more in view than to make an equitable ſettlement among all parties, they appointed three commiſſioners, Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Baebius, and Tiberius Sempronius, to paſs into Greece, where they were to erect themſelves into a court of judicature, and to decide upon all differences between Macedon and her adverſaries. With this procedure, doubtleſs exceedingly humiliating to a prince not yet deprived of ſovereign power, and ſtill oſtenſibly numbered among the faithful allies of Rome, Philip found it expedient to comply. He attended the commiſſioners in their progreſs through Theſſaly, and however unable at times to ſuppreſs his indignation, diſdained not to put in anſwers to the various demands which intereſt or reſentment urged againſt him. 'The Theſſalians', he ſtated, 'far from having any thing to lay juſtly to his charge, had been guilty of many acts of violence againſt Macedon, and, without the leaſt title, had deprived him of ſeveral cities, which he either poſſeſſed by inheritance, or, by expreſs ſtipulation with the Roman conſul, had won with his ſword, from the Aetolians and Athamanes then in arms againſt Rome.'—'They complain,' he continued, 'that I have diverted the courſe of commerce 'from Thebes of Pthiotis, whilſt in my poſſeſſion, 'to Demetrias. But when was it accounted cri-

Polyb. Legat. 40. Liv. 39. 24 & ſeq.

'minal

'minal in a prince, to open a new channel of 'trade, or to allow mariners the choice of their 'port? They accuſe me of preparing an ambuſ- 'cade for certain deputies ſent with their com- 'plaints to the Roman commander. In conſe- 'quence of this pretended ambuſcade, let me 'know what injury theſe deputies have ſuſtained. 'In truth, the liberty you have beſtowed on theſe 'Theſſalians has taught them inſolence: like 'ſlaves newly manumitted, they pride themſelves 'in the exerciſe of their petulance againſt thoſe 'who lately ruled over them. *But*,' added he, with an energy the reſult of various feelings, '*the 'ſun of all my days has not yet ſet.*'—Notwithſtanding this ſpirited defence, the commiſſioners decreed, that the Macedonian garriſons ſhould immediately evacuate the ſeveral towns and caſtles in queſtion, and that Philip ſhould withdraw northward within the ancient boundaries of Macedon.

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 183.

FROM Theſſaly the Roman commiſſioners proceeded to Theſſalonica, to adjuſt the ſettlement of Thrace, where the more important object of contention lay. Philip had extended himſelf on this ſide with great ſucceſs, and beſides a large portion of territory, had got poſſeſſion of Aenos and Maronea, two cities on the Helleſpont, which from their maritime ſituation afforded their ſovereign many valuable advantages. In Maronea particularly, the moſt conſiderable of the two, he kept a ſtrong garriſon, and had ſo far eſtabliſhed himſelf, as to procure the baniſhment of a numerous body of the citizens, who ſtood in oppoſition to his intereſts. Theſe exiles were now loud againſt him, ſupported privately by the Romans, and openly by Eumenes, who maintained that theſe cities were appendages of that part of Thrace already adjudged to him; and they charged Philip with the moſt flagrant oppreſſions. It was eaſy to perceive,

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Bef. Chriſt 183.

ceive, from what had paſſed, the complexion of the commiſſioners; and Philip, judging it now in vain to keep meaſures with men determined at any rate to ſide with his adverſaries, no longer ſought to diſguiſe his ſentiments. 'It is neither with the 'Maronites nor with Eumenes,' ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the commiſſioners, 'that the con-'teſt now lies; but with you Romans, from whom 'I have long obſerved that I have no juſtice to ex-'pect. The cities of Macedon, which revolted 'from me to you at the very time a truce ſubſiſted 'between us, I claimed, and met with a refuſal. 'Inſtead of matter of right, had I claimed them 'as a matter of favour, the favour had been 'ſmall for you to grant, as theſe cities were to 'you of little importance, and in the extreme 'borders of my kingdom; but it was of moment 'to me to have them reſtored, that their defection 'might not encourage others to imitate their trea-'chery. During the Aetolian war, by deſire of 'the conſul Manius Acilius, I ſat down before 'Lamia, and was on the point of taking it, when 'the conſul appeared, demanded it for himſelf, 'and wreſted the conqueſt out of my hands. To 'ſoften the injury, I was permitted to turn my 'arms againſt ſome towns, or rather caſtles, of 'Theſſaly, Perrhaebia, and Athamania; theſe 'you have *now* taken from me.——Even the 'claims of Eumenes are thought preferable to 'mine, by his ſhare of the dominions which An-'tiochus was poſſeſſed of; he, who fought under 'your banners, not for your ſakes, but for his 'own, againſt an enemy, from whom he had 'every thing to fear, and who, if not cruſhed, 'had been his deſtruction. Antiochus, on the 'other hand, courted my friendſhip, and would 'have purchaſed it at no leſs a price than the 'ceſſion of all Greece, a fleet of fifty decked 'ſhips

'ſhips, and three thouſand talents. Regardleſs of 'theſe ſplendid offers, I took the field againſt him, 'even before your forces had paſſed over from 'Italy; declining neither toil nor danger to pro- 'cure you victory. When Scipio was on his way 'to Aſia, I ſhewed myſelf equally zealous in your 'ſervice: I conducted him through Macedon and 'Thrace, and by my preſence prevented the oppo- 'ſition which otherwiſe he had met with from the 'barbarous inhabitants. In return for all this, 'I might reaſonably have expected an encreaſe of 'dominion: on the contrary, I ſee myſelf deprived 'not only of what your own grants have beſtow- 'ed, but alſo of my hereditary poſſeſſions. And 'as if I were Antiochus, I am now to be plun- 'dered even by Eumenes; who, not content with 'having Lyſimachia and the Cherſoneſe aſſigned 'to him, pretends, that Aenos and Maronea are 'included; in expreſs contradiction to the very 'decree on which he grounds his title. Deter- 'mine therefore; am I the foe, or am I ſtill the 'ally of Rome? If the former, proceed as you 'have begun, in perſecuting me: if the latter, 'abſtain from injuring a man, who ſurely has de- 'ſerved a very oppoſite treatment.'

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 183.

How liable ſoever Philip's private character might be to objections, or whatever were the conſiderations that moved him to join the Romans, certainly their treatment of him was exceedingly perfidious. Livy, from whom we have taken his defence, tells us, that the commiſſioners themſelves were affected: they were more probably embarraſſed and aſhamed. Unwilling to venture a definitive ſentence, againſt which ſo much might be ſaid, they only pronounced, that, *if* theſe two cities had been adjudged to Eumenes by the former commiſſioners, it was not in their power to reverſe the decree: if, on the other hand,

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hand, it ſhould appear, that Philip held them by right of conqueſt, he ought to hold them ſtill: if neither the one or the other was the caſe, it muſt be left to the ſenate in what way they were to be diſpoſed of: meanwhile, the garriſons ſhould be withdrawn.

Bef. Chriſt 183. Liv. 39. 28.

THIS temporizing ſentence, however, did not long impoſe on Philip. His embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to Rome, had orders from the ſenate to inform their maſter, that his garriſons muſt forthwith evacuate the conteſted cities. The Macedonian king was fired with rage. The ſcorn of Eumenes, the dupe of Rome, he eagerly wiſhed to have wreaked his vengeance on both; but his power agreed not with his inclination. In this ſituation he reſolved to diſcharge his fury at leaſt on the Maronites, whoſe ſolicitations, he ſuppoſed, had been employed againſt him. Onamaſtus was his lieutenant in Thrace. He intruſted him with orders to Caſſander, governor of Maronea, to introduce into the city, in the night before the Macedonian garriſon was to march out, a body of his fierceſt Thracian mercenaries, who, under pretence of a ſudden tumult, ſhould put to the ſword all the inhabitants ſuſpected of favouring the oppoſite intereſt, without diſtinction of condition, age, or ſex, and leave the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. Theſe cruel orders were but too faithfully executed.

Polyb. Legat. 44. Liv. 39. 34 et ſeq.

UPON the firſt tidings of the maſſacre, the ſenate inſtructed Appius to make inquiry concerning it. Philip pretended ignorance: 'He had heard 'of a popular inſurrection at Maronea, occaſioned 'by certain petty conteſts between the friends 'of Eumenes and thoſe of Macedon, in which 'blood had been ſhed; but as to the aggravating 'circumſtances which the Romans mentioned, he 'was altogether a ſtranger to them.' He was then required

required to deliver up Onomaſtus and Caſſander, that they might be ſent to Rome for examination. The propoſal made him tremble. They knew too much, and might betray him. 'Onomaſtus,' he replied, 'was a neceſſary perſon, and not to be 'parted with; beſides, having been at a conſider-'able diſtance from Maronea at the time of the 'inſurrection, he could not poſſibly have known 'any thing of it. But Caſſander, he promiſed, 'ſhould be ſent to Rome.' Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of Philip than this compliance. It was attended both with indignity and danger. Accordingly, Caſſander was taken off by poiſon, at Epire, in his way to the Roman capital.

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 183.

THE outcry againſt Philip became now more clamorous than ever. The different ſtates around were rouſed, by theſe recent inſtances of violence, to a more lively remembrance of the wrongs they had already ſuſtained, or the ſtill more painful apprehenſions of what they had to dread; whilſt Rome, intent on reducing the power of Macedon, ſtrengthened theſe impreſſions, by encouraging all to whom the Macedonian king was obnoxious, to bring forward their complaints, and to expect her protection. Philip ſaw the ſtorm gathering, and likely to burſt upon him unprepared. In this ſituation, he employed with the ſenate the mediation of his ſon Demetrius, who, from his gentle and conciliating deportment whilſt an hoſtage, was thought to be high in favour at Rome. The ſenate received him with apparent cordiality; and having appointed a day of audience for the embaſſadors and deputies who attended with complaints againſt Philip, they permitted Demetrius to be preſent, and to ſpeak in juſtification of his father's conduct. But inſtead of availing himſelf of this permiſſion, the young prince, naturally timid,

Polyb. Legat. 44. & 46. Liv. 39. 46, 47.

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Bef. Chriſt 183.

timid, and thrown into the utmoſt confuſion by the heavy, the unexpected, and the numerous charges brought againſt his father, became incapable of attempting a reply. With ſeeming tenderneſs, the ſenate aſked him, whether the king had not furniſhed him with ſome notes or ſecret inſtructions, from which he was to ſpeak? Demetrius was weak enough to own he had, and to permit them to be read. Their views were, to diſcover by this confidential paper, Philip's opinion of Rome, and the ſecret purpoſes he had in contemplation. It fully anſwered the ſenate's expectations. Interſperſed were obſervations on the iniquitous treatment he had met with—'This was unfair in Caecilius and his fellow-commiſſioners' —'I had not, ſurely, deſerved this!'—'Thus were my enemies encouraged to inſult me.'

THE reſult was, the ſenate told Demetrius, that, on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct, ſhould be paſſed over; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well aſſured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that juſtice required: that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent, to ſee all matters properly adjuſted; and with ſpecial directions to inform the king, 'that from the regard they bore to the ſon, they were willing to excuſe the father.'—To complete the whole, according to Polybius and Livy, they took care to inflame the mind of this vain and unexperienced prince with expectations of the throne of Macedon, on which, though he had an elder brother, they gave him hopes he ſhould ſhortly be placed.

Polyb. Legat. 46. Liv. 39 53.

THE Roman annals ſcarcely afford a ſtronger inſtance of the duplicity of this rapacious people. To have deſpoiled at once Philip of his kingdom, immediately after ſo many important ſervices received from him, for no other oſtenſible reaſon, but

but becauſe he would not tamely reſign whatever they required, would have been a meaſure highly odious as well as dangerous, whilſt the ſpirit of Achaia was not altogether ſubdued, nor the extirpation of Carthage yet accompliſhed. A more ſecure method was adopted. They practiſed on the eaſy nature of this credulous and unſuſpecting youth; they debauched his affections; they gained him over to the intereſts of Rome; and had they ſucceeded in obtaining for him the crown, Macedon had probably, under this paſſive and Rome-devoted king, ſunk gradually, without even one ſtruggle, into the inſignificance of a Roman province. By pointing out Demetrius to the Macedonians as their future ſovereign, the ſenate had another and an important object in view. They ſet up a formidable party againſt the reigning prince in the very heart of his dominions; which, beſides weakening the authority of Philip, tended to divide the royal family. Diſtracted thus by jealouſies and domeſtic feuds, the royal houſe of Macedon muſt have loſt much of its importance, and its ſtrength; and Philip have ended his reign, if he had even been ſuffered to end it by a natural death, heart-broken and deſerted.

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 183.

PART of this ſcheme actually ſucceeded; and it was not owing to the Romans, that the whole had not equal ſucceſs.

PHILIP had only two ſons, Perſeus and Demetrius. Demetrius, a prince weak and vain, as we have already ſeen; but at the ſame time, open and undiſguiſed, adorned with all the faſhionable accompliſhments that could be acquired either in Greece or Rome, and of manners remarkably placid and engaging. Perſeus, on the contrary, of a buſtling and turbulent diſpoſition, was at the ſame time, if the Roman writers are to be credited, ungenerous, ſordid, dark, and ſubtle; under the

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

fairest semblance covering the most flagitious of views. Both princes were in the bloom of life: Perseus, the eldest, was aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome, but born, if we are to believe Plutarch, of a mother of mean birth, a sempstress of Argos, and of so questionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he were really Philip's son. Demetrius was five years younger, and the son of his queen, a lady of royal lineage. From the difference of their dispositions, as well as from the disproportion of their maternal origin, Perseus had conceived an early jealousy of his brother, whom he looked upon as his rival in a kingdom, to which priority of birth gave him, he conceived, a juster title. The avowed preference shewn by the Romans to Demetrius, together with the vanity of this young prince, who was at no pains to disguise his hopes, riveted the antipathy of Perseus: and he took care to poison his father's mind with suspicions of the designs of this aspiring youth, the minion of Rome, and devoted to her interests.

Bef. Christ 183. In Paul. Aemil. & Arato.

PHILIP was but too well disposed to listen to these insinuations. From the return of Demetrius, a visible alteration had taken place in this unhappy king. Notwithstanding the various artifices he had hitherto employed in order to elude the senate's requisitions, he had at length been obliged, by the arrival of new commissioners, to submit to their imperious commands, and to evacuate all his maritime possessions in Thrace. And the only fruit he derived from his son's interception, was the humiliating reflection, that to him he owed his being left in possession of his mutilated kingdom. The imprudent conduct of Demetrius added to the gloomy thoughts, which haunted the unfortunate Philip. He was on all occasions the advocate of the Romans: the power of their arms, their probity,

Polyb. Legat. 42. & 48.

probity, their unblemiſhed faith, were his favourite topics; even their manners and their buildings, at that time confeſſedly inelegant and ill-contrived, he affected to ſpeak of, as equal, if not ſuperior, to whatever Macedon had to boaſt. BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 182.

THUS agitated by doubts and reſentment, Philip reſolved to exert his utmoſt vigour for the recovery of his former independence; and the moment he was again in a condition for war, he determined to bid defiance to the Romans. The fortifying of the cities that lay on the ſea-coaſt, or adjacent to the great roads, might have given them umbrage: he therefore began his operations in places more remote, where, being leſs expoſed to their obſervation, he found means to fill his inland towns and caſtles with ſoldiers, arms, and treaſure. At the ſame time, he tranſplanted a large body of barbarians from Thrace and the countries adjacent into his maritime and ſouthern provinces, obliging thoſe Macedonians on whom he had leſs reliance to remove northward, and give up their dwellings to thoſe fiercer tribes. So that, throughout Macedon, there was now exhibited a moſt affecting ſcene of wailing and deſolation; a number of innocent families torn from their native homes, the poſſeſſions of their forefathers, and dragged away to diſtant and inhoſpitable wilds. Liv. 40. 5. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio. Liv. 40. 3.

YET this was mercy, in compariſon of what followed.

PHILIP had, in the courſe of his reign, ſacrificed a number of his ſubjects, of the nobleſt blood of Macedon, to his gloomy ſuſpicions; and in his preſent ſituation he dreaded the vengeance of their children. To relieve the apprehenſions of his guilty mind, he ordered that ſearch ſhould be made for the deſcendants of all thoſe whom he had deſtroyed, and that they alſo ſhould be put to death. The moſt dreadful inſtances of

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

Bef. Chriſt 182.

Livy ibid. 4.

what the ſpirit of deſpotiſm can perpetrate followed theſe inhuman orders: but the melancholy cataſtrophe of the family of Herodicus, a man of high conſideration in Theſſaly, as it excited univerſal compaſſion, merits a more particular detail. He had fallen by the ſword of regal violence; and not ſatisfied with this, the jealous tyrant had alſo murdered the huſbands of his two daughters, Archo and Theoxena, by whom they left each of them an infant ſon. Theoxena, though tempted with many rich offers, remained a widow. Archo married Poris, a perſon of the firſt diſtinction among the Aeneatae, inhabitants of that part of Macedon which lies on the gulph of Theſſalonica, antiently known by the name of Thermae. Archo dying a few years after, and leaving a numerous iſſue, Theoxena, from the tender affection ſhe bore to the dear pledges of her departed ſiſter, conſented to become the wife of Poris. Being informed of the tyrant's orders, they were ſtruck with the moſt alarming fears; and Theoxena, abandoning herſelf to deſpair, would have plunged the poniard herſelf into the boſom both of her own ſon and of every one of Archo's children, rather than ſuffer them to fall into the power of the brutal Philip. Poris ſtrove to allay her fears, by promiſing, that it ſhould be his care to have them conveyed to Athens: in this view, ſhortly after, he ſet out with his whole family from Theſſalonica, his uſual reſidence, in order to attend a ſolemn ſacrifice at Aenea, the chief town of the Aeneatae, in honour of Aeneas their ſuppoſed founder; propoſing from thence to eſcape to ſome of the Euboean ports. Accordingly, the ſacrifice ended, they embarked during the night, as if on their return to Theſſalonica; but changing their courſe, they ſtood for Euboea, and would probably have made it, had not the wind proved contrary.

contrary. At dawn, the king's officers, who had charge to watch the coaſt, deſcried their manœuvre, and having manned one of the royal pinnaces, immediately gave chace. Theoxena too evidently ſaw her danger; the veſſel was gaining on them, and a few minutes more had delivered them into the hands of their enemies. Firm in her purpoſe, ſhe put a dagger into the hand of each of the elder children, charging them to provide inſtantly for their own ſafety; to the younger ſhe adminiſtered a draught of ſtrong poiſon; and having, as they expired, committed their bodies to the ocean, Poris and herſelf, laſt of all, entwined in mutual embraces, ſought a refuge from intolerable tyranny in the boſom of the deep. The veſſel was all that remained to Philip's miniſters of death. Bef. Chriſt 182.

An adminiſtration blackened by ſuch enormous crimes, Livy juſtly obſerves, called for ſome ſignal vengeance from heaven: and the day of vengeance and retribution was faſt approaching.

That ſpirit of diſſenſion, which, for a time, had been the reproach of the royal family of Macedon, had apparently ſubſided. Demetrius had learned caution, and avoided mentioning the Romans; and Perſeus, to whom his brother's gentleneſs ſcarcely left a pretence for altercation, was leſs intemperate in his complaints. But though not at open variance, all fraternal cordiality was at an end: Demetrius dreaded Perſeus, and Perſeus had ſtill a deep jealouſy of Demetrius. Things, were in this ſituation when, through the artful management of Perſeus, an incident, in itſelf of little moment, gave vent to the ſmothered flame, which blazed inſtantly with a redoubled fierceneſs.

Martial exerciſes were, at this time, the principal occupation of the Macedonian court.

After

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

Bef. Chriſt 182. Liv. 40. 6 & ſeq.

After a general review of the army, the troops had, according to cuſtom, divided into two bodies, each headed by one of the king's ſons, and had engaged in a mock-combat. On this occaſion, the diviſion of which Demetrius was the leader, in their eagerneſs for victory, had charged the other party with rather too much impetuoſity, and driven them off their ground; at which Perſeus expreſſed ſome reſentment. The ſolemnity was followed by entertainments, which the princes gave to their companions and friends.

PERSEUS retained in his ſervice a number of ſpies, whom he chiefly employed in watching his brother: one of theſe had contrived to get admittance into the banqueting-room of Demetrius; and being diſcovered by ſome of the gueſts, he was roughly treated, and expelled. Ignorant of this circumſtance, Demetrius, towards the concluſion of the banquet, when elevated with mirth and wine, propoſed, that they ſhould viſit his brother, and form one convivial ſociety; 'and if,' ſaid he, 'any lurking reſentment remains for what has 'happened to-day, it will be diſſipated by our 'jollity and good-humour.' Thoſe who had treated the ſpy belonging to Perſeus in ſo rough a manner, fearful of the event, privately provided themſelves with arms, in caſe of an inſult. Perſeus, who had his creatures abroad, had immediate notice of all, and when Demetrius and his companions arrived, ordered the doors to be ſhut againſt them, and ſpoke from a window, charging them with having come with criminal intentions; and next morning he accuſed Demetrius to the king of an attempt to aſſaſſinate him.

PHILIP, familiar as he was with deeds of blood, was ſtruck with horror at the relation of Perſeus —his two ſons, the laſt hopes of his houſe, in arms againſt each other! Whatever might be the iſſue of

of the accuſation, to him the conſequence muſt be misery. He felt himſelf the moſt wretched of fathers: if the accuſation was true, Demetrius deſerved to die; if not truth, Perſeus ought not to live.

Bef. Chriſt 182.

AFTER ſome days of anxious ſolicitude and agitation, he reſolved to inveſtigate the horrid truth. Retiring therefore into the inner apartment of his palace with two of his nobles, of whoſe judgment and unbiaſſed probity he had the higheſt opinion, he commanded both his ſons to appear before him. At ſight of them he broke out into paſſionate lamentations: 'Here,' ſaid he, 'I ſit this day in 'judgment on my own ſons, of all parents the moſt 'miſerable; certain, whether the charge is proved 'or diſproved, of finding a criminal in one of you. 'Your diſſenſions I have long obſerved, I have 'long bewailed; but I had hopes, that as your 'reaſon advanced to maturity, a ſenſe of what 'you owe to your country, of what you owe to 'yourſelves, and to me, would have inſpired you 'with better thoughts. Often have I endeavoured 'to inſtruct you by the examples of other nations 'and other times. I have told you how many 'royal houſes and flouriſhing empires domeſtic 'diſcord has overthrown; and how, on the con'trary, a firm union at home had, from the moſt 'inconſiderable beginnings, raiſed others to the 'height of proſperity and power. Remember 'the fate of Sparta: whilſt its two kings acted in 'concert, it flouriſhed; but, blaſted by their diſ'cord, it withered and decayed. View even the 'Pergamenian kings, that new race, whoſe regal 'title is an inſult to other kings; by what means 'have they riſen to the large ſhare of dominion 'they are now poſſeſſed of? by unanimity and 'ſtrict concord, the diſtinctive characteriſtics of 'that family. Among the Romans, in like man-

'ner,

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 182.

'ner, think what luſtre their greateſt men have de-
'rived from the cultivation of this brotherly
'union—with what glory the two elder Scipios, in
'the war in Spain, fought and fell by each other's
'ſide—and how again the two ſons of one of
'thoſe Scipios, one the conqueror of Hannibal,
'the other of Antiochus, laboured to adorn the
'brows of each other with the wreaths of victory.
'But, I know it well, my throne is your object:
'if I yet live, it is only becauſe each of you ſees a
'dreaded rival in his brother; that rival re-
'moved, I too ſhall fall.—Proceed therefore;
'ſince the ears of a father muſt be polluted with
'the narrative of his ſons crimes, proceed; employ
'every argument that truth or artifice can furniſh:
'to-day I ſhall liſten to all, determined from
'henceforth never to ſuffer accuſations of this
'kind, either public or private, to approach
'me.'

SUCH is the ſubſtance of what the Roman hiſtorian has put into the mouth of Philip on this occaſion; certainly, not what he did ſay, but what he might naturally have ſaid, and from which a tolerable judgment may be formed of the character and ſituation of this unhappy prince.

THE charge brought by Perſeus, was deſtitute of proof. The want of this, however, he ſupplied by peremptory aſſeverations, inſiſting on the moſt minute circumſtances that had occurred either in the courſe of the late ſolemnity, or during the ſucceeding night, and giving the moſt malignant interpretation to the whole; adding, what he knew would have the greateſt weight with Philip, that Demetrius was, beyond a doubt, acting by the inſtigation of the Romans, and in full aſſurance of their ſupport.

THE deep atrocity of the crimes of which Demetrius heard himſelf accuſed, ſo foreign to his gentle

gentle nature; the boldneſs with which Perſeus had maintained the charge; and the fell rancour diſcernible through every part of it, overpowered the feeble ſpirits of the young prince: he melted into tears, and with difficulty was at length encouraged to attempt, in tremulous and faultering accents, his own juſtification. His defence, though void of art, and delivered under great perturbation of mind, was nevertheleſs a full refutation of his brother's charge. And whether it was malice or error on the ſide of Perſeus, it was plain, that guilt was not to be imputed to Demetrius. BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 182.

All determination on the preſent caſe was precluded by paternal tenderneſs. Philip therefore declined pronouncing ſentence: he only ſaid, that their future conduct ſhould be the criterion, by which he ſhould judge of the truth or the falſhood of the allegations which had been produced before him.

Demetrius probably ſtood acquitted by his father of any attempt on his brother's life: but what Perſeus had thrown out, of his connection with Rome, and of the conſequent dangers to be apprehended, made the deepeſt impreſſion on his gloomy mind. He held the Romans in deteſtation, and looked for every kind of inſidious treatment and perfidy from that quarter: and though Demetrius was hitherto innocent, yet, open to their inſinuations, and allured by the temptation of a crown, he might ſoon be guilty. Diſtracted by his doubts, Philip reſolved to be ſatisfied. He therefore fixed upon two noblemen, Philocles and Apelles, who, as he thought, had no kind of attachment to either of his ſons, to proceed as his embaſſadors to Rome, with inſtructions to find out, if poſſible, with what perſons Demetrius correſponded, and what were his deſigns. Bef. Chriſt 181. Liv. 40. 20, 23, 24.

Philip

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 181.

PHILIP could not have made a worſe choice. Perſeus, deep in contrivance, indefatigable in the purſuit of his object, and from his being the eldeſt born, as well as confeſſedly the firſt in his father's favour, conſidered by the kingdom in general as the preſumptive heir, had privately gained over moſt of the chief men of Macedon. Of all his creatures, none were more devoted to him, than theſe two truſty counſellors of Philip. Having therefore previouſly concerted matters with Perſeus, they returned to the king with an account that Demetrius was held in the higheſt eſteem at Rome, and that he certainly appeared to have entertained moſt unjuſtifiable views; delivering to him at the ſame time a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintius Flamininus. The hand-writing of the Roman, and the impreſſion of his ſignet, the king was well acquainted with, and from the exactneſs of the imitation, was induced to give credit to the contents, more eſpecially as Flamininus had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius, when he laſt returned from Rome, adviſing Philip to ſend him back ſoon with a more honourable retinue, as nothing could be more agreeable to the ſenate, or more for the intereſts of Macedon. The preſent letter was of a different tenor. The writer owned Demetrius to be blame-worthy, and deprecated the king's anger in his behalf, entreating him 'to believe, that, 'whatever unwarrantable enterpriſes the young 'prince, through ambition of a throne, might 'have deſigned, yet certainly he had projected 'nothing againſt the life of any of his own blood;' adding, 'that as to himſelf, he was not a man that 'could be thought the adviſer of an unjuſt ac-'tion.'

THE ſuſpicions of Philip now gave place to the moſt dreadful certainty. Demetrius appeared to him

him evidently guilty of the moſt atrocious deſigns: he ſaw him not only deſirous of aſcending the throne by ſupplanting his brother, but ſcrupling not to wreſt the ſceptre from the hands even of a father. BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 181.

THE ſituation of Demetrius had for ſome time been exceedingly deplorable. Without any ſhare in his father's affection; the object of his brother's hatred; ſhunned by the tribe of courtiers, who, as uſual, paid their homage where the royal favour was beſtowed, and beſet with ſpies, by whom he found himſelf obſerved on all occaſions, Macedon appeared to him a priſon where every thing was diſguſting and dreadful. No wonder therefore, that he wiſhed to provide for his comfort and ſafety, by eſcaping to Rome. He communicated his deſign to Didas, governor of Paeonia, who with much art had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, and who immediately betrayed him to Perſeus, and through Perſeus to the king. The diſcovery ſet Philip on meditating ſome violent ſtroke; and Flamininus' letter confirmed him in his purpoſe. A dread of the Romans made it inexpedient to proceed againſt Demetrius by public proſecution for puniſhment. Philip had recourſe therefore to Didas, whom the unſuſpecting Demetrius ſtill continued to make the choſen partner of his convivial hours. This villain proved himſelf the worthy inſtrument of an inhuman tyrant, and ſoon ſeized an opportunity, at a banquet, after a ſolemn ſacrifice, of conveying poiſon into the cup of the unhappy prince. This did not operate, however, in the ſpeedy and ſilent manner he had expected, but cauſed ſuch excruciating torture, as made the villainy conſpicuous, and drew from Demetrius agonizing complaints againſt the unnatural authors and vile perpetrators of the deed; till, tired with the ſlow operation of the baneful potion,

Didas

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

Didas completed his enormity by ſending two ruffians into his chamber, who, ſmothering this unfortunate prince, put an end to his life.

Bef. Chriſt 180. Liv. 40. 24 et ſeq.

PHILIP did not long continue ignorant of the extent of his guilt, and of his misfortune. The conduct of Perſeus himſelf firſt awakened his ſuſpicions. Having now no rival in his future proſpects, inſtead of that pliant and obſequious conduct, which, whilſt Demetrius lived, he had obſerved towards his father, he now treated him with the moſt inſolent neglect, affecting on all occaſions the haughty port of independence, and looking towards the throne with an undiſſembled impatience. A change ſo viſible and ſo ſurpriſing made Philip call to mind the various circumſtances of the late melancholy tranſaction, to which, in the ſtorm of paſſion, he had but ſlightly attended. Suſpicions naturally aroſe, that Demetrius had fallen a ſacrifice to treachery. Among all his courtiers, ſuch is often the fate of kings, he had but one friend, Antigonus, his uncle's nephew: Antigonus had alſo been the friend of Demetrius, and from a conviction of his innocence, ſincerely lamented his fate. To him the king often made paſſionate mention of that unhappy prince; bewailing, that his condemnation had been ſo precipitate, and wiſhing to be aſſured whether he had not fallen a victim to villainy and artifice.

Bef. Chriſt 179

PHILOCLES and Apelles, in their late embaſſy to Rome, had employed one Xychus as their ſecretary. This man Antigonus contrived to have ſecured, and brought before the king. At firſt, he heſitated, but at ſight of the rack, confeſſed every thing: 'That the embaſſadors had acted, throughout the whole affair, in conſequence of inſtructions they had received from Perſeus;' 'that the charge againſt Demetrius was altogether void of foundation;' and 'that Xychus himſelf, by order of his employers,

employers, had been the forger of the letter from Flamininus'. BOOK VI.

ALL, that fierce reſentment, the tranſports of grief, the anguiſh of remorſe, can impreſs on the human mind, was now felt by the unfortunate Philip. Incenſed to madneſs, he ordered the two embaſſadors to be inſtantly ſeized. Apelles had, upon the firſt intimation of his danger, fled to Italy [8]; the other, Philocles, after having been confronted with Xychus, was put to death. Some hiſtorians ſay, that he confirmed what Xychus had depoſed; others, that he perſiſted to the laſt in an obſtinate denial. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 179. Liv. 40. 55.

[8] Upon the authority of this circumſtance, of 'Apelles making his eſcape to Italy,' where, had he been guilty of the death of Demetrius, he could not have expected to find protection, joined with ſome other circumſtances of this remarkable ſtory; ſuch as Philocles' perſiſting, according to ſome hiſtorians, though confronted with Xychus and in the agonies of the rack, in the denial of all; and the Romans refuſing, when required by Philip (ſee Liv. 42. 5.) to deliver Apelles into his hands; to which we may add Perſeus' treatment of this very Apelles, whom, when he came to the throne, inſtead of rewarding, he found means to get into his power and put to death; (ſee Liv. ibid.) Mr. Hooke in his Roman Hiſtory (ſee B. 5. 14) grounds a conjecture, that this *charge of forgery* againſt Perſeus and the Macedonian embaſſadors was the contrivance of Antigonus, who hoped, by means of it, to get the kingdom; and that Flamininus really wrote the letter aſcribed to him. And he ſuppoſes that, ſenſible of Demetrius' vanity and imprudence, and of the many juſt cauſes of complaint he had given the king, the Roman wrote it out of kindneſs to the young prince, and in the view of deprecating his father's anger. How far this conjecture deſerves to be admitted, the reader may judge. Livy is clear, that the letter was a forgery, and Perſeus the contriver of it. But it muſt alſo be owned, that even Livy's teſtimony, in caſes of this kind, when guilt is to be thrown off Rome upon her enemies, is ſometimes queſtionable. However, allowing the letter to have been really written by Flamininus, it certainly does not follow, that the intention of it was as friendly as Mr. Hooke ſuppoſes. In fact, what could have been the deſign of ſuch a letter, but to excite new terrors in the mind of the unhappy Philip, already a prey to gloomy ſuſpicions? Indeed, this *weapon of deſtruction* did more than he meant it ſhould. It was alſo fatal to Demetrius. But at the ſame time it accompliſhed the main purpoſe for which it had been ſent; it brought Philip to his grave, and added to the diſtraction, the weakneſs, and the reproach of Macedon's royal-houſe.

PERSEUS

BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 179.

PERSEUS nevertheleſs was evidently the moſt guilty. But he had little to fear. He kept out of his father's reach; and had Philip attempted to ſeize him, he might eaſily, with the formidable party he had at his devotion, have ſet the feeble and almoſt deſerted monarch at defiance. The king did what he could. He never afterwards ſuffered him to come into his preſence; and declared it to be his determined reſolution, that he never ſhould aſcend a throne, to which he had attempted to wade through a brother's blood. He likewiſe talked of ſettling the crown on Antigonus; a ſcheme dictated by the momentary impulſe of paſſion, and which, in the utmoſt plenitude of his power, and with a much larger portion of life before him, he had probably found it difficult to effect.

BUT Philip had only a few days longer to live. The detection of Perſeus's guilt had been to him the ſtroke of death; for from that moment he dragged out a life of melancholy and languor. Though in this declining ſtate, he ſtill, however, pleaſed himſelf with the thought of taking vengeance on the Romans, to whoſe perfidious councils he chiefly aſcribed the ruin that had fallen on his houſe. Beſides the mighty preparations for war, which he had made at home, he had taken into his ſervice the whole tribe of the Baſtarnae, a fierce and hardy nation from the other ſide of the Danube, whom he meant to introduce into Dardania, with the view of exterminating the people of that country, who had ſold themſelves to Rome, and of pouring afterwards theſe barbarians through Illyricum into Italy. Antigonus was diſpatched to haſten their march. Whilſt he was abſent on this errand, the king breathed his laſt at Amphipolis, whither he had removed, in order to welcome his new allies, and ſee them conducted to their place

Liv. 40. 57.

of

of deſtination. Perſeus, who was in expectation of his father's death, and had immediate information of it, aſcended the throne without oppoſition. BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 179.

As to Antigonus, the favourable intentions which the king had expreſſed towards him only ſerved to make him more particularly the object of Perſeus's reſentment. It was one of the firſt acts of his reign, to order him to execution.

PHILIP reigned forty-two years, from the third year of the 139th Olympiad to the firſt year of the 150th; a period of time as buſy and eventful, as any in the Grecian annals.

IT was undoubtedly a misfortune to the Grecian people, that ſuch a prince was on the throne of Macedon when the Romans firſt invaded them. Under any Macedonian king it had been difficult to have united into one compact body theſe ſeveral ſtates, independent, and therefore naturally jealous, of each other, and from whoſe jarring intereſts conteſts were perpetually ariſing; but under a prince like Philip, whoſe ambitious attempts and repeated treacheries provoked every ſuſpicion, it was impoſſible. The Romans ſaw this, and with their uſual policy turned it to their own advantage. Philip had beſides, if Polybius and Livy may be credited, moſt of thoſe private vices which mark the tyrant: he was intemperate, libidinous, vindictive, cruel; as a king, unworthy of truſt; as a man, an object of deteſtation.

YET amidſt theſe deep ſhades with which we find his character darkened, he appears to have had qualities of a very different caſt. His generous and noble acts, as we have already ſeen, had ſo endeared him to many of the Achaean confederates, that when the queſtion was put, whether Achaia ſhould have alliance with Rome or Macedon, the deputies of ſeveral of the Achaean cities pleaded

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

pleaded his cauſe with uncommon warmth, in oppoſition to the ruling party ſupported by the Roman power; and at laſt, when their oppoſition could not avail, they left the diet rather than ſeem, by their preſence, to give ſanction to a meaſure injurious to the Macedonian king. The eſtimation in which he was held by many others of the Grecian ſtates, is not leſs to his honour. He was alſo poſſeſſed of many amiable accompliſhments; and ſuch were the elegance of his court, and the eaſe and dignity of his manners, that Scipio Africanus himſelf, who ſpent ſome days with Philip in his way to Aſia, ſpoke of him with eſteem and high commendation. Was he ſo able a diſſembler?—Or ſhall we rather ſay, that, had the accounts of other writers, leſs under the influence of Rome, reached us, his faults had not been handed down to us with ſo many heavy aggravations?

Bef. Chriſt 179.

Liv. 37. 7.

As to thoſe exceſſes of violence and bloodſhed, which, the caſe of Aratus excepted, are more particularly the reproach of his later years, even Polybius acknowledges, that after the overthrow of Antiochus, when he found his numerous and ſignal ſervices to Rome repaid with perfidiouſneſs and hoſtility, a total change in his diſpoſition became conſpicuous. The mortification of ſeeing himſelf fallen from the dignity of a ſovereign prince into a ſtate of humiliating dependence on a haughty, powerful, and enterpriſing republic, and of finding all his ſecret enemies called forth againſt him, from every quarter of Greece, by the open encouragement or inſidious arts of Rome, were circumſtances ſufficiently painful: theſe, added to the diſtractions of his own family, might, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, have ſoured his mind, and rendered his temper, as age advanced, more gloomy and ſuſpicious.

De virt. et vitiis, 1436.

As

Bef. Christ 179.

As a king, he had unqueſtionably great abilities. In war, he often gave proofs both of his courage and his conduct. The marine of Macedon was altogether of his formation: before his time, it had ſcarcely an exiſtence; under him, it ſoon became conſiderable: and by the commercial connexions and ſettlements which he made in different parts, he ſo ſucceſsfully extended the Macedonian trade, as to excite the jealouſy of the greateſt commercial ſtates of Aſia. His conduct in regard to Syria, it muſt be confeſſed, was impolitic to a high degree. The ruin of Antiochus, it was obvious, muſt pave the way to his own. Sound policy pointed out, therefore, an alliance with that prince, and with other powers of Europe and Aſia. But in thoſe days [9], the balance of power was a matter little underſtood. And from the narrow and confined views which each ſtate had of its own intereſts; from the want of proper intelligence of the tranſactions and probable deſigns of other kingdoms; and from the jealouſies which Rome induſtriouſly kept alive between nation and nation; every potentate, if not immediately attacked, looked on with unconcern whilſt his neighbour was deſtroyed, not conſidering, that the fate of one neceſſarily involved in it the fate of all.

The latter part of his reign ſhews, that he had a proper ſenſe of his treatment from Rome; and had he not been broken by the misfortunes of his own houſe, it is probable ſhe had ſtill found him a vigorous and formidable adverſary. So ardent

9 'Le monde de ce tems là,' ſays an ingenious modern, 'n'étoit pas comme nôtre monde d'aujourd'hui: les voyages, les 'conquêtes, le commerce, l'établiſſement des grands états, les 'inventions des poſtes, de la bouſſole, et de l'imprimerie, une 'certaine police generale, ont facilité les communications, et 'établi parmi nous un art, qu'on appelle la politique: chacun 'voit d'un coup d'oëil tout ce qui ſe remue dans l'univers.'
Grand. et Decad. des Rom. 1.

BOOK VI. Sect. 3.

was he to the laſt in the purſuit of his favourite ſcheme of attacking the Romans, that about a year before his death, he aſcended to the top of mount Haemus, an attempt of immenſe labour, and exceedingly perilous, merely becauſe he had been told, that from the ſummit of this mountain might be ſeen the Adriatic ſea and the whole country of Italy to the Alps, the deſtined ſcene of his future operations. The meaſure he adopted, of introducing the Baſtarnae, was certainly a deep ſtroke in politics; and had he lived to have brought his plan to maturity, or had his ſucceſſor had the abilities to make a right uſe of this new connexion, it had probably laid Italy open to ſuch inroads, as would have left her little leiſure for the invaſion of other kingdoms [10].

Bef. Chriſt 179. Liv. 40. 21.

PHILIP, beſides, without making any ſhew of war, or giving the Romans the leaſt ſuſpicion of his operations, had collected at home an army more numerous and better diſciplined than any he had ever brought into the field. He had laid up, Plutarch tells us, in his arſenals, arms for thirty

In Paul. Aemilio.

[10] It appears, that the Romans were ſoon ſenſible of their danger, had Philip's plan been carried into execution. We are informed by Livy (43. 1.) that, about eight years after this period, the conſul Caſſius would have attempted to penetrate from the Lower Gaul through Illyricum into Greece, in order to join the other conſul; but that the ſenate, upon the firſt intimation of his project, ſent him peremptory orders not to proceed, 'leſt he ſhould 'ſhew the neighbouring barbarians the way by which they might 'enter Italy.' Mithridates, we read, ſome time before his death, had adopted Philip's plan, and had not his ſon's revolt baffled his ſchemes, would probably have executed it. On the ſame principle, Auguſtus, who, from the fate of Lollius and Quintilius Varus, had found what formidable foes theſe fierce tribes were, and how vain it was to attempt the wilds and deep foreſts they inhabited, appointed the Danube for the boundary of the Roman empire on that ſide, having ſecured the hither banks of it by a ſtrong line of forts and military ſtations; and even left an expreſs injunction to his ſucceſſors, not to paſs beyond it (Dio Caſs.) as if foreſeeing, that from this quarter were to iſſue forth thoſe nations who, during a length of ages, were to be the terror and ſcourge of Rome.

thouſand

thouſand men; in his garriſons, eight millions of meaſures of wheat; with money in his treaſury to defray the charge of maintaining ten thouſand mercenaries for ten years. And all this was executed, after he had been reduced and plundered by the Romans, cut off from the benefits of commerce, and obliged to retire within the antient boundaries of Macedon. A ſtriking proof of his abilities, and of the reſources of that kingdom under an able and active prince. BOOK VI. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 179.

BUT all the deſigns of Philip were defeated by the machinations of treacherous policy. The flame of jealouſy and diviſion was kindled in his family, to which the unhappy Demetrius fell a victim, and by which the aged monarch himſelf was ſent broken-hearted to the grave. Rome exulted in her ſucceſs: ſhe beheld with joy all his bold and well-concerted projects at an end, and in the future vaſſalage of Macedon, contemplated one more proſtrate kingdom groaning under Roman domination.

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK VII.

SECTION I.

THE firſt years of the reign of Perſeus exhibit ſcenes, which by no means juſtified that contempt in which the Romans appear to have held Macedon at the time of his acceſſion, or the opinion which hiſtorians tell us had been generally entertained of Perſeus himſelf. His chief object was, to eſtabliſh himſelf in the affections of the Macedonian people; and as if the late ſanguinary meaſures had been altogether his father's crimes, he immediately aſſumed an air of benignity and gentleneſs. Antigonus, his rival in the kingdom, had ſuffered the fate which uſually attends the unſucceſsful

Bef. Chriſt 179. Olymp. 150. 1.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

successful rivals of kings; but Perseus prevented the apprehensions of farther severities, by publishing a general pardon to offenders of every description. He not only recalled all those whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the course of the late reign, driven from their country; but he ordered even the income of their fortunes, during their exile, to be reimbursed. To the rest of his subjects, his whole deportment, in like manner, exhibited princely dignity and parental tenderness. Whatever debts were due to the crown of Macedon at the period of his father's death, he remitted. Skilful in the art of war, which he had studied under his father, he made the discipline of his troops, and the improvement and strength of his kingdom, his principal occupation; and he carefully avoided those illiberal excesses, which disgraced a great part of Philip's reign.

Ref. Christ 179. Liv. 42. 5. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio. Polyb. de virtut. et vitiis, 1440.

His conduct to foreign states was equally conciliating. Embassadors were sent to the Roman senate, to notify his accession to the throne, and to request a confirmation of the treaties subsisting between Rome and Macedon. Rome answered with the same dissimulation with which he had probably addressed her, acknowledged his title, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people. To the several states of Greece and Asia he made his application with more sincerity. Sensible of what importance it was to strengthen himself by alliances with the powers around him, he studied to remove those jealousies, to which his father's ambitious projects had given birth. With the Rhodians he found little difficulty. Relieved from the uneasy suspicions which Philip's naval improvements had occasioned, they saw the mistake they had been guilty of, in assisting the Romans to overthrow the power of Macedon; and they espoused with cordiality the interests of Perseus.

Liv. 40. 58. Polyb. legat. 65. 67.

ſeus. Pruſias of Bithynia was prevailed on with the ſame eaſe: to render the connexion betwixt this prince and himſelf more binding, Perſeus gave him his ſiſter in marriage. The Syrian court was not leſs favourably diſpoſed. Antiochus was dead, and his ſon Seleucus on the throne, who irritated by his father's ſufferings and his own, willingly gave ear to every thing Perſeus had to urge againſt the Romans [1]. He found therefore no difficulty in convincing Seleucus, that theſe republicans were, from principle, the enemies of kings; and that whatever portion of empire they had left him, would be violently wreſted from his houſe on the firſt favourable occaſion. But the weak and impoveriſhed ſtate of Syria permitted not his following the dictates of his heart. All he could do was, to wiſh Perſeus ſucceſs, and as a pledge of his regard, to give him his daughter Laodice in marriage. The Rhodians diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion: as if to make amends for having employed their arms againſt Macedon, they equipped a moſt ſuperb fleet, and deſired to have the honour of convoying the princeſs to her royal huſband. The ſame diſpoſition prevailed throughout the greater part of Lower Aſia. Perſeus looked even as far as Carthage for confederates, and diſpatched embaſſadors accordingly. The opportunity favoured his views. Exaſperated by the encroachments of Maſiniſſa, and the duplicity of Rome, the Carthaginians were ripe for violent counſels: they gave audience to the embaſſadors by night in the temple of Aeſculapius, in order to conceal the tranſaction

Bef. Chriſt 179. Liv. 42. 12.

Bef. Chriſt 177. Polyb. Legat. 60.

Bef. Chriſt 174. Liv. 41. 22.

[1] This was, according to Livy (44. 24.) the purport of the embaſſy ſent afterward by Perſeus to Antiochus: but it is evident he had before applied to Seleucus; and as his views in both embaſſies were the ſame, ſo, very probably, in both were the ſame arguments employed.

from

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from the Romans, and immediately diſpatched ſome of their chief men to concert meaſures with the Macedonian king.

Bef. Chriſt 174.

MEANWHILE, the emiſſaries of Perſeus had been employed in every quarter of Greece; and in ſupport of their negotiations, he made a pro-

Liv. 41. 22.

greſs to Delphi. Religion was his pretence; but his real objects were a diſplay of his power, a ſhew of moderation, and an appearance of regard for the liberties of Greece. Attended by a formidable eſcort, the flower of the Macedonian army, he paſſed through Greece without hoſtility or depredation, and having performed his devotions, returned in the ſame pacific manner to his own kingdom.

WHAT rendered theſe intrigues the more effectual, was the general temper of the Greeks them-

Liv. 42. 12 & ſeq.

ſelves. Moſt of them began to have prophetic fears of what they had to expect, ſhould the Roman dominion be once fully eſtabliſhed in Greece, and looked on Macedon as the laſt bulwark of their liberties. Accordingly, a revolution of intereſts took place almoſt every where. The people of Epire favoured Perſeus. Several of the Theſſalian tribes inclined to the ſame ſide. The Boeotians declared themſelves avowedly, and having put to death the moſt ſtrenuous of the Roman partizans, entered into an alliance with Macedon; to give a ſtronger ſanction to which treaty, they cauſed it to be engraven on tables of braſs, and ſet up in the temples of Delphi, Delos, and Thebes. The Aetolians, though divided into two factions, animated by all that virulence which civil diſcords produce, agreed in one point, that Perſeus ſhould be the arbiter of their differences. Athens and Achaia alone ſtood firm to the Roman cauſe; though even Achaia was nearly loſt to Rome. The Achaean ſtates, in the days of Philip,

lip, had prohibited by law all communication with Macedon: many of the Achaean ſlaves availing themſelves of this interdiction, had fled from their maſters, and taken refuge in the Macedonian territories. Perſeus, to ingratiate himſelf with the Achaean people, cauſed as many of theſe ſlaves as could be found to be ſent back; accompanying the preſent with a letter, in which he requeſted the reſcinding of this unſocial edict, and that a friendly intercourſe ſhould again be opened between the two nations. The requeſt was plauſible, and met with powerful advocates in its favour among the Achaeans. But upon a repreſentation by the friends of Rome, that it was beneath the dignity of the Achaean ſtates to take public notice of a letter, ſent by a private meſſenger, conveying a requiſition which ſhould have been made in form by embaſſadors in order to be laid before the next general diet, the farther conſideration of the matter was poſtponed; and afterwards, when the national convention was held, they had influence ſufficient to defeat the propoſition.

Bef. Chriſt 174. Liv. 41. 23.

EXCLUSIVE of the advantages Perſeus might derive from the well grounded jealouſy of Roman ambition which was entertained by moſt of the Grecian ſtates, he ſucceeded to all thoſe mighty preparations which his father had made during the latter years of his life. He had a rich treaſury; an army, numerous, well diſciplined, and well appointed; and, both in Thrace and Illyricum, a number of petty princes, connected with his crown, were ready to march at his command. The vigour of his operations appeared at the ſame time not unworthy of his power. The Dolopians had conteſted ſome of his claims, and had made their appeal to Rome: regardleſs of this appeal, he entered their country, and reduced them to ſubjection.

Liv. 41. 22. 42. 12.

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Bef. Chriſt 174.

ſubjection. The people of Byzantium, preſſed by Eumenes, had applied to him for aid; when he immediately ſent forces to their aſſiſtance, and obliged the king of Pergamus to retire. Abrypolis, who reigned over a diſtrict of Illyricum, and was one of the allies of Rome, having made an inroad into Macedon, Perſeus marched immediately againſt him, put him to flight, and purſued him into his own dominions, of which he took poſſeſſion. And even afterwards, when attacked by the Romans themſelves, he maintained war againſt them for three years, with conſiderable ſucceſs.

In what manner all this ſeeming ſtrength came to be annihilated, and ſo many advantages to terminate in diſcomfiture, and the utter extirpation of him and the houſe of Macedon, is a fit ſubject for hiſtorical inquiry.

Perseus, at the very commencement of his reign, was guilty of a capital error. The Baſtarnae, of whom mention has been made, were on their march through Thrace when his father died. Philip had ſtipulated the ſubſidy they were to receive, and the different ſums to be paid to the chiefs of the Thracian tribes for granting them a free paſſage through their territories. Perſeus, who, although poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures, was under the dominion of the moſt ſordid avarice, would not abide by theſe ſtipulations; in conſequence of which, the Baſtarnae refuſed to advance, thirty thouſand men excepted, who having already entered the Macedonian frontiers, purſued their route to Dardania. The reſt halted in Thrace; where, provoked by the treatment they had met with, they fell on the people of the country, and as if to indemnify themſelves, plundered wherever they came. So that Perſeus loſt an ally, who had probably rendered Macedon, at leaſt for the preſent,

fent, exceedingly formidable; whilſt he at the ſame time forfeited the confidence of his Thracian neighbours, who were not only defrauded of the promiſed ſubſidy, but compelled, through his perfidiouſneſs, to take up arms in their own defence. Bef. Chriſt 174.

FROM the importance of the ſervices performed by the thirty thouſand Baſtarnae who entered Dardania, the conſequences are obvious, had the whole force of thoſe emigrants, ſaid to amount to upwards of an hundred thouſand men, been poured into this country. The Dardanians, heretofore the moſt active enemies of Macedon on that ſide, now finding more than ſufficient employment at home, were forced to retreat to their ſtrong-holds, where, with difficulty, they maintained themſelves againſt thoſe bold invaders. The Baſtarnae found powerful auxiliaries in the Scordiſci [2], a fierce nation to the north-weſt of Dardania, whoſe ſettlements extended to the confines of Italy, and who originally from the ſame neighbourhood, and ſimilar in language and in manners, rejoiced in the opportunity of joining their kindred tribes. At length however, neglected by Macedon, and hopeleſs of ſupplies from their own country, the Baſtarnae were under the neceſſity of retiring homewards; but even then, not diſpirited by their ſituation, they made good their retreat, and without any material loſs regained the banks of the Danube. The ſequel of their adventures ſeems, by the Roman hiſtorians, to be heightened by the marvellous. We are informed, that Liv. 41. & Polyb. Legat. 62. Bef. Chriſt 175. Liv. 41. Supplem. Freinſh.

[2] Juſtin, or rather Trogus, (32. 3) is of opinion, that they were a part of thoſe known by the name of Gauls, who had emigrated under Brennus and his fellow-leaders, and who had ſettled in this country after their unſucceſsful attempt on Delphi. According to this hiſtorian, they had their head-ſettlement near the confluence of the Save and the Danube, in that part of Hungary where Belgrade now ſtands.

the

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. the Danube being frozen over, as they approached their own confines, they attempted to paſs over on the ice, which breaking under them, they all periſhed. The like fate, Livy tells us, involved their countrymen who had halted in Thrace; moſt of them, according to him, being miraculouſly deſtroyed by a violent tempeſt of thunder and lightning. The truth of both theſe accounts is much to be queſtioned: they probably took their riſe from ſome vague reports, at firſt readily believed, and afterwards induſtriouſly propagated, by a people whoſe vanity it was to imagine, that to have marched forth in ſupport of the enemies of Rome, was an impiety which it concerned Heaven to puniſh. And it even appears from Strabo, who is ſilent as to theſe tales of wonder, that the Romans of thoſe days, far from having a knowledge of the hiſtory of the different tribes of this part of Germany, ſcarcely were inſtructed even in their names.

Bef. Chriſt 179. 40. 58.

B. 7. 203. 204. Caſaubon.

THE Romans ſoon diſcovered, or at leaſt ſuſpected, the deſigns of Perſeus. The invaſion of Dardania by the Baſtarnae, his reducing the Dolopes, the relief he had ſent to the Byzantines, and his progreſs to Delphi, had raiſed an alarm at Rome. Commiſſioners had repeatedly been diſpatched to demand the reaſon of theſe hoſtilities, and, above all, to inſpect narrowly into the ſituation of affairs in Macedon. During the firſt years of his reign, Perſeus had ſubmitted to the pleaſure of the ſenate, and had given the different commiſſioners an honourable reception. But provoked at length, that meſſengers from Rome ſhould ſtill continue to infeſt his court, renewing inquiries of which he plainly ſaw the deſign, he began to ſhew his reſentment at the indignity; and C. Valerius Laevinus, with ſome other Roman patricians, having, in the ſeventh year of his reign,

Bef. Chriſt 172.

reign, come to Macedon on the uſual errand, he put them off from day to day under various pretences, until at laſt they were obliged to leave Macedon without an audience.

Bef. Chriſt 172. Liv. 41. 25. et 42. 2.

THE report of the contempt with which their commiſſioners had been treated had already reached the ſenate, when Eumenes of Pergamus afforded new matter to ſtrengthen their ſuſpicions. Mortified at the encreaſe of power which he ſaw Macedon was acquiring, and apprehenſive of the conſequences to himſelf, ſhould that kingdom be reſtored to its antient ſplendor, he haſtened to Rome; where having obtained a private audience of the ſenate, he laid before them a full account of the formidable appearance of the Macedonians, and of the enterpriſing ſpirit of their king, of the treaſures he poſſeſſed, the mighty armaments he had in readineſs, and the alliances he had formed with moſt of the Greek and Aſiatic ſtates, who, from a ſettled jealouſy of Rome, were prepared upon the firſt opportunity to unite againſt her as a common foe.

Liv. 42. 11 & ſeq.

THE ſenate acknowledged the zeal which Eumenes manifeſted on this occaſion, by beſtowing on him extraordinary honours: he was preſented not only with magnificent gifts, but alſo with the higheſt enſigns of Roman magiſtracy, the curule chair and the ivory wand. The utmoſt precaution was at the ſame time taken, that no part of his information ſhould tranſpire. It only was whiſpered in Rome, that Eumenes had attended the ſenate with very intereſting intelligence; and it was not till after the overthrow of Perſeus, that the particulars were made public. This affectation of ſecrecy, together with their effuſions of gratitude to the Pergamenian king, were evidently deſigned to impreſs the Roman people with apprehenſions of mighty dangers from Macedon,

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Macedon, and of the abſolute neceſſity of a war; the moſt urgent motives to which were, however, the ambition and avarice of the ſenators themſelves.

Bef. Chriſt 172. Liv. 42. 14.

PERSEUS, who had notice that Eumenes had ſet out for Rome, cauſed embaſſadors to follow him: there for ſeveral days they attended in vain, ſoliciting an audience; which having at length obtained, they were treated with ſuch marks of ſlight and diſreſpect, that Harpalus, at the head of the deputation, could not ſuppreſs his indignation. 'The king,' ſaid he to the ſenate, 'wiſhes 'to be believed, when he declares, that neither 'by words nor by actions has he given the Roman 'people cauſe to think him an enemy; but if he 'finds that you are ſeeking a pretence againſt 'him, he wants not courage to defend himſelf. 'The chance of war is alike to both; the iſſue 'uncertain.'

THE Macedonian king had no poſitive information of the buſineſs of Eumenes at Rome; but from the character of that prince, and the hoſtile purpoſes the Romans ſeemed now to avow, he ſuſpected it, and meditated vengeance. In his ſervice was Evander of Crete, a captain of auxiliaries: this officer, with three Macedonians accuſtomed to the perpetration of ſuch crimes, he employed to aſſaſſinate Eumenes, who had declared his intention of taking the route of Delphi, in his return homeward, in order to ſacrifice to the Delphic god. The ſituation of Delphi, on the declivity of a mountain, rendered the road to it for the moſt part ſteep and difficult; and the path leading to the temple winded through a valley ſo narrow, that only one perſon could paſs at a time. Here the aſſaſſins took their ſtand, concealed by a wall that hung over this hollow way, and waited

Liv. 42. 15 & ſeq.

the approach of the king. His retinue had moved forward,

forward, and laſt of all came Eumenes himſelf, preceded by Pantaleon an Aetolian chief; when the wretches, juſt as the king came under the wall, tumbled down upon him two huge ſtones, one of which falling on his head, and the other on his ſhoulders, ſtruck him to the ground, and a ſhower of ſmall ſtones ſucceeding, ſeemed to have overwhelmed the unfortunate monarch. The aſſaſſins, thinking they had effectuated their purpoſe, made their eſcape up the mountain, after having killed one of their accomplices, whoſe ſlowneſs of pace expoſed them to a diſcovery. BOOK VII. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 172.

EUMENES, however, was not dead. His attendants, Pantaleon excepted, had all fled upon ſeeing their maſter fall; but now gathering round, they found him, though ſenſeleſs, ſtill warm and breathing. They immediately conveyed him to a place of ſafety in the neighbourhood, and ſoon after to Aegina, where he lay concealed till he was in a condition to be removed to Aſia. For ſome time a report of his death prevailed, and ſo confidently was it believed, that his brother purpoſed to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and to marry the wife of Eumenes [3]. Already had he been *talking*, as Livy terms it, *with* the queen, and the commander of the citadel of Pergamus, when tidings arrived, that his brother was returning. From another brother, and a prince, this precipitancy might have provoked the ſharpeſt reprehenſion. Eumenes, however, contented himſelf with telling Attalus in a whiſper, 'not to think for the future 'of marrying his brother's wife, until he was 'certain that her huſband was dead.' [4]

ALL the friends of Eumenes conſidered Perſeus as the author of the aſſaſſination, although no di-

[3] Stratonice, daughter to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia.

[4] μὴ φιλεῖν γῆμαι, πρὶν τελευτῆσαι' ἰδεῖν.

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Bef. Chriſt 172.

rect proof could be brought againſt him. The Romans undertook the tracing of this dark affair. A woman of ſome diſtinction, named Praxo, who lived at Delphi, was known to have connections with the Macedonian king, and at her houſe the aſſaſſins were ſaid to have lodged. Valerius, lately one of the commiſſioners at the court of Macedon, who was now at Chalcis, contrived to carry off this woman to Rome; where Rammius of Brunduſium, who had informed Valerius that he had important diſcoveries to make, alſo attended him. From the teſtimony of theſe two perſons, according to the Roman writers, the cleareſt evidence appeared of the guilt of Perſeus. Praxo confeſſed ſhe knew the aſſaſſins, and that they were employed by Perſeus, having received them into her houſe in conſequence of his directions. And Rammius, who generally entertained at Brunduſium every eminent perſon, Greek or Roman, in their paſſage to and from Greece, depoſed, that Perſeus had practiſed with him to poiſon not only Eumenes, but other perſons whom he was to have named; that, apprehenſive for his own life, Rammius had promiſed compliance; and that a poiſon of the moſt ſubtile kind had been delivered to him, for the propoſed purpoſe, by Perſeus himſelf.

WITH a prince of ſuch a character (for at Rome theſe ſeveral charges were conſidered as undoubted facts) the ſenate held it a reproach to be on terms of amity. Commiſſioners were therefore immediately diſpatched, requiring him to deſiſt from all further acts of violence, and to make ample reparation for what he had already been guilty of; ſhould he refuſe to comply, they were to renounce, in the name of the Roman people, all friendſhip and alliance with him. Perſeus, probably appriſed of the purpoſe of the embaſſy, after making the deputies

Liv. 42. 25.

deputies wait ſeveral days for an audience, condeſcended at laſt to admit them, when they were on the point of returning to Rome unheard. The freedom of their remonſtrances added to the indignation which already ſwelled within him, and he retorted on them in the keeneſt recriminations; he exclaimed againſt the haughtineſs of the Romans, their inſolence to kings, their inſatiable luſt of empire, and their infeſting his court with their daily embaſſadors, who joined the mean artifices of ſpies to the imperiouſneſs of deſpots, to whoſe control they expected he ſhould ſubject all his actions. Unmoved by this intemperate language, they calmly demanded an anſwer to the requiſitions they had made. 'To-morrow,' ſaid he, 'you ſhall have it under my hand.' Accordingly, next day he delivered them a writing, in which he declared, 'That as to the treaty of alliance ſaid to ſubſiſt between Macedon and Rome, he held himſelf no way bound by it; that it was a contract entered into by his father, and binding on him only; that at his acceſſion, when not yet firmly ſeated on his throne, he had ſubmitted to it from policy;—yet he was ſtill ready to conclude a treaty of alliance with Rome on equitable conditions, and if they had ſuch to offer, he would take it into conſideration." The reply of the Roman deputies was ſhort. They pronounced Perſeus to be no longer the ally of Rome. And Perſeus, in the voice of defiance, commanded them, within three days to quit Macedon.

BOOK VII. Sect. I. Bef. Chriſt 172.

THIS apparent vigour was but poorly ſupported on the part of Perſeus. The ſenate, upon the report of their embaſſadors, had ordered a body of eight thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, under the command of the praetor Cn. Sicinius, to march into Epire. The inſtant Perſeus heard of this, he ſeems to have ſhrunk with diſmay from

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the approaching conteſt, for he ſent embaſſadors to Rome to ſolicit terms of peace. They were received as he might have expected: they had audience, not in the ſenate, but without the city, in the temple of Bellona, as coming from a prince the declared enemy of Rome; and after ſome queſtions, relative to certain hoſtile attempts lately committed by the king of Macedon in Perrhaebia and Theſſaly, concerning which the embaſſadors ſaid they had no inſtructions, they were ordered to leave Italy within eleven days, and to tell their maſter, never more to preſume to ſend embaſſies to Rome, but to make his future application to the commanders of the Roman armies in Greece.

Bef. Chriſt 171.

Liv. 42. 36.

SICINIUS was ſoon after followed by five commiſſioners, appointed by the ſenate to viſit the Grecian ſtates, and to confirm them in the intereſts of Rome; of whom Aulus Hoſtilius and Q. Marcius Philippus had Epire, Aetolia, and Theſſaly, aſſigned to them for their department. The father of Marcius had been the gueſt and friend of the late king of Macedon. The mean-ſpirited Perſeus laid hold of this circumſtance; and though he had already applied by letter to the five commiſſioners upon their arrival on the coaſt of Greece, deſiring to be informed why he was threatened with hoſtilities, and had been anſwered with manifeſt contempt, he nevertheleſs renewed his application to Marcius at Lariſſa, reminded him of the mutual hoſpitality by which their families were united, and requeſted, that he might be admitted to a conference.

Liv. 42. 38 & ſeq.

MARCIUS received the application in the moſt gracious manner. 'He had often,' he ſaid, 'heard his father mention his connections with 'the Macedonian king; and it was chiefly in the 'view of doing Perſeus ſervice, that he had ac-

'cepted

'cepted of his preſent commiſſion: he therefore 'chearfully granted him the conference which he 'deſired.' Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Macedonian king and the two Roman commiſſioners arrived on the oppoſite banks of the Peneus. The Romans were accompanied by deputies from moſt of the Grecian ſtates, who, either anxious for their own fate, or as a mark of reſpect to Rome, had come to witneſs the important iſſue: Perſeus was attended by his guards, with a number of Macedonian lords and Thracian chiefs. The adjuſting of the ceremonial was the firſt point in queſtion, whether the king ſhould paſs the river to the Romans, or the Romans to the king The compliment ſeemed to be due to regal dignity: but it was the policy of Rome to manifeſt a contempt of royalty; and as the king had requeſted the conference, the Romans alledged, that he ſhould yield the point of precedency. At length, by an inſipid kind of jeſt, Marcius put an end to the conteſt: 'Let the younger,' ſaid he, 'paſs to the elder, the ſon to the father,' alluding to his own name, Philip. The next point was, whether the king ſhould paſs over with only a few of his guards, or with all his retinue. The latter Perſeus inſiſted on, as moſt honourable: but in that caſe Marcius required hoſtages, that no act of hoſtility ſhould be committed. To this humiliation alſo the Macedonian king was obliged to ſubmit.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 171.

MARCIUS opened the conference with many profeſſions of his perſonal regard for Perſeus, at the ſame time acquitting the Romans of having provoked the impending war, of which he aſſerted the king alone was guilty, whoſe repeated acts of violence had made it neceſſary for Rome to ſend an army into Greece. In one point only, he told Perſeus, the ſenate thought he had acted wiſely, in

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 172.

ſending his embaſſadors to renew the treaty of alliance with the Roman people; and yet, how much better had it been never to have renewed the treaty, than to have broken it as ſoon as renewed! Abrupolis, the friend of Rome, he had driven from his kingdom. Artetarus, the moſt faithful confederate that the Romans had among all the Illyrian princes, had fallen by domeſtic treachery, and to his murderers he had given an aſylum in his dominions; evidently ſhewing, to ſpeak in the mildeſt terms, how much he rejoiced in their treaſon. In direct contravention of the late ſtipulations, he had marched an army through the midſt of Greece to Delphi; he had ſent ſuccours to the Byzantines; he had entered into a league with the Boeotians; he had made war on the Dolopes. Everca and Callicritus, the Theban embaſſadors, periſhed as they were returning from Rome: 'I would rather aſk,' continued Marcius, 'whoſe crime this was, than fix it on any individual. 'Violent commotions have ariſen in Aetolia, in 'which ſome of the principal men have loſt their 'lives: by what party, but the Macedonian, 'were thoſe commotions excited? Eumenes had 'nearly fallen a ſacrifice to treachery before the 'altars at Delphi: I am unwilling to name the 'perſon he accuſes. As to Rammius, what diſ-'coveries he has made, your own embaſſadors, 'no doubt, have already informed you. The 'hearing of theſe things is irkſome to you. You 'brought it on yourſelf, by inquiring, in the let-'ter which you addreſſed to us, why the Romans 'ſend an army into Macedon, or garriſon the cities 'of their allies. You have now heard their rea-'ſons. And harſh as you may think the anſwer, 'you would probably have thought yourſelf more 'ſeverely treated, had your enquiry been left alto-'gether unanſwered. Mindful of the friendſhip

'that

'that ſubſiſted between our fathers, I ſhall lend 'a favourable ear to whatever you can offer in 'your juſtification; and I wiſh you may furniſh 'me with arguments to plead your cauſe in the 'ſenate.' BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 171.

So ſevere a charge, delivered in this manner, not only before a number of his own ſubjects, but alſo in the preſence of the deputies of the Grecian ſtates, ſhews little of that tender concern for Perſeus, by which the Roman pretended to be actuated. And, what renders this conduct more worthy of notice, it appears from the defence which Livy has put in the mouth of the Macedonian king, that of theſe accuſations, ſome were evidently ill-grounded, and many heightened with much unfair aggravation. Rammius, Perſeus declared, had never been at the court of Macedon but once, nor was he ever expected there again: how improbable therefore was it, that he ſhould intruſt a perſon, in whoſe fidelity he could not repoſe confidence, with a commiſſion of ſo delicate and hazardous a nature? The Theban embaſſadors, it was well known, had periſhed by ſhipwreck. The murderers of Artetarus he had ordered to be expelled from his dominions, the inſtant he heard that they had taken refuge there. With relation to Eumenes, he was ſenſible he had been pointed at as the author of his aſſaſſination; but upon what kind of evidence! Had that prince, whoſe oppreſſions had made him odious throughout Greece and Aſia, no enemies to fear but from Macedon?—This was his reply to thoſe articles, that concerned him as an individual: as a king, his anſwer was yet ſtronger. Abrupolis, unprovoked, had made an inroad into Macedon, and had ſpread his depredations as far as Amphipolis, before Perſeus took up arms againſt him: on whom lay the blame, if the iſſue of the war proved

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proved fatal to this lawleſs invader? The province of Dolopia had been aſſigned to the Macedonian king by the Romans themſelves; the Dolopians nevertheleſs had riſen againſt Euphranor, the Macedonian governor, and had put him to death, with circumſtances of the moſt barbarous cruelty: when did it become criminal in a prince, to reduce rebellious ſubjects to obedience? He had marched through a part of Greece to Delphi, in diſcharge of his vows: but if any of the ſtates that lay on his way could make it it appear, that the ſmalleſt outrage had been offered to them, or if under the diſguiſe of religion he had been found to conceal any ambitious deſign, he was willing to ſubmit to condemnation. Reſpecting his aſſiſting the Byzantines, and his league with the Boeotians, his embaſſadors had already explained thoſe matters to the ſenate, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of a few, had accepted of his apology. 'This defence of mine,' he added, 'will be received by thoſe who hear me, according to their paſſions and affections; nor is it of ſo much importance, what my conduct or my views have been, as in what light you mean to ſee my actions. My conſcience bears me witneſs, that I have not offended knowingly; and if through ignorance I have tranſgreſſed, inſtructed by your reproof, I ſhall endeavour to correct whatever is amiſs. I have certainly done nothing wrong, which I may not remedy, nor for which you can think I merit all the horrors of an impending war. With little reaſon therefore are you renowned for moderation and diſpaſſionate counſels, if, for cauſes that ſcarcely deſerve expoſtulation, you take up arms againſt princes who are your friends and allies.'

MARCIUS ſeemed much moved, and wiſhed the king again to ſend embaſſadors to Rome, with conciliating

conciliating propoſals. The difficulty was, how, in the mean while, to ſuſpend hoſtilities. After many laboured objections from the Romans, Marcius, 'who could not,' he ſaid, 'but reve-'rence the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, which ſub-'ſiſted between Perſeus and him,' appeared to yield at laſt to the ſolicitations of the king, and granted him a truce, until his embaſſadors ſhould have time to return. BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 171.

ALL this ſpecious ſhew of friendſhip to the Macedonian king was no more than a feint, which Marcius employed, in order to betray him into this very truce, the moſt ruinous meaſure that the unhappy prince could poſſibly have adopted. It will be proper to enter into an explanation of this matter. Liv. 42. 43.

WHEN Sicinius and the Roman commiſſioners arrived in Greece, they found the ſituation of things very different from what they had expected. Perſeus was at the head of an army, the beſt appointed and moſt numerous that Macedon had ſeen ſince the days of the great Alexander; his exchequer was rich, and his magazines of war were completely ſupplied; whilſt his ſubjects appeared united and hearty in his ſervice. Beſides the intereſt he was at the ſame time ſaid to have with the Aſiatics, as well as with his Illyrian and Thracian neighbours, there was, throughout all the ſtates of Greece, a general diſpoſition in his favour. The people were every where for Macedon; and though ſeveral of their leaders were, from a principle of venality and ambition, attached to Rome, yet even among the chief men, Perſeus had many perſonal friends; and in general, the wiſeſt and beſt men in every city, apprehenſive of what muſt be the fate of Greece ſhould the Roman power remain without control, wiſhed ſucceſs to Perſeus. As Licinius, the new conſul, at

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at the ſame time, had not yet made the neceſſary levies, and the force of the Romans in Greece was but inconſiderable, had Perſeus, inſtead of ſending his daſtardly deputations to the Roman commiſſioners to inquire what brought them into Greece, taken advantage of this fortunate aſſemblage of circumſtances, and attacked his enemies the inſtant they landed, he could hardly have failed of victory; when, encouraged by ſuch an act of vigour, the greater part of Greece had probably declared in his favour. But the timidity and irreſolution of this devoted prince relieved the Romans from their embarraſſment; and they improved the opportunity. Their troops they cantoned in the ſtrong holds of Epire, ſo as to form a line along the weſtern frontier of Macedon, whilſt the five commiſſioners were taking their progreſs through the different ſtates of Greece, moſt of which ſeeing the hopes they had placed in Perſeus diſappointed by his ſpiritleſs conduct, readily promiſed whatever was aſked. The truce completed what the Romans had in view. It gave them time to provide more effectually for the war; and it ſhewed to all the confederates of Macedon, how little dependence there could be on a king, who, after all his boaſtings, and with the numerous advantages he poſſeſſed, was abject enough to become an humble ſuppliant for peace.

Polyb. Legat. 63. Liv. 42. 38, 43.

THE Boeotians firſt experienced the conſequences of this fatal meaſure. They had, as we have ſeen, entered into a league of alliance with Perſeus. And ſeveral of their cities, when charged with this fact by the Roman commiſſioners, had alledged, that it was the act not of any particular city, but of the whole Boeotian body; in which, however, ſome of the cities had not concurred. This apology furniſhed Marcius with a hint, which rendered the league abortive, and at the ſame time deſtroyed

deſtroyed the Boeotian power for ever. He offered to conſider every city as a ſeparate and independent ſtate, and as ſuch, to conclude with it an alliance. The pride of independence, or perhaps the dread of Rome, induced moſt of them to accept of the offer. Thus was the Boeotian confederacy, which derived its whole ſtrength from its union, crumbled into ſeparate and inconſiderable ſtates, and never afterwards did it recover its antient importance. Two Boeotian cities only, Corona and Haliartus, refuſed to depart from their alliance with Macedon, and being threatened on this account by the Thebans, now in the Roman intereſt, applied to Perſeus for protection. His anſwer was worthy of his character. 'The truce 'had tied up his hands, and they muſt provide for 'their ſafety as they could.' Polyb. Legat. 66. Liv. 42. 46.

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THE Roman hiſtorians however tell us, that upon the return of Marcius to Rome, the fineſſe by which he had deceived Perſeus, obtained him but little praiſe. The old ſenators, who remembered antient manners, could not, without abhorrence, hear a Roman ſenator pride himſelf in having practiſed deceit even on an enemy, eſpecially under the diſguiſe of friendſhip, and a pretended reverence of the ſacred rites of hoſpitality. 'Not Liv. 42. 47. 'ſo our forefathers,' ſaid they, 'who diſdaining a 'victory that was not the prize of generous valour, 'in their war with the Faliſci, delivered up to the 'prince of the country the wretch who had be-'trayed into his hands the royal children in-'truſted to his care; and who again, in their 'wars with Pyrrhus, warned that king, though 'wantonly invading them, of his phyſician's trai-'torous deſigns.' But their remonſtrances were over-ruled. The majority of the ſenate, now governed by other principles, approved of the conduct of Marcius, and as the reward of his ſervices, appointed

BOOK VII. appointed him to the command of part of the fleet to be employed on the coaſt of Greece.

Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 171. MEANWHILE Perſeus, proud of his fancied ſuperiority in the late conference, ſoothed himſelf with the thoughts of an approaching peace. 'I 'have,' ſaid he, in his diſpatches to ſome of his Aſiatic friends, 'been heard before the Roman 'commiſſioners in vindication of my conduct, and 'have fully anſwered all their objections.' The return of his embaſſadors awakened him from this deluſion. They informed him, that after having been admitted to the parade of an audience before the Roman ſenate, where their repreſentations had been treated with the utmoſt contempt, they had been ordered to leave Rome inſtantly, and Italy within thirty days; and that the conſul Licinius, whoſe levies were now finiſhed, was on his way to Greece.

PERSEUS, rouſed from his dream of ſecurity, immediately convened at Pella a council of his principal nobility, in order to conſider what was to Liv. 42. 50. be reſolved upon in the preſent emergency. Every expedient, which fear could ſuggeſt, was ſucceſſively mentioned by the king, or by thoſe who poſſeſſed his confidence: they even propoſed 'to 'pay whatever tribute, or to give up whatever 'portion of territory the Romans ſhould demand; 'nay, ſhould other conditions ſtill more humiliat-'ing be inſiſted upon, to ſubmit even to theſe, 'rather than abide the hazard of a war.' Some of the council, however, proteſted warmly againſt theſe ignominious meaſures, and urged the certain ruin which muſt attend them. They inſiſted, that if the king did not mean to cede all, he muſt reſolve to give up nothing; that the rapaciouſneſs of Rome would not be ſatisfied with leſs than his whole kingdom; that he was now in a condition to bid them defiance; and that, ſuppoſing even the

the worſt, it was far more honourable to encounter any dangers in the defence of his throne, than tamely to reſign it.—'Be war then your choice,' replied the king, whether from conviction, or from ſhame, 'and may the gods grant us ſucceſs!' Bef. Chriſt 171.

THE ſpirited loyalty of the Macedonians on this occaſion ſhews, that, whatever were the vices of the man, Perſeus was not wanting in thoſe qualities which uſually endear kings to their people. As ſoon as it was known that the war was reſolved upon, from every part of Macedon he had offers of large ſubſidies, and ample ſupplies of all things neceſſary for the maintenance of an army. His conduct did him no leſs honour. He thanked his ſubjects for their honeſt zeal; but told them, that his own treaſures were ſufficient to anſwer all his demands; and that the only ſervice, with which he ſhould burden them, was the furniſhing of carriages for tranſporting his machines and implements of war. Liv. 42. 53.

PERSEUS was early in the field, and having made himſelf maſter of the ſtreights which open from the Macedonian frontier into the vale of Tempe, had advanced, before the Romans appeared, as far as Sycurium, a city ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of mount Oſſa. He had now a favourable opportunity of opening the campaign with advantage. The conſul, on his march through Athamania to Theſſaly, was at this very time intangled in the defiles and intricate paſſes which interſect this mountainous part of Greece. Had Perſeus attacked him here, the Romans themſelves confeſſed, that a total defeat was almoſt unavoidable. But fearful of engaging in any hazardous enterpriſe, ſay the Roman writers, or more probably, not having proper intelligence of the enemy's motions and ſituations, which in thoſe days was often difficult to be obtained, the Mace- Ibid. 54, 55.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Macedonian king contented himself with the opportunity which his position afforded him of covering Macedon and the northern Thessaly.

Bef. Christ 171. At length Licinius reached Larissa; and having been joined by a thousand auxiliaries from the Achaean states, a reinforcement of five thousand men under Eumenes from Asia, and a body of Thessalian horse, he encamped on the north-side of the Peneus. The two armies were now within a few miles of each other: but though the foraging parties from the Macedonian army overspread the country, and had extended their ravages into Pheraea[5], and though Perseus had for several days appeared every morning in order of battle, and even insulted the Roman camp, in the hopes of bringing on an engagement, the consul nevertheless seemed industriously to avoid it. Emboldened by this, Perseus moved his camp seven miles nearer, and the ensuing morning, by the first dawn of day, having formed his whole army, advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed infantry to the verge of the Roman entrenchments. The sudden appearance of the enemy at an hour much earlier than usual, and their resolute and firm appearance, threw the Roman camp into confusion; the tumultuous hurry of the soldiery making the danger from without appear greater than it was. The consul, in this critical situation, commanded all his cavalry, with the light-armed and auxiliary troops, to sally forth and repulse the enemy, he himself remaining within the trenches with his legionaries, ready to answer any exigency. The Roman detachment found the task assigned to them, much more difficult than they expected. Unable to stand the furious charge of the

Liv. 42. 57 & seq.

[5] One of the fairest provinces of Thessaly, and under the immediate protection of the Romans.

Thracian

Thracian horſemen, who, to uſe the expreſſion of the Roman hiſtorian, 'ruſhed forward with a ferocity like that of wild beaſts ſpringing on their prey,' they gave way on every ſide, after having ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, and had been all cut to pieces, if the Theſſalian cavalry, who covered the left wing, and had hitherto ſtood their ground, had not received them within their ranks, and ſheltered them from the purſuers. BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 171.

THE inſtant it was known that the advantage was on the ſide of Macedon, Hippias and Leonnatus, who commanded the phalanx, advanced to the field of battle, in hopes of crowning the glory of the day by ſtorming the Roman camp. And had the king yielded to their martial ardour, there had been little doubt of ſucceſs: but ſo daring an exploit was more than Perſeus durſt aſpire to. His natural puſillanimity returned; and Evander, who was no ſtranger to his maſter's weakneſs, and probably diſcovered his wiſhes in his looks, at ſight of the phalanx adviſed him, 'not to tempt fortune any further for the preſent, but rather be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs he had already obtained, which would certainly facilitate a peace, if peace was his object, or if he choſe to continue the war, would induce numbers to join him.' Perſeus, with much commendation of Evander's prudence, ordered the phalanx to halt, and a retreat to be ſounded. In this action there fell of the Roman infantry two thouſand, with two hundred of their cavalry; two hundred more of their horſemen being made priſoners. Forty foot and twenty horſe were all the Macedonians loſt. Plut in Paul. Aemilio.

NEXT morning diſcovered to Perſeus his fatal error. Dreading the very enterpriſe which the Macedonian durſt not attempt, Eumenes had adviſed the conſul to decamp by night, and retreat to the other ſide of the Peneus, where he might remain Liv. 42 60.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

main in ſafety; and Licinius, notwithſtanding the humiliating confeſſion which ſuch a ſtep implied, found it expedient to follow the advice. Perſeus now ſaw, what might have been done had he followed his victory, or even been attentive to the enemy's motions during the night, and attacked them in their retreat over the river.

Bef. Chriſt 171.

FROM the temper of mind with which the news of this ſucceſs, imperfect as it was, was received throughout Greece, we may judge what the real diſpoſitions of the people were, and how difficult the Romans would have found this war, had a prince of abilities, and worthy of public confidence, been then ſeated on the throne of Macedon. The different ſtates had before ſhewn their diſaffection to the cauſe of Rome, in the ſcanty ſuccours they ſent to the conſul, which, in general, ſays Livy [6], were ſo inconſiderable as not to be worth recording, whilſt they apologized under various pretences, and ſtill profeſſed an ardent zeal for her ſervice. That diſguiſe which the dread of Roman power had obliged them to aſſume, was now thrown off [7]; and not only the friends of the royal houſe of Macedon, but even the men who were ſuppoſed to have been warm in the intereſts of Rome, joined in the general joy. The Romans, it appears from the confeſſion of their own writers, had already made Greece feel their inſolence and oppreſſion; and many of their moſt zealous partizans began to entertain the moſt melancholy apprehenſions of impending ſervitude.

PERSEUS, by his own conduct, ſoon weakened the impreſſions which, properly cultivated, might

[6] Quorum pleraque (adeo parva erant) in oblivionem deducta. Liv. 42. 55.

[7] 'Fama pugnae,' ſays Livy, ſpeaking of this battle, 'nudavit voluntates hominum'. Ib. 63.

have

have been highly advantageous. As if former experience had not taught him that a vigorous proſecution of the war was his only reſource, he renewed his ſolicitations for peace with all the abjectneſs of a vanquiſhed enemy; offering to cede to the Romans all the cities and provinces which had been ceded by his father Philip, and to pay the ſame tribute he had agreed to pay. But the Romans, whoſe maxim it was, never, in whatever fortune, to make peace with a victorious enemy, rejected his offer with ſcorn, imperiouſly requiring Perſeus 'to ſurrender himſelf and his kingdom to 'the Romans at diſcretion, as the only way by 'which peace was to be obtained.' Incenſed at this haughty anſwer, the king's counſellors adviſed him to abandon all thoughts of accommodation; but the very haughtineſs of the anſwer terrified his ſpirit, and became a new argument with Perſeus for renewing his application. He thought it impoſſible, that the conſul ſhould manifeſt ſuch firmneſs, without an aſſurance of ſucceſs: he therefore ſent a ſecond deputation, with an offer of a much larger tribute; to which the Romans returned the ſame anſwer.

Bef. Chriſt 171. Polyb. Legat. 69. Liv. 42. 62.

THE manner in which the conſul proſecuted the war during the remainder of this year, ſhewed but little of that firmneſs or aſſurance of victory, which theſe ſpirited anſwers ſeemed to imply. In Theſſaly, the two armies were employed in attacking or defending, with various ſucceſs, places of little importance, except merely on account of their ſituation; or in occaſional ſkirmiſhes, moſtly between the foraging parties, which, though ſometimes bloody and attended with loſs to the Macedonians, made no material alteration in the ſtate of affairs. Perſeus, in defiance of all the Roman efforts, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the paſſes and ſtrong holds that commanded the Macedonian frontier.

Liv. 42. 54 et ſeq.

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frontier. In Illyricum, one of the conſul's lieutenants had made himſelf maſter of two opulent towns, and had granted the inhabitants their effects, in the view of alluring to ſubmiſſion, by this apparent clemency, another ſtrong town in the neighbourhood; but finding his expectations diſappointed, and that neither his ſubtlety of contrivance nor force of arms could give him poſſeſſion, he returned, and pillaged both the places which he had formerly ſpared. In Boeotia, the praetor Lucretius laid ſiege to Haliartus, and having taken it after an obſtinate and vigorous defence, plundered it of every thing valuable, appropriating moſt of the ſpoils to his own uſe, and then raſing it to the ground. From thence he proceeded to Thebes, which, though ſhe opened her gates, he nevertheleſs treated with all the ſeverity of an exaſperated enemy: not content with reſtoring the citizens that had been baniſhed for their attachment to the Roman intereſt, he alſo ſold, with their families, as ſlaves, all who were ſuſpected of favouring the cauſe of Macedon.

Bef. Chriſt 171.

Liv. 43. 1.

Liv. 42. 63.

PERSEUS having, in the mean time, ſurpriſed a part of the Roman fleet which lay at Oreum in Euboea, had taken twenty of their ſtore-ſhips, ſunk the reſt, laden with wheat, and made himſelf maſter of four gallies, of five benches of oars. Intelligence having been received, that ſome of the Thracian tribes, inſtigated and aſſiſted by Eumenes of Pergamus, had broken into the dominions of Cotys, a king of Thrace in alliance with Perſeus, and an auxiliary in the Macedonian camp, he immediately diſmiſſed the Thracian king with large preſents, and a conſiderable ſum of money, to the defence of his own territories; and ſo little now were his apprehenſions of danger from the Romans, that he himſelf marched ſoon after to the

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

Liv. 42. 67.

the aid of Cotys, and obtained for him a complete victory over the invaders. BOOK VII.

LICINIUS was succeeded in the command by the conſul Hoſtilius, who was more unſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. Upon his very entrance into Epire, of whoſe defection there was not as yet any ſuſpicion, he narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade of Epirots, who had lain in wait for him, in order to deliver him up to Perſeus. He afterwards endeavoured to penetrate into Macedonia by the province of Elymaea, and was defeated. He attempted a paſſage by the Cambunian mountains, and found it impracticable. He detached his lieutenant Appius Claudius, to infeſt the Macedonian frontier from the ſide of Illyricum; who having formed the deſign of plundering Uſcana, a city on the confines of Macedon, ſuffered himſelf to be caught in a ſnare by a ſtratagem of the Cretan garriſon: they had promiſed to betray the place to him; but upon his approaching the walls with a careleſs ſecurity, they ſallied out with the inhabitants, and attacked him ſo vigorouſly, that ſcarcely a fourth part of his army eſcaped. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 170. Liv. 43. 10.

THIS train of bad ſucceſs became the more reproachful from the cauſe to which it ſeemed juſtly to be aſcribed, 'the rapacity and inſolence of oppreſſion,' with which moſt of the Roman commanders of the preſent year, as well as the preceding, ſtood charged. Decimius, who at the beginning of the war had been ſent on an embaſſy to Gentius of Illyricum, was, with good reaſon, ſuſpected of having ſold himſelf to the Illyrian king. Complaints, ſupported by the ſtrongeſt proofs, had been laid before the ſenate againſt Lucretius, one of the praetors of the laſt year, who, after enriching himſelf with the pillage of the enemies of Rome, had not even ſpared her friends, deſpoiling the very temples of Chalcis, Liv. 42. 45. Liv. 43. 4.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 170.

then confederate with the Romans, of their moſt precious ornaments, in order to add to the magnificence of his villa in the neighbourhood of Antium. There was alſo reaſon to ſuſpect, that Licinius himſelf had not been guiltleſs. The like complaints were now brought againſt the conſul Hoſtilius, and the officers under his command. Caſſius, one of his praetors, was infamous for his depredations. His admiral, Hortenſius, had put to death the chief men of Abdera, on the Thracian coaſt, and ſold for ſlaves the reſt of the citizens, becauſe they had refuſed to comply with his mercileſs exactions, and had dared to appeal to the conſul for relief; ſo that the neighbouring cities, alarmed by theſe enormities, and dreading ſimilar acts of violence, had ſhut their gates againſt him. On his return to Chalcis, the unhappy Chalcidians again experienced all the cruelty and rapine of Lucretius. Even the army under the immediate command of Hoſtilius had been rendered unfit for ſervice, either by the facility or avarice of the conſul and his principal officers; numbers of the ſoldiers having, for money, or through favour, obtained leave of abſence, and returned to Italy.

Liv. 43. 7.

Liv. ibid. 11.

THE Macedonian affairs, on the contaary, wore a proſperous appearance. Perſeus had defeated every attempt againſt Macedon during the ſummer; and as ſoon as winter had ſet in, and the ſnows had rendered the mountains and glens around him impaſſable the Romans, he attacked and defeated the Dardanians (who, probably on the retreat of the Baſtarnae, began again to be troubleſome) leaving ten thouſand of them dead on the field. From thence he had advanced into Illyricum, with the view of recovering ſome places of ſtrength, formerly taken by the Romans, which were of conſequence to the ſecurity of the Mace-

Liv. 45. 18, 19, 20.

Macedonian frontier; and, at the ſame time, of entering into alliance with Gentius, the moſt powerful of the Illyrian princes. He found little difficulty in the accompliſhment of the former, and might as eaſily have effected the latter, had not his own ſordid avarice been the obſtacle. Gentius wanted money, and Perſeus could not think of ſupplying him: ſo that, after a repeated interchange of meſſages, the negotiation ended without effect. He had not yet entered Illyricum, when he received the pleaſing intelligence, that the Epirots, at the inſtigation of Cephalus, one of their chieftains, had renounced the friendſhip of Rome, and declared in his favour. The Aetolians too ſolicited his preſence, offering to put Stratus into his hands, a conſiderable city of Acarnania on the Achelous, which at this time was in their poſſeſſion. The invitation was eagerly accepted, and Perſeus was inſtantly in motion. But the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and the difficulty of the roads rendering his march exceedingly tedious, a Roman commander, who was ſtationed in the country, conceiving ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign, had entered the city with a ſtrong body of troops the evening before Perſeus reached it. He made himſelf however ſome amends, by getting poſſeſſion of Aperantia, a neighbouring diſtrict of Aetolia; and this ſucceſs was ſoon followed by advice, that Clevas, one of his generals, had defeated the Romans on the borders of Epire, in two ſucceſſive engagements, in which two thouſand of the enemy had fallen, and three hundred been made priſoners.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 170. Polyb. Legat. 76. 77. Liv. 43. 23.

NOTHING indeed ſeems now to have been wanting to Perſeus, but to have known how to employ properly the treaſures of which he was maſter. The corruption and inſolence of the Roman commanders had made them generally odious. Poly-

BOOK VII. Sect. 1.

bius himſelf acknowledges, that, had the Macedonian king (whoſe avarice, to ſuch a wonderful exceſs of meanneſs and folly, muſt, ſays he, have been a judgment on him from the gods [8]) improved the preſent opportunity, by giving moderate ſubſidies to the kings and ſtates of Aſia and Greece, gratifying at the ſame time with preſents the principal men in the different cities, he had effectually ruined the Roman intereſt with moſt of the Greek and Aſiatic nations.

Bef. Chriſt 170.

When tidings of theſe matters were received in Rome, they occaſioned the deepeſt conſternation. Upon the firſt complaints, commiſſioners had been immediately ſent into Greece; and their report exceeded even the voice of fame. Embaſſadors alſo had now arrived from thoſe ſtates which had ſuffered moſt from the oppreſſions and rapacity of the Roman commanders, to implore juſtice from the ſenate and Roman people. To the Romans the criſis was alarming. They were in danger of loſing Greece, if not Aſia: and ſome of the firſt nobility were among the accuſed criminals. Orders were immediately iſſued, requiring all the ſenators throughout Italy, unleſs employed on public ſervice, to repair immediately to Rome, and forbidding any ſenator to go farther than one mile from the city. Lucretius [9], the late praetor, had already been ſummoned to appear. The nobles would gladly have ſaved him, but they found it impoſſible. Two tribunes of the people, M.

Liv. 43. 8, 11, 17.

[8] Δαιμονοβλάβεια is the expreſſive name that Polybius gives to the amazing avarice of this wretched prince. See Legat. 77.

[9] When the charge againſt him was firſt laid before the ſenate, it was pretended, that he was abroad with the army, and that therefore it was neceſſary to poſtpone the inquiry. It afterwards appeared, that at this very time he was at his villa, employing in expenſive works the vaſt ſums which he had brought home from the pillage of Haliartus, and the plunder of the Chalcidians. See Liv. 43. 4.

Juventius

Juventius Thalna and Cn. Aufidius, were active in the proſecution; and his trial being brought on, the thirty-five tribes, with one voice, pronounced him guilty. Several others, not leſs criminal, had probably ſhared the ſame fate, had not their trials been put off, under pretence, that they were neceſſary perſons in the army abroad, and could not therefore appear in their own defence. BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 170.

THE next buſineſs was, to guard againſt the conſequences to be dreaded from the reſentment of an injured people. An edict was accordingly paſſed, which enacted, 'That henceforth the allies 'of Rome ſhould not pay obedience to any re- 'quiſitions made by any magiſtrate whatſoever, 'unleſs it appeared, that theſe requiſitions had 'proceeded from the ſenate themſelves.' Orders were likewiſe tranſmitted to Hoſtilius, and other commanders in Greece, to conduct themſelves for the future with greater caution; and wherever reparation could be made, to make it as ſpeedily as poſſible. To the ſeveral ſtates alſo embaſſadors were deputed, to aſſure them of the affectionate regard paid to their intereſts, and to notify the new edict, which the ſenate, *ever attentive to the* LIBERTIES *of* GREECE, had been graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue. Liv. 43. 17. Ibid. 8.

THIS however, as appears from Polybius, was only the *oſtenſible* part of their commiſſion. Beneath all this ſemblance of affection lurked the moſt treacherous deſigns. The embaſſadors had ſecret inſtructions to ſeize the opportunity, when theſe gracious aſſurances ſhould have lulled every ſuſpicion, to deſtroy all thoſe, whom eminent abilities and zeal for the liberties of their country had rendered obnoxious to Rome. In thoſe ſtates where their opponents were too many to be thus diſpatched, they were to endeavour at leaſt to get into their hands a number of the moſt conſiderable perſons, Legat. 74. 75.

BOOK VII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 170.

perſons, by way of hoſtages; or to obtain permiſſion to introduce Roman garriſons into their cities, in order to lay thoſe ſtates under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to whatever terms Rome might hereafter think fit to preſcribe.

THE embaſſadors were to have entered on the execution of this part of their inſtructions in Achaia; and three Achaeans of the higheſt diſtinction, Lycortas, Polybius, and Archon, whoſe virtue had withſtood every temptation, were the firſt victims marked for deſtruction. But upon the opening of the Achaean diet, it was found, that matters were not yet ripe for their purpoſe. Even the queſtion, 'whether Achaia ſhould take part with Rome againſt Macedon?' was likely to produce great heats. And the embaſſadors began to fear, that, ſhould they venture on the attempt they had in view, it would only ſerve to diſcloſe what it was their intereſt to conceal, and perhaps involve their whole party in ruin.

WITH the Aetolians, from whom they were to have exacted hoſtages, they had no better ſucceſs. The diet was a ſcene of tumult and confuſion; and to ſuch an exceſs of mutual violence did the Macedonian and Roman parties proceed, that thoſe in oppoſition to Rome ſtoned, in the very diet, and in the preſence of the embaſſadors, one of the contrary faction. From ſuch an aſſembly it had been to little purpoſe to have demanded hoſtages: the embaſſadors therefore took care to withdraw without mentioning them.

FROM thence they proceeded to Acarnania, too inconſiderable a ſtate in appearance to be capable of much firmneſs. And here, beſides, Rome was ſuppoſed to have a ſtrong party. Yet, the inſtant it was propoſed that they ſhould receive Roman garriſons into their cities, the greater part of the aſſembly

aſſembly expreſſed the higheſt indignation [10]; and the embaſſadors, who ſaw it would be in vain to contend againſt ſo general an oppoſition, had the prudence to deſiſt.

Bef. Chriſt 170.

THESE proceedings need no comment. They clearly develope the Roman character at this period; and they ſhew what powerful aids Macedon might ſtill have drawn from Greece, had not Perſeus been wanting to himſelf and to his cauſe.

Bef. Chriſt 169.

THE conduct of the war now devolved on Q. Marcius Philippus, the *truſty friend* by whom Perſeus had been circumvented; who, with Q. Servilius Caepio, had been elected to the conſulſhip. His ſetting out had an appearance of vigour, that promiſed great things: his neceſſary levies were completed with unuſual expedition; and by the firſt opening of the ſpring he had already joined the army in Theſſaly. The commencement of his operations was equally ſpirited. Ambitious of ſucceeding where the preceding commanders had failed, and ſenſible that the artifice which he had practiſed before could not avail him again, he ſtaked all his hopes on boldneſs and enterpriſe, declaring himſelf reſolved to force his way through ſome of thoſe formidable barriers which had hitherto defied the Roman arms. Upon enquiry, he was told there were three paſſes where he might poſſibly ſucceed; one by the way of Pythium, another by the Cambunian mountains where Hoſtilius had failed, and a third by the lake Aſcuris. For ſome part of the way, one common road led to all, which afterwards

Liv. 44. 2. & ſeq.

[10] Livy (43. 17.) has given ſome account of this tranſaction, but in a very ſlight and curſory manner. However, what he mentions of the oppoſition made to the article of *garriſons* in the Acarnanian convention, is remarkable. 'Pars recuſare, *ne quod bello* '*captis et hoſtibus mos eſſet, id pacatae et ſociae civitates igno-* '*miniae acciperent.*

branched

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Bef. Chriſt 169.

branched into three, each leading to one of the above mentioned paſſes. Undetermined which to chooſe, he nevertheleſs began his march, purpoſing to form his plan according to the diſcoveries he ſhould make as he advanced. Being arrived at the place where the road divided, he detached (for what reaſons we are not told) a body of four thouſand men under two commanders, one of them his ſon, to attempt to paſs by the lake Aſcuris; halting with the reſt of the army, until he had intelligence of the event.

THE road, through which this detachment had to march, was rugged, ſteep, and worn into channels by the mountain floods; ſo that after two days inceſſant labour, they had ſcarcely proceeded fifteen miles. At length, on the evening of the ſecond day, they gained the top of a hill, where they ventured to encamp; and the enſuing morning, having moved on about ſeven miles farther, they reached the ſummit of another mountain, from whence they could deſcry one of the enemy's ſtations about a mile from them, and at a farther diſtance, Dium, the camp of Perſeus, with all that part of the Macedonian coaſt that is waſhed by the gulph of Theſſalonica. Advice was immediately diſpatched to the conſul, who, fortunately for them, was already on his march; anxious to know the fate of his men, whom, inconſiderately enough, he had ventured into the midſt of the enemy's poſts, defiles, and hollows, to which they were ſtrangers. No ſooner were the army ſomewhat recovered from their fatiguing march, than Marcius prepared to drive the Macedonian party from the poſt, without which it was impoſſible for him to advance. The Macedonians were not leſs ready to receive them. The party which Hippias commanded was twelve thouſand ſtrong; and having only a mountain's ſummit to defend, where

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he knew every advantage of ground, and where only a few combatants could engage, he was more than a match for the Romans, who were repulſed. On the ſecond day they renewed the attack, and in like manner on the third; but ſtill without ſucceſs. Bef. Chriſt 169.

THE conſul ſaw his critical ſituation. It was impoſſible for his army to ſubſiſt on the ſharp ridge of a barren mountain. He could not advance; and to retreat was highly dangerous, from the nature of the road, through which he muſt paſs, and from the enemy's commanding the mountain-heights, from whence they might pour down deſtruction on him and his army. It is ſcarcely conceivable, that at this critical conjuncture, Perſeus ſhould have ſhewn that imbecillity of conduct, of which he appears to have been guilty. Had he done what was in his power, had he ſupported Hippias, or endeavoured to cut off Marcius' retreat, the Romans themſelves confeſſed their ruin had been inevitable. Inſtead of this, though during the three days that the engagement laſted he was ſo near the ſcene of action as probably to hear the ſhouts of the combatants, he employed himſelf in parading along the ſhore at the head of his cavalry, without ſending the ſmalleſt reinforcement up the mountain.

MARCIUS, however, reſolved not to return back, but at all hazards to deſcend the mountain, and endeavour to penetrate into Macedon through the glen below, leaving Popilius with a party of the army on the ſummit to cover his rear. This was an enterpriſe of infinite toil. The mountain was in many places exceedingly ſteep, and even where it ſeemed to be leſs abrupt, there was no ſure footing to be found in thoſe untrodden paths; ſo that the troops, rather than truſt to their feet, for the moſt part rolled themſelves down. To add

to

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to the difficulty, the elephants recoiled at the precipices, and became outrageous, throwing their riders, and ſcaring the horſes with their hideous cries. During the general confuſion which this occaſioned, had only a ſmall part of the enemy appeared, the conſul himſelf acknowledged afterwards, there had been an end of the Roman army. After trying ſeveral expedients, it was contrived to let down theſe unwieldy animals by wooden platforms, one end of which was joined to the cliff, and the other end ſupported by poſts faſtened in the ſlope beneath: over the floor of the platform was ſpread a covering of earth, that the elephant might not be ſhy of venturing on it: as ſoon as he had gotten on the platform, the poſts that upheld it being cut, he was made to ſlide off to a ſecond, which began where the firſt ended; in like manner to a third, and ſo onward to the bottom. In this tedious and laborious employment was the whole day conſumed. Towards night they reached a level ſpot, which, though they were ignorant where they were, or with what dangers they were ſtill encompaſſed, was a circumſtance which greatly relieved them, as they could now ſtand on firm ground. The morning light afforded them no better information. They found themſelves in the hollow of a gloomy foreſt, through which it was impoſſible to deſcry what lay beyond. Here, however, they remained all that day, in order that Popilius, who had received directions to follow as ſoon as he ſafely could, might have time to join them. The two ſucceeding days, they moved forward without meeting with any obſtruction, excepting what aroſe from the deep and wood-entangled glens through which they had to march; when at length their proſpect opened into the champaign country between Heracleum and Libethrum, a conſiderable way above the entrance into

into the ſtreights of Tempe, and a few miles from Dium, where Perſeus had his head-quarters. BOOK VII.

PERSEUS was bathing, when tidings were brought him that the Romans had paſſed the defiles, and were advancing. Every part of his conduct now betrayed his abject character. In an agony of fear he flung out of the bath, exclaiming he was vanquiſhed without fighting; and as if he gave up all for loſt, inſtantly he ſent off orders to burn his naval ſtores at Theſſalonica, and to throw his treaſures at Pella into the ſea; recalled Hippias from his poſt at the Aſcuris, and in like manner all the other commanders from the ſeveral paſſes where they were ſtationed; and having removed on board his fleet the ſtatues of Alexander's ſoldiers that were at Dium, abandoned that city to the enemy, and fled to Pydna. Even now, had there been the ſmalleſt firmneſs on his ſide, Marcius had paid the full price of his temerity. He had got beyond the paſs of Aſcuris, and the ſtreights of Tempe; but what did this avail him? Unable to advance, without a poſſibility of retreat, having no means of ſubſiſtence from the country in which he was, and cut off from all foreign ſupplies, he muſt, had Perſeus continued only to guard the ſeveral paſſes, have inevitably periſhed. He could not have retreated by the way he had come, as the Macedonians were maſters of that road, and with eaſe could have deſtroyed him from the heights of which they were in poſſeſſion. And ſhould he have attempted to penetrate farther into Macedon, the only opening into it from that quarter was by Dium, and that flanked on the one ſide by Mount Olympus, and on the other, partly by a dangerous moraſs, and partly by the ſuburbs of the city, ſo that only a narrow ſtrait remained, where a ſmall force was ſufficient to diſpute the paſſage againſt the moſt

Sect. 1.

Bef. Chriſt 169.

3 formidable

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formidable army. The ſole reſource therefore, that he had left, was to have returned into Theſſaly through the vale of Tempe. But that was hardly to be effected. For the length of five miles, the road through this vale was ſo exceedingly narrow, that it was not poſſible for two beaſts of burden to paſs abreaſt; and on each ſide ſo frightful was the precipice, that the traveller with averted eye ſhrunk from the tremendous proſpect; below alſo rolled the Peneus, the ſtunning noiſe of whoſe waters, tumbling over the rocky bottom, and broken into frequent falls, deepened wonderfully the horror of the ſcene. In addition to all this, the Macedonians had forts and entrenchments ſtrongly garriſoned at all the important poſts along the valley. So that had not Perſeus weakly given up every advantage which he poſſeſſed, he had now the enemy at his mercy. But the unthinking temerity of the conſul, ſay the Roman writers, found its apology in the *puſillanimity* of the king [1]. Whatever was the folly of Marcius, luckily for him, it was conſpicuouſly outdone by the king's ſuperior imbecillity.

THE conſul, in amazement that the Macedonians had evacuated Dium, entered the city with great caution, apprehenſive that, under ſo ſtrange an appearance of timidity, ſome hoſtile ambuſcade muſt be concealed. His wonder increaſed, when he ſaw the ſtrength of the place, and what a ſtand might have been made there, had it been properly defended. From Dium he puſhed on northward with the ſame ſucceſs, the Macedonians every where ſubmitting as he approached. But though he had no enemy to oppoſe him, he ſoon found, that he had advanced farther than prudence could

[1] 'Quae temeritas conſulis videri potuiſſet, quod eo proceſſiſſet, unde invito hoſte regredi nequiret, eam non inconſultam audaciam (rex) fecit.'——Liv. 44. 6.

juſtify.

juſtify. The country was poor; and as he proceeded farther north, it became every day more difficult to procure proviſions. His fleet alſo, which he had ordered to follow, and on which he depended for the ſupport of his army, diſappointed his expectations: it had arrived off the coaſt; but the ſtore-ſhips, by ſome miſtake, had remained at Magneſia. At laſt, when at the height of diſtreſs, he received advice from Lucretius, that the Macedonians had abandoned all their poſts in the ſtreights of Tempe, and had left plenty of proviſions behind them; and that ſufficient ſupplies ſhould, with all poſſible expedition, be haſtened forward to his relief. But whether Marcius began to fear, that the neceſſities of his army might provoke them to mutiny, or that the Macedonians, recovering from their panic and dejection, might intercept the ſupplies, and perhaps cut off his retreat; he immediately marched to Phila, near the entrance of the vale, where he had reaſon to ſuppoſe the proviſions were by this time arrived; thus abandoning all his conqueſts with the ſame rapidity, with which he had acquired them. Whatever induced this extraordinary ſtep, it fixed a conſiderable blemiſh on his military character. Bef. Chriſt 169. Liv. 44. 8.

PERSEUS now ſaw with ſhame and regret, what his terror had not permitted him to ſee before, that to his own ſpiritleſs conduct the Romans owed their preſervation; and having returned to Dium, and repaired what the Romans had diſmantled, he encamped on the Enipeus, five miles to the ſouth of that city, with a deſign to cover this part of Macedon from farther inſult. What mortified him moſt, were the orders he had given concerning his treaſures at Pella, and his naval ſtores at Theſſalonica: they were a confeſſion of fears which at preſent he was unwilling to avow; and he reſolved, at any rate, to wipe off the reproach.

THE

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Bef. Chriſt 169.

THE perſons he had employed in this ſervice, were Andronicus and Nicias; the one had been ſent to Pella, the other to Theſſalonica. Nicias, punctual to the directions which he received, had cauſed the treaſures to be ſunk in the ſea. Andronicus, ſuſpecting that his maſter would ſoon repent, had delayed the deſtruction of the ſtores until farther orders. To have, or not to have obeyed, Perſeus conſidered as equally criminal, and put both his agents to death To recover the treaſure, he procured divers, who brought up the greater part of it. They met with the reward of Nicias and Andronicus; the tyrant vainly imagining, that all remembrance of his puſillanimous conduct would be obliterated, by deſtroying thoſe who had it more immediately in their power to diſcover it.

Liv. 44. 10.

THE remainder of the operations of the year did little towards reſtoring honour to the Roman arms. The only town the conſul was able to take, was Heracleum, a place of no great conſequence, and which the Macedonians, though their camp on the Enipeus was within ſight of it, made no motion to relieve. He next attempted certain cities on the Thermaic gulph, Theſſalonica, Torone, Caſſandrea, with Meliboea and Demetrias on the confines of Theſſaly; but all without effect; the whole of his atchievements amounting to ſome tumultuary depredations, in one of which he was even repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

HIS conduct in relation to Appius Cento the praetor was not leſs diſreputable. Appius commanded in Illyricum, and finding the ſuperiority of the enemy, had applied to the Achaeans for ſuccours. The Achaeans had before ſent Polybius to the conſul, with an offer of marching a body of troops to his aid, which, probably deſpairing of making any impreſſion on the Macedonian

Polyb. Legat. 78.

nian frontier, he had refuſed; and ſuch was his illiberal ſpirit, he would not permit Appius to be reinforced from that quarter, notwithſtanding his application and preſent neceſſity, that he might not be in a better condition than himſelf. The caſe was delicate. It was of importance to the Achaeans, to be conſidered as the faithful allies of the Romans: and the ſituation of the Roman commander required inſtant relief. Polybius, artfully enough, contrived to elude the praetor's application, and withal to affect the higheſt reſpect for Rome. He repreſented to the Achaean ſtates, that by the ſenate's late edict, they were not to pay regard to any requiſition made by a Roman commander, unleſs that requiſition appeared to have the ſanction of the ſenate. Appius had no ſuch ſanction to produce; and therefore his demand could not be complied with.

Bef. Chriſt 169.

THE conſequences of the conſul's mean jealouſy proved nearly fatal to Appius; for hiſtory informs us, that with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped being cut off by the enemy. Liv. 44. 30.

BOOK VII.

SECTION II.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

THREE years and upwards had the Roman arms been employed againſt Macedon, to little advantage. At Rome, the fault of this dilatory and unſucceſsful war was altogether imputed to the incapacity or the corruption of the ſeveral commanders, to whom the conduct of it had hitherto been intruſted; and it was now the general voice of the people, that without regard to the intrigues of ambition, ſome perſon ſhould be called forth to this ſervice, whoſe known abilities and integrity merited the public confidence. In L. Aemilius Paulus they ſeemed to have found the man whom they were ſeeking, ſon of that Aemilius Paulus, who had refuſed to ſurvive the carnage of his army on the fatal day of Cannae. He had been conſul fifteen years before, and in the diſcharge of that office, as well as the other offices through which he had paſſed, was conſpicuous both for military ſkill and unblemiſhed honour.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

But

But having ſtood a ſecond time for the conſulſhip without ſucceſs, he had retired from public life, untainted by the contagion of diſſipated manners, which began to be the diſgrace of the Roman nobility. His only reproach was, that he had divorced his wife Papiria, a lady unexceptionable in her conduct, and deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Rome. She had lived with him many years in wedlock, and had brought him ſeveral children, two of them ſons, who promiſed to be the ornaments of their illuſtrious houſe. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, that this was not ſo much the reproach of Aemilius as of the times, the Roman law and manners, by the free permiſſion of divorces, having now entirely levelled that important fence of domeſtic happineſs and national virtue, reverence for the marriage bond [1]. He made however ſome amends to his young family for the loſs which they ſuſtained in being deprived of their mother, by the extraordinary care he beſtowed on their education. Removed from the buſtle of the world, he gave up his whole attention to the cultivation of their minds, ſuperintending their ſtudies and exerciſes with the moſt watchful tenderneſs and attention. At this period Aemilius was in his ſixtieth year, but ſtill in the full vigour of body and mind; and from his natural firmneſs and ſeverity of manners, was well qualified to correct that licentiouſneſs of the Roman ſoldiery, to which the late relaxation of diſcipline had afforded much encouragement.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 169.

[1] How lightly the Romans accounted the marriage-compact, we may judge from an anecdote mentioned by Plutarch (in Paul. Aemilio). A certain Roman had divorced his wife, and being preſſed by the expoſtulations of his friends, who aſked, *was ſhe not fair? was ſhe not chaſte? was ſhe not fruitful?* holding up his ſhoe to them, he replied, *is it not handſome? is it not new? yet none know where it pinches, but he that wears it.*

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Aemilius, having been prevailed on to appear among the candidates, was elected conſul by the unanimous ſuffrages of all the tribes; and, if we are to believe Plutarch, immediately upon his election was appointed to the command in Macedon, without ſuffering the lots to be caſt, as generally was the cuſtom in the diſpoſal of provinces.

Bef. Chriſt 168.

Livy, 44. 17. ſays otherwiſe.

The ſpirited and judicious manner in which he entered on the department aſſigned to him ſhewed, that their choice had not been miſplaced. Report had made very unfavourable repreſentations of the ſituation of the Roman affairs in Greece. But report was not to be truſted. He therefore obtained of the ſenate, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent thither, with orders to enquire minutely into the ſtate both of the fleets and armies on ſervice in the Macedonian war; what progreſs the land-forces had made; what magazines they had eſtabliſhed, and how they were ſupplied; what poſts and places of ſtrength they were maſters of; how near they were to the enemy; what allies the Romans had, and how far theſe allies were to be depended on.

Liv.44.18.

The report of the commiſſioners fully explained, why ſo little had been done. The late conſul Marcius, they ſaid, had with the utmoſt riſque paſſed certain defiles, which he might as well not have paſſed. The Romans, it is true, were in ſight of the Macedonian camp; but beſides that the Macedonians had the command of all the country, Perſeus, who was poſted on the Enipeus, ſeemed unwilling to hazard an engagement, and to force him to it was not in the power of his enemies: thus were the Romans hemmed in on all ſides, without a poſſibility of attempting any thing, and with proviſions for only ſix days. The condition of the Roman fleet was equally bad: diſeaſe had carried off a great number of the ſeamen; moſt

Liv.44.20.

moſt of thoſe who had ſurvived, had deſerted; and the few that remained on board, had neither ſubſiſtence nor even cloathing. The ſituation of Appius Cento in Illyricum was ſtill more wretched; a ſtrong and immediate reinforcement being neceſſary to prevent a Roman commander from owing his ſafety to *flight!* BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

AEMILIUS made it his firſt care, to recover every part of the Roman army under his command from this ſtate of debility. Anicius the praetor was ordered into Illyricum with a large body of forces. Octavius, another of the praetors, was appointed to command the fleet. Aemilius himſelf haſtened the neceſſary levies with all poſſible expedition; and in eleven days from the time of his leaving Brunduſium, though on his way he ſtopped at Delphi to ſacrifice, he was in perſon at the head of the army in Macedon.

BUT whatever advantages Aemilius might obtain from theſe vigorous exertions, he derived more from the timidity and ſordidneſs of Perſeus. During the winter, which had been uncommonly ſevere, whilſt the Romans, hemmed in on every ſide, had ſcarcely the means of ſubſiſtence, and every road, excepting to the hardy and experienced native, was utterly impaſſable, the Macedonian king had not made the leaſt attempt to drive his enemies from that part of the country, and to regain the ſtreights of Tempe. A winter's campaign, to his Thracian auxiliaries a matter certainly of little difficulty or hardſhip, had probably completed the ruin of this part of the Roman army, and reſtored the king to the poſſeſſion of all thoſe important paſſes which in the phrenſy of fear he had abandoned. Liv. 44. 20.

WHAT is ſtill more extraordinary, Perſeus had at length prevailed on a tribe of the Baſtarnae from the banks of the Danube to march to his Liv. 44. 26. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

aſſiſtance, by the promiſe of a large ſubſidy, ten pieces of gold to every horſeman, five to every foot ſoldier, and a thouſand to every chieftain; and they were already, to the number of ten thouſand horſe and as many foot, within ſeventy miles of the Macedonian camp. When the king ſaw that he muſt part with his money, his predominant paſſion interfered; and in hopes of putting off the payment, or perhaps of eluding it, he ſent Antigonus with ſplendid preſents to the leaders, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they ſhould find plenty of proviſions and every kind of refreſhment prepared for them, on their march. But, barbarians as they were, they were not to be ſo trifled with. Clondicus their leader immediately demanded of Antigonus, 'Have you alſo 'brought the promiſed ſubſidy?' who returning an evaſive anſwer, 'Let your maſter then know,' replied the chief, 'that the Baſtarnae ſhall not ad-'vance one ſtep farther, until the ſtipulated gold 'is paid down to them.' The ſole expedient that now occurred to Perſeus was, at leaſt to ſave a portion of his darling treaſure, by taking into pay a part only of the auxiliaries; pretending to his lords, that they might prove dangerous inmates, ſhould ſo large a body be permitted to enter Macedon. Antigonus was again diſpatched, to inform Clondicus, that his maſter had only occaſion for five thouſand horſemen. This prevaricating propoſal was anſwered with a cry of indignation from the whole army: 'However,' ſaid Clondicus, 'have you brought the gold for theſe 'five thouſand, whom you demand?' when, perceiving by the confuſion of Antigonus what the caſe was, he turned from him with indignant rage, inſtantly commanded his troops to move homeward, and in revenge, as well as for ſubſiſtence, marked his return with ravage and deſolation. It was

was extraordinary, that Antigonus was not made the victim of their fury. His escape, as Livy tells us, was more than he himself expected. These barbarians, it seems, of whose manners we are apt to conceive very injurious ideas, respected the sacred character with which Antigonus was invested, [2] notwithstanding the perfidiousness they had experienced from his master. BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Christ 168.

THE retreat of the Bastarnae proved an irreparable misfortune to Perseus. They were, Plutarch informs us, the finest body of men Macedon had ever seen. In stature, in activity, agility of body, and expertness at every kind of martial exercise, they were not to be excelled; while energy was given to all these advantages, by an uncommon boldness of spirit and contempt of danger. The occupations of navigation, agriculture, and pastoral life being accounted disreputable among them, to fight and to conquer was their only object. Had the whole of this fierce emigration therefore been permitted to advance, and employed in spreading devastation through Thessaly, whilst Perseus, by maintaining his post on the Enipeus, kept the consular army at bay, the Romans, Livy acknowledges, had with difficulty escaped.

THE same sordidness of temper prevailed through all the transactions of this weak and impolitic prince. He might at this time have gained the friendship and assistance of Eumenes; but he lost both by his avarice. That king, long the zealous friend of Rome, was said to be disgusted

[2] The learned reader will recollect, that the sacking of Rome by the Celtic tribes from Gaul was occasioned by the violation of the rights of nations, of which the Roman embassadors had been guilty. These embassadors had been sent to the Gaulish camp before Clusium, to deprecate the destruction of that neighbouring city; but not succeeding in their suit, they departed from the character of ministers of peace, and fought under the Clusian banners; provoked at which, the Gauls instantly raised the siege, and marched to Rome.

by

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by certain inſults, which he had received from the haughty Marcius: and he began perhaps alſo to perceive what he himſelf might expect from this formidable power, which he was aiding to advance to univerſal dominion. He entered therefore into a ſecret negotiation with Macedon. On the payment of a thouſand talents, he offered to withdraw his aſſiſtance from the Romans; and for fifteen hundred, to oblige them to conclude a peace; engaging at the ſame time to give ſufficient hoſtages for the performance of his ſtipulations. The bargain to Perſeus was highly advantageous; but with him the difficulty was, to part with his money. He was willing enough to promiſe; but Eumenes, from experience of the man, was unwilling to place confidence on ſuch unſolid grounds. After much negotiating, little to the honour of either party, Perſeus conſented to pay down the ſum required, provided it was depoſited in the temple at Samothrace, until Eumenes ſhould fulfil his engagements, But this iſland being ſubject to Perſeus, Eumenes conſidered it as perfectly the ſame, whether the money were in the coffers of the Macedonian king, or in the temple at Samothrace: and thus the negotiation proved abortive [3].

Bef. Chriſt 168.

Liv. 44. 13.

Ibid. 25.

BUT the baſeneſs of the Macedonian monarch appears moſt conſpicuous in his treatment of Gentius the Illyrian. The diſtrict of Illyricum which he reigned over was waſhed on its weſtern extremity by the Hadriatic, on the eaſtern it was divided from Macedon by a ridge of mountains, and it extended ſouthward to that part of Illyricum which the Romans claimed by right of conqueſt. The ſituation therefore of this prince

Liv. 44. 27. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

[3] Some time after, the Romans diſcovered the intended treaty and never forgave Eumenes for the ſhare he had in the tranſaction.

rendered

rendered him to Rome, as well as to Macedon, a convenient friend or a troubleſome enemy. Perſeus and the Romans had both ſought his alliance: but his inclination led him to the Macedonian intereſt; which he offered to join, on payment of three hundred talents. Perſeus however had hitherto protracted the negotiation, in hopes of bringing him down to lower terms. But the preſent emergency would not admit of a longer delay. Peace, he ſaw, was not now to be obtained; and two envoys had at this very time arrived at the court of Gentius, in order to put the finiſhing hand to an alliance between Illyricum and Rome. In this ſituation, Perſeus had recourſe to a ſtratagem. He agreed to the terms of Gentius, and deſired that his embaſſadors might attend to receive the ſubſidy, and to ſwear to the due performance of the treaty; when he ordered the three hundred talents to be delivered to them; and in order to give the greater ſolemnity to the act, the treaty was executed in preſence of his whole army. It was now proper, that meſſengers ſhould be ſent to the Illyrian king with an account of the tranſaction; and as the weight of treaſure would have prevented the neceſſary diſpatch, they took with them only ten talents, leaving the remainder ſealed up with the ſigners of the Illyrian embaſſadors, to be delivered to confidential perſons, who were to convey it without delay. Gentius entained no ſuſpicion; the money he was told was on the way; and as a proof of his attachment to Macedon, he immediately ſeized and impriſoned the Roman envoys. This was the very thing, that Perſeus had in view. 'He has now,' ſaid he, 'advanced too far to recede; and ſhould he even 'repent, it is impoſſible the Romans ſhould for-'give him.' Exulting in the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, he commanded the money to be ſtopped. This deſpicable

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

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despicable policy, however, produced no advantage to Perſeus. It ſacrificed, on the contrary, an ally, by precipitating the ruin of Gentius, this wretched prince, by the perfidy of the Macedonian king, loſing both his crown and his liberty. Anicius, the Roman praetor, having ſoon after attacked him, reduced his whole kingdom, and carried him, with all his family, into captivity.

THIS tranſaction ſtrongly marks the character of Perſeus. Gentius indeed appears, from hiſtory, to have been a prince of a very unamiable character. A violent, mercileſs tyrant, rendered ſtill more brutal by intemperance, to which he was much addicted, he ſtands charged with having ſacrificed to caprice or jealouſy ſome of his moſt valuable ſubjects, and with having even imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother, whoſe virtues he probably conſidered as his own reproach. But however unworthy of our pity the Illyrian may have been, the conduct of Perſeus was not the leſs impolitic and unprincipled.

Liv. 44. 30.

HAD the king of Macedon adopted a more manly and more liberal ſyſtem, had he made a proper uſe of the wealth and other reſources of which he was ſtill maſter, the Romans had found his overthrow a work of infinite difficulty. Had he been brave, generous, and honeſt, not only mercenaries, but voluntary ſuccours had poured into him from every quarter. Moſt of the Grecian ſtates ſecretly wiſhed him ſucceſs, well knowing, that in the fortune of Macedon was involved the fate of Greece. The Aſiatics, in like manner, whatever connections many of them appeared to have with Rome, could not, without the moſt painful apprehenſions, look forward to the probable conſequences of the extinction of the Macedonian power. Even Pruſias of Bithynia, the moſt ſervile of the Roman vaſſals, had ventured to remonſtrate,

Liv. 44. 14.

ſtrate, by his embaſſadors, againſt the continuance of the war. The Rhodians did more: they required both the Romans and the Macedonian king to lay down their arms, threatening to declare war againſt whichever power ſhould refuſe to adopt pacific meaſures. But ſuch was the folly of this prince, that every reſource which might have contributed to his ſafety, was either rejected or miſemployed; and he was at laſt deſerted by all, only becauſe he was the firſt to deſert himſelf.

Bef. Chriſt 168.

The preſence of Aemilius gave new vigour to the Roman arms. He began by improving their diſcipline. The advanced poſts had been permitted the uſe of ſhields, from which many inconveniences had ariſen. Truſting to this defenſive armour, they were often leſs watchful of the approach of the foe, and even ventured to ſtand and ſkirmiſh, when their duty was to have retreated, and alarmed the poſts behind them. They had frequently been found reclined on their ſhields aſleep, and the gleaming of the braſs had been known to diſcover them to the enemy: the conſul therefore gave directions, that when employed on this duty, they ſhould leave their ſhields [4] behind them. It had been the cuſtom alſo, to give out the daily orders aloud to the whole army: hence the pretence, that they had not been heard diſtinctly, afforded an excuſe, or at leaſt a palliation for every failure in duty; and what was ſtill more dangerous, no ſooner had the orders been delivered out, than the enemy generally was appriſed of them. The conſul gave it in command, that in future the military tribunes ſhould whiſper their orders to the firſt centurion, he to the officer under

Liv. 44. 33. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

[4] Plutarch ſays, their *pikes* alſo were left behind, that they might guard the more againſt ſleep, when they were ſenſible that they had nothing to defend themſelves.

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Bef. Chriſt 168.

der him, and ſo on, until every perſon had received them. At the ſame time, notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which theſe regulations were inforced, the attention he paid to every thing which could contribute to the ſecurity or refreſhment of the troops endeared him to them all. At his arrival, they were in great want of water, which, in this climate and at this ſeaſon of the year [5], was exceedingly diſtreſſing; and thoſe who had been ſent to look out for ſome, reported, that none but brackiſh water was to be found. The verdant and leafy ſummits of the mountains around induced Aemilius, nevertheleſs, to pronounce, that ſprings could not be far diſtant; but poſſibly the water was abſorbed in the ſands, or diſcharged through ſome ſubterraneous ducts into the neighbouring ocean: deep pits were therefore ſunk at certain diſtances along the ſhore, he himſelf ſuperintending the workmen. The conſul's opinion was juſtified by the event. Freſh water guſhed out in great abundance, and the army was relieved. The diligence of the ſoldier was equal to the attention of the general. Inſtead of ſullen murmuring, or the uproar of tumult, lately the diſgrace of the Roman arms, nothing was now to be heard throughout the camp, but the poliſhing or ſharpening of arms, and the chearful buſtle of men buſied in preparing for action.

PERSEUS, meanwhile, was ſtill poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the Enipeus; and as the channel at this time was fordable in many places, he had added to the ſecurity of his camp, by fortifying it towards the river with a ſtrong palliſade, which, together with the height and ſteepneſs of the bank, rendered the approach difficult, and an attack exceedingly hazardous. Aemilius, after ſome at-

[5] It was now midſummer.

tempts,

tempts, finding that here no impreſſion was to be made, changed his plan. Being informed of a bye-path over mount Olympus, by the caſtle of Pythium, which led to the rear of the Macedonian camp, where it was not defended by any intrenchment, he detached a body of eight thouſand men, under the command of Scipio Naſica and Fabius Maximus his eldeſt ſon. This detachment had public orders to embark on board the fleet then on the coaſt, and make a deſcent on ſome of the maritime parts of Macedon; but their ſecret inſtructions were, to return as ſoon as night had ſet in, and aſcend the mountain, the ſummit of which, by computation, they were to gain early in the morning of the third day; Aemilius, mean time, employing the enemy's attention in the plain, by repeated attacks on their lines. The Macedonians had neglected the paſs by Olympus; ſo that the Romans advanced without oppoſition, till a Cretan deſerter having at length given notice of their approach, a detachment of twelve thouſand men was ſent to repulſe them. But it was now too late: the enemy were already in poſſeſſion of the ſummit, and after a ſhort, though ſharp conflict, drove the Macedonians down the mountains; who, in their flight to the camp, ſpread the alarm, that the Romans were preſſing hard upon their rear.

Bef. Chriſt 168. Liv. 44. 35. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

STRUCK with terror, the king, as uſual, loſt ſight at once of all the advantages of his ſituation. As if on the point of being immediately ſurrounded, he broke up his camp, and fled to Pydna; wiſhing to have retreated even farther. He talked of diſbanding his army, of ſecuring all the cattle and grain in the ſeveral ſtrong holds throughout Macedon, of laying the country waſte to deprive the Romans of ſubſiſtence, and of retreating into his interior provinces, where the numberleſs defiles

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Bef. Chriſt 168.

files and intricate windings would enable him to baffle for ever the purſuing enemy. The repreſentations of his officers checked theſe timid and unmanly purpoſes. He had ſtill, they told him, a force far ſuperior in numbers to the Roman army; and his men, fighting as they now would, in defence of their altars and their families, thoſe pledges which every generous mind holds moſt dear, and animated beſides by the preſence of their ſovereign ſharing every danger with them, would certainly exert a vigour that could hardly fail of proving victorious. Aſhamed, though probably not convinced, he aſſumed a more reſolute countenance, and commanded his army to form under the walls of Pydna; where, ſoon after, Aemilius appeared in order of battle, having been previouſly joined by the detachment from the mountains.

Liv. 44. 36. Plut in Paul. Aemilio.

NASICA, fluſhed with his late ſucceſs, urged the conſul to begin the attack inſtantly. But the Macedonians were refreſhed, while the Romans were fatigued and almoſt parched with drought after their precipitate march through ſandy roads, expoſed to the ſultry heat of the mid-day ſun. 'Young man,' replied the conſul, 'at your years 'I ſhould have thought as you do; at mine, you 'will act as I ſhall.' Having given directions to mark out the ground for incamping, and to incloſe it with a ditch and rampart, he ordered the rear to move into it as ſoon as it was completed, the front ranks ſtill preſenting an unbroken face to the enemy, until the reſt of the battalions having ſucceſſively quitted the field, they alſo fell back in like manner without confuſion, though in the preſence of an embattled foe; a remarkable inſtance of the excellence of Roman diſcipline.

Liv. 44. 37. Plut. ubi ſup.

THE enſuing night, there happened an eclipſe of the moon. The Roman ſoldiers were appriſed of

of it, the tribune Sulpicius Gallus having foretold it to the conſul, and with his permiſſion, to the whole army. But in the Macedonian camp it occaſioned the greateſt diſmay. This phaenomenon they were accuſtomed to view with terror; and they now conſidered the darkening of the lunar orb, as a ſure preſage of the extinction of the glory of Macedon. Bef. Chriſt 168.

NEXT morning, the two armies were drawn out in order of battle: but, however ſpirited and determined in appearance, probably this was done rather for the purpoſe of obſerving each other's motions, than with any ſerious intentions to engage; the conſul as well as the king betraying, in their whole conduct, much irreſolution and anxiety. Early in the day, Perſeus withdrew from the field into Pydna, 'to offer,' he told his ſoldiers, 'his ſupplications to Hercules;' a god, ſays Plutarch, who never liſtens to the prayer of a coward. Aemilius more artfully protracted the time, ſacrificing beaſt after beaſt, under pretence that the omens were not yet propitious, until, upon the ſlaying of the twenty-firſt victim, the aruſpices had orders to announce to the army, 'that the gods had promiſed them the victory, on condition they ſtood on the defenſive.' The Roman writers ſcruple not to acknowledge, that this language of piety was all an artifice deviſed by the conſul himſelf. During the former part of the day, the Romans had the ſun in their faces; Aemilius wiſhed to defer engaging, until his declination to the weſt had relieved his army from this inconvenience. The Macedonian phalanx, beſides, was poſted on advantageous ground, and preſented to view ſuch an impenetrable front of interwoven ſhields and pikes, as ſeemed to bid defiance to the moſt vigorous aſſault. Aemilius himſelf was wont to confeſs, that ſo ſtrong was Liv. 44. 37. 40.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

the impreſſion which the ſight of this formidable phalanx had made on his mind, that a certain terror always attended the recollection of that day. He was therefore deſirous, that the Macedonians ſhould begin the attack, in hopes they might break their ranks as they advanced.

Liv. 44. 40.

THESE were the reaſons, which the conſul alledged for his conduct. Livy however is of opinion, that his real purpoſe was to amuſe and reſtrain the Roman ſoldiery, who were impatient of delay; and that, at leaſt for that day, he wiſhed not to venture a battle. At length, an unlooked-for incident put an end to all farther heſitation.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

Towards three in the afternoon, ſome Thracian ſoldiers endeavouring to intercept a Roman convoy, or, according to others, to ſeize a horſe that had eſcaped from the Roman to the Macedonian lines, a ſkirmiſh enſued, and large reinforcements being detached from both armies, the engagement ſoon became general.

AN exact detail of this battle is not at preſent to be obtained, as moſt part of the narrative, which Polybius and Livy had given of it, is long ſince loſt: the principal circumſtances, however, may be gathered from the few facts which Plutarch and the later hiſtorians have preſerved.

IT began in a manner that threatened utter diſcomfiture to the Romans. Having attempted to make an impreſſion on the front of the Macedonian phalanx, the length of whoſe pikes rendered it impoſſible for the Roman ſoldiers to reach the enemy with their ſwords, their firſt line was broken, and cut in pieces; and the ſecond, diſcouraged by the fate of their companions, declined the charge, and retreated. Could this body of Macedonian infantry now have puſhed on, without loſing that compact form and ſolidity which conſtituted its ſtrength, the fate of the Roman army

army had been at once decided. The conſul's preſence of mind ſaved them from deſtruction. He immediately ordered his men to divide into ſmall platoons, and inſtead of ruſhing againſt this dangerous rampart with unavailing intrepidity, to mark the ſeveral breaks and interſtices into which the long-extended front muſt neceſſarily open as it advanced, from the irregularity of the ground, and the different exertions of the combatants; to penetrate between the pikes into thoſe vacant ſpaces, and charge the enemy ſword-in-hand. This manoeuvre had all the ſucceſs that could have been expected. The inſtant a void ſpace appeared, the Romans, piercing through it into the very heart of the phalanx, dealt deſtruction on every ſide. The pike, meanwhile, remained a cumberous embarraſſment in the hands of the Macedonian ſoldier; and the ranks, from their being wedged together, were ſlaughtered without the power of reſiſtance. The Roman armour, beſides, had conſiderable advantage over the Macedonian in cloſe combat. The ſword of the Macedonians was ſhort, and their bucklers were ſmall and ſlight; the Romans, on the contrary, had ſhields that covered them from head to foot, and ſwords ponderous, well-tempered, and of powerful execution.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

At the ſame time that confuſion was thus ſpreading along the whole front of the phalanx, both the flanks and the rear were likewiſe ſucceſsfully attacked. So that this formidable maſs of warriors, which had lately ſo fierce an aſpect, now exhibited one continued ſcene of diſorder and carnage.

The victory was no longer doubtful, and the rage of battle was beginning to ſubſide, when an unexpected event unhappily added to the ſlaughter of this bloody day. The younger Cato, ſon to the

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

the cenſor, and afterwards married to one of the conſul's daughters, had loſt his ſword. After diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the attack on the phalanx by many acts of valour, it had ſprung from his hand in the heat of action, and he had hitherto ſearched for it in vain. For a ſoldier to have returned without his ſword, though he had even returned victorious, had been highly reproachful. He hurried from rank to rank, bewailing the diſaſter, and imploring the aſſiſtance of every companion and friend. A conſiderable number ſoon joined him, and under his command, again ruſhed impatiently on the foe, relentleſs ſlaughter marking their way as they advanced; until at length they diſcovered the fatal ſword under an heap of arms and dead bodies. Elevated with this ſucceſs, they charged the few that remained unbroken, with redoubled ardour. Three thouſand Macedonians, all choſen men, had hitherto kept their ranks; they were now cut off to a man. The reſt of the army fled; but few eſcaped, neither flight nor darkneſs ſaving them from the Roman ſword, and the purſuit being eagerly continued during the night for upwards of fifteen miles. The ſides of the neighbouring hills were covered with the dead and dying; the river Leucus, which the Romans paſſed the following morning, was even then tinged with blood[6].

Bef. Chriſt 168.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio et in Catone. Excerpt. Polyb. 6. 25.

In Paul. Aemilio.

If we are to believe Plutarch, this important action was determined in leſs than one hour. It began, he tells us, at the ninth hour[7], and before the tenth hour the Romans were in full poſſeſſion of victory. The return which he gives us of the dead, is not leſs amazing. Twenty-five thouſand

[6] From this memorable day, the Macedonian phalanx ſeems to have been held in low eſtimation. It gained little credit at Cynoſcephalae; but the battle of Pydna completely ruined its reputation.

[7] The ſame with our three in the afternoon.

of

of the Macedonians fell; of the Romans, one hundred at moſt; according to Scipio Naſica, only eighty[s]. It is alſo remarkable, that the auxiliary troops of the Macedonian king, and particularly the Thracian horſe, who at the battle on the Peneus had done important ſervice, and might have retrieved perhaps the fortune of the day, appear to have taken no ſhare in the engagement. Are we to ſuppoſe, that they had received the conſul's gold? or that they diſdained to fight for a prince, who had not the ſpirit to fight for himſelf? We certainly have it on Livy's authority, that the Biſaltae, a Thracian tribe to whom Perſeus made application in his flight, denied him aſſiſtance; and that the Thracians he had in pay, as ſoon as they had reached the banks of the Strymon, abandoned his ſervice, and retired homeward.

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Bef. Chriſt 168.

Liv. 44. 42.

Ibid. 44.

IMMEDIATELY on the defeat of his army, Perſeus, in terror, fled from Pydna, eſcorted by a conſiderable body of cavalry: but numbers of the Macedonian infantry, who were making their eſcape from the field, coming up, and inſulting the horſemen, to whoſe cowardice and treachery they imputed the diſcomfiture, Perſeus began to fear, that an affray would follow, in which he might poſſibly be involved. Apprehenſive of the conſequences, he ſtruck off from the road into the thickeſt part of a wood, through which, with great difficulty, and with only a few attendants, he at length, about midnight, made his way to Pella.

THE anguiſh of diſappointed ambition, remorſe, and terror, racked the tyrant's mind, and added to his natural ferocity. Euctus and Eudaeus, two

[s] The circumſtances of this battle, as related by Plutarch, will ſuggeſt to the reader of reflection many reaſons for doubting the truth of this account.

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principal officers of his exchequer, having ventured to blame ſome part of his conduct, he ſtabbed them with his own hand. Shocked and alarmed at this act of barbarity, his other lords refuſed to approach him; ſo that, not knowing where to hide himſelf, or whom to truſt, he ſet off again from Pella before break of day, taking with him what treaſure he could carry. The whole force he had now to attend him conſiſted of three captains of auxiliaries (every Macedonian having deſerted him) Evander the Cretan, Neon the Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian, together with five hundred Cretan mercenaries, who had been allured by the hopes of ſharing the treaſure of which they ſaw him in poſſeſſion. He ſuſpected their motive, and to ſave the reſt, ſuffered them to carry off a number of veſſels of gold and ſilver, which he had deſignedly cauſed to be ſcattered in their way.

Bef. Chriſt 168.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

Liv. ubi ſup. 43.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

THE third day after the battle, he entered Amphipolis, to as little purpoſe as he had entered Pella. He would have addreſſed the people, before whom he preſented himſelf with his eldeſt ſon, in hopes of exciting their compaſſion, when a guſh of tears ſtopping his utterance, he made ſigns to Evander to ſpeak for him; but they unanimouſly refuſed to hear him, exclaiming with indignation, 'Away, away, leſt we alſo ſhould be 'involved in ruin.' Driven in this diſgraceful manner from Amphipolis, he haſtened to the ſeaſide, in order to paſs over into Samothrace, where the reputed holineſs of the place promiſed him, he imagined, a ſecure aſylum. But anxious to ſave his treaſure, not leſs than to ſave his life, he could not think of leaving with the Cretans what his fears had induced him to diſperſe among them. Among the veſſels they had carried off, he told them, were certain vaſes which had belonged to Alex-

Liv. 44. 45.

Alexander the Great, for which, if reſtored, they ſhould receive the moſt ample recompence. The Cretans of thoſe days are ſaid to have ſurpaſſed all the nations of the earth in fraud and artifice: they were, nevertheleſs, overmatched on this occaſion. Depending on his royal word, they reſtored to Perſeus moſt of the vaſes he required, to the amount of thirty talents: but he forfeited his promiſe; they received nothing in return. BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 168.

By this time a total revolution had taken place throughout Macedon, one of the moſt rapid recorded in the page of hiſtory. In fifteen days after Aemilius had begun to put his army in motion, all that formidable armament under Perſeus was broken and diſperſed; and in two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had ſubmitted to the conſul. This extraordinary change, effected ſo ſoon and with ſo much facility, Plutarch ſeeks to aſcribe to ſome miraculous interpoſition of the gods, exerted in favour of Rome; 'that a people, 'hitherto eminent for the love they bore to their 'kings, ſhould now, as if the chief bulwark of 'their conſtitution were overthrown, and all were 'fallen with it, have at once given up all thoughts 'of reſiſtance, and have renounced their native 'and kindred princes!' But the cauſe is eaſily diſcovered in the conduct of Perſeus himſelf. The puſillanimity, the cruelties, and ſordidneſs of this unhappy prince had loſt him that affection, which he certainly poſſeſſed in the beginning of his reign, and from which a wiſe and virtuous king had derived ſtrength and ſecurity. But even a foreign yoke ſeemed now, to the Macedonian nation, more tolerable than the domination of a native tyrant, equally mercileſs and oppreſſive [9]. In Aemilio.

As

9 We are ſometimes apt to queſtion the character which the Roman writers have drawn of this prince, and to ſuſpect, that the colouring has been overcharged: but that he ſhould have been thus

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Bef. Chriſt 168. Liv. 45. 5 & ſeq.

As ſoon as it was known that Perſeus had fled to Samothrace, the praetor Octavius ſailed thither in purſuit of him. Perſeus had taken ſhelter in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux. The difficulty was, how to draw him from thence, without violating the privileges of a ſanctuary, held in the higheſt reverence by the pagan world. Evander had accompanied him; and the Romans availed themſelves of this circumſtance. The prieſts, to whom the ſuperintendency of the iſland belonged, were aſked, whether it was not a defilement of the ſacred ground, that a polluted perſon ſhould there find a retreat? and why this holy aſylum was permitted to Evander, the aſſaſſin of king Eumenes, and the impious profaner of the Delphic temple? Perſeus, who ſoon had notice that Evander was not to be protected, felt, with excruciating agony, the conſequences of his being delivered up. The king had not one guilty ſecret, to which this worthleſs aſſociate was not privy; and in the hands of the Romans, the hopes of life might tempt him to reveal all. Apprehenſive of the event, he endeavoured to perſuade Evander to prevent, by a voluntary death, the tortures that certainly awaited him, ſhould the Romans once have him in their power. The Cretan ſeemed convinced, and agreed to poiſon himſelf; but the king perceiving that he procraſtinated, and beginning to fear that he meditated an eſcape, procured him to be murdered, and corrupted Theondas, chief of the Samothracian prieſts, to report that he died by his own hands. This perfidious treatment of the unhappy inſtrument he himſelf had employed, and whoſe chief guilt it was, that he

thus abandoned by his own ſubjects, forms a preſumptive evidence againſt him, to which it is difficult to give an anſwer. Forſaken by a people lately zealous in his ſervice, it is hardly poſſible, but his adminiſtration muſt have been beyond meaſure oppreſſive.

had

had too faithfully obeyed the orders of ſuch a maſter, deprived Perſeus of his few attendants that remained, almoſt all of them going over to the Romans. The Macedonian monarch had before this ſolicited Aemilius to accept his ſubmiſſion; but though this requeſt was conceived in the moſt abject terms, the conſul refuſed to liſten to any propoſal that was not accompanied with a reſignation of the regal title. The only reſource that now remained to this wretched prince was, to attempt an eſcape to the Thracian coaſt, and to implore the protection of Cotys his late ally. Oroandes, the captain of a Cretan veſſel, who lay off Samothrace, had engaged to take him on board the enſuing night, when under favour of the darkneſs he might elude the vigilance of his enemies. He had accordingly cauſed his treaſure to be ſhipped; but when he reached the ſhore, to his inexpreſſible mortification, Oroandes was already ſailed with all his wealth. Thus bereaved of his treaſure, and expoſed to his enemies, he wandered diſconſolate for ſome hours along the beach, and was forced, at the approach of morning, to ſhrink back to his ſanctuary, which with difficulty he reached before the Romans could prepare to intercept him. In addition to his misfortunes, Ion of Theſſalonica, his chief favourite, to whoſe care he had intruſted the younger part of his family, now deſerted alſo to the Roman admiral, to whom he delivered up all the royal children committed to his charge. Abandoned thus by all but his eldeſt ſon Philip, without a probability of eſcape, without means even of ſubſiſtence, he was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering at laſt to Octavius, who immediately ſet ſail with his priſoner to Amphipolis, and from thence tranſported him to the conſul's camp.

Bef. Chriſt 168. Liv. 45. 4.

AEMILIUS

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Bef. Chriſt 168.

Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

AEMILIUS received the king in a manner which, whatever Perſeus deſerved, did the victor little honour. The Macedonian, remarkably mean under every reverſe of fortune, approached with the moſt abject ſervility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his ſuppliant arms, to graſp the knees of Aemilius. 'Why, wretched 'man,' ſaid the proud Roman, 'doſt thou acquit 'fortune of what might ſeem her crime, by a be-'haviour which makes it appear that thou deſerveſt 'her indignation? Why doſt thou diſgrace my 'laurels, and detract from my glory, by ſhewing 'thyſelf an abject adverſary, and unworthy of 'having a Roman to contend with? Courage in 'the unfortunate is revered even by an enemy; 'and cowardice, though attended with ſucceſs, is, 'by the Romans, treated with contempt.'

THIS ſtern and humiliating addreſs, which a more generous conqueror would have ſpared, he ſeemed afterwards to temper, by raiſing him from the ground, and bidding him, nevertheleſs, to hope every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. Of this boaſted clemency, Perſeus ſoon had the moſt bitter experience. A ſpectacle to his enemies in the ſtreets of Rome, he was forced to adorn the victor's pomp, expoſed, with all his family, before the conſul's triumphal car. With much earneſtneſs he begged of Aemilius to ſave him from this ignominy: 'It is in his own power 'to ſave himſelf,' replied the obdurate Roman. The triumph ended, he was caſt into a dark and dreary priſon, the common receptacle of the meaneſt malefactors, and fed on the ſame allowance with theſe outcaſts of ſociety; until Aemilius, probably aſhamed [10] of ſuch exceſs of cruelty,

[10] Plutarch tells us, that thoſe Macedonian nobles, who were obliged to remove to Rome, found afterwards an active protector in Aemilius.

procured

procured his removal to a cleaner apartment, and took care he ſhould be ſupplied with better food; but, unable to brook his almoſt unparalleled reverſe of fortune, and the contempt with which he was treated, this wretched prince ſoon after ſtarved himſelf to death. If we are to believe others, he ended his days in a manner yet more dreadful. The ſoldiers who guarded him, from ſome provocation which he had given, marked him as the object of their vengeance, and finding no other means more effectual, contrived to hinder him from ſleeping. They watched him by turns, and uſed ſuch diligence to effect their purpoſe, that, worn out at laſt with want of reſt, he expired. His eldeſt ſon Philip[11], and one of his younger ſons, are ſuppoſed to have died before him. Another ſon, Alexander, became ſo great a proficient in the Roman language, as to be able to diſcharge the office of a writing clerk; in which capacity he is ſaid to have been employed by the chief magiſtrates of Rome. Bef. Chriſt 168.

SUCH is the uncertainty of human greatneſs! and ſuch the cloſe of the royal houſe of Macedon, one of the moſt illuſtrious the world had ever ſeen, and whoſe empire ſeemed, by its ſtrength and vigour, to promiſe ſtability for a length of ages! Perſeus reigned eleven years. And from the death of Alexander the Great, to the final ſubverſion of the Macedonian monarchy, one hundred and ſixty years only had elapſed.

THE ſpirit of Rome appeared ſtill more glaringly deſpotic in the ſettlement of Macedon, and the policy ſhe now obſerved towards the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt the conſul in arranging the Macedonian affairs, the principal outlines of which arrange- Bef. Chriſt 167. Liv. 45. 29.

[11] Livy 42. 52. ſays he was his brother, and his ſon only by adoption.

ment

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ment had previouſly been traced out to them at Rome. In conſequence of this plan, a new form of government took place throughout Macedon. The whole kingdom was divided into four diſtricts; the inhabitants of each were to have no connexion, intermarriages, or exchange of poſſeſſions, with thoſe of the other diſtricts, but every part to remain totally ſeparated and diſtinct from the reſt. They were neither to fell timber themſelves, nor to permit others to fell any. They were not to import ſalt; nor even, where they had it in plenty, to export it, but under certain regulations laid down by their Roman maſters. They were prohibited the uſe of arms, unleſs in thoſe places which were expoſed to the incurſions of the barbarian borderers. They were permitted to work their iron and copper mines; but the working of thoſe of gold and ſilver was ſtrictly prohibited; probably leſt the Macedonians, by thus acquiring wealth, ſhould regain any portion of their former greatneſs. They were excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of government; ſome unimportant offices in the civil department excepted, which were delegated to certain municipal officers annually choſen by the Macedonian people. Whilſt all the nobles of Macedon, all who had held any command in the king's fleets or armies; all governors of towns, and officers of his court; all, in a word, who had been in any ſhape diſtinguiſhed by high birth, large poſſeſſions, elegant living, or any circumſtance which raiſed them above the level of the vulgar, were ordered, with all their children above the age of fifteen, under pain of death, to leave their native land, and tranſport themſelves into Italy.

Bef. Chriſt 167.

Liv. 45 32.

A MORE ſevere humiliation could hardly have been deviſed: indeed, a more complete debaſement almoſt baffles imagination. Muſt we not then

then turn with diſguſt and indignation from thoſe writers, who, after the narration of ſuch facts, wiſh to convey the idea, that the Roman conqueſt beſtowed liberty on Macedon? But it ſeems, that the overthrow of royalty, and the ſubjecting a kingdom to the far more oppreſſive yoke of a Roman ſenate, was, in the language of Rome, *to give liberty to a people.* In one point alone, the alteration ſeems at firſt ſight to have been favourable to the conquered. They were to pay the Romans one half only of the taxes they were accuſtomed to pay to their kings. Had this indulgence been even meant as a relief, it had been a poor compenſation for a diſmembered kingdom, bereaved of its chief ſtrength by the expulſion of its nobleſt and moſt reſpectable families, and laid proſtrate beneath a foreign yoke. But, in truth, even this diminution of taxes, in the preſent impoveriſhed ſtate of Macedon, far from being dictated by mercy, was the reſult of neceſſity. It was the utmoſt that Macedon could bear. The Roman conſul had not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the numerous magazines and granaries which Perſeus had erected throughout his territories, and plundered the royal palaces of all the rich furniture, precious vaſes, and other coſtly manufactures, in which they are ſaid to have abounded; he had alſo drained the kingdom of its wealth, having every where ſeized on all the treaſure he could find. The amount, there is reaſon to conjecture, muſt have been prodigious, as it appears, that the Romans themſelves were induſtrious to conceal it, every one of their hiſtorians giving us a different account of the matter. From one circumſtance, however, which we have on the authority both of Cicero [12] and Plutarch, ſome judgment may be

BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 167.

[12] Tantum in aerarium pecuniae (Paulus) invexit, ut unius imperatoris praeda finem attulerit tributorum—ſays Cicero. De Off. 2. 22.

formed.

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formed. In conſequence of the money brought into the treaſury by Aemilius on his return from the Macedonian war, the Romans were exempted from taxation during the ſpace of an hundred and twenty-five years [13].

Bef. Chriſt 167.

THE arrangement of the adminiſtration of government in Illyricum was conducted on the ſame plan with that of Macedon

AEMILIUS concluded the ſettlement of Macedon with the celebration of triumphal games at Amphipolis, to which all the neighbouring nations both of Europe and of Aſia were invited. The magnificence exhibited on this occaſion ſurpaſſed, we are informed, all that this part of the world had ever ſeen. Beſides the extraordinary pomp and elegance with which the various ſports were introduced, and the richneſs of the prizes beſtowed on the ſucceſsful candidates, all the ornaments of gold and ſilver, with every thing precious, elegant, and rare, that had been found in the numerous palaces of the Macedonian princes, were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, and the ſcenery beautifully diverſified with ſuch prodigious quantities of curious armour, exquiſite paintings, and finiſhed ſtatues, that the eye was not only filled, but dazzled with the variegated profuſion. The conſul prided himſelf in exhibiting theſe ſplendid marks of victory; and he was probably no leſs pleaſed with the opportunity of impreſſing on the different nations who witneſſed them an awful idea of the power of Rome, before which, an empire, ſeemingly ſo formidable, and provided with ſuch ample means of ſtrength and defence, had not been able to ſtand. The vaſt concourſe of people that crowded to the fight, as well as the Roman armies in the

Liv. 45 32. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

[13] Until the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, who were conſuls in the firſt war between Caeſar and Antony.

neigh-

neighbourhood, were all entertained, at the ſame time, by Aemilius, in the moſt ſumptuous manner, from the ſtores which had lately belonged to the Macedonian king. And ſuch was the abundant proviſion of all things, that theſe feaſts were not only continued as long as the games laſted, but the gueſts were, at their departure, preſented with whatever they choſe to take away. In the midſt of the different pompous pageants produced at this feſtival, was ſeen to ariſe an immenſe pile of various weapons and inſtruments of war, which at the cloſe of the ſolemnity the Roman ſoldiers, upon a certain ſignal, ſet on fire and deſtroyed. Theſe, it ſeems, were the leaſt valuable part of the Macedonian arms, not worth the tranſporting to Rome, and improper to be left in the hands of a vanquiſhed people. BOOK VII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 167.

FROM Amphipolis Aemilius directed his courſe to Epire. The Epirots had ſubmitted ſome time before; and thoſe leaders who had been inſtrumental in promoting the alliance with Macedon, and who had not ſaved themſelves by flight, had all fallen by the ſword, or been delivered up to the Romans. The conſul now gave out, that the Roman garriſons were immediately to be withdrawn from Epire, and the whole country reſtored to the enjoyment of its liberties. Having therefore ſummoned ten of the principal inhabitants from every town to attend him, he commanded them to collect whatever ſilver or gold was to be found in their houſes or temples, in order to be delivered, at an appointed day, to perſons to be commiſſioned by him for that purpoſe. The requiſition was punctually complied with; and lulled into profound ſecurity, the Epirots fondly pleaſed themſelves with the thought, that this heavy contribution was all the penalty they were to incur.

BUT

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 167. Liv. 45. 34. Plut. in Paul. Aemilio.

BUT they knew not the atrocity of Roman policy. Parties of ſoldiers, under various pretences, were diſpatched to their different towns ſo as to arrive about the ſame time, with orders, that on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, they ſhould ſeize for ſlaves every native of Epire, level the walls of their cities, and totally deſpoil them of all they poſſeſſed. The gold and ſilver having, in obedience to the conſul's commands, been accordingly brought in and delivered to the Roman officers, the ſignal was given, and an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons, unheard, unconvicted, unſuſpecting, without any particular crime even alledged againſt them, were at one inſtant doomed to ſlavery, their dwellings given up to the ſpoiler, and all their towns, to the number of ſeventy, laid in ruins: a deed ſo horrid, and of ſuch exceeding perfidy, that, to uſe the words of a judicious hiſtorian, *I ſhould not believe it, had any one writer ſaid to the contrary*[14].

PLUTARCH[15] endeavours to exculpate Aemilius. This military execution, he would have us believe, was altogether contrary to the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition; and he only yielded obedience to orders, which it was not in his power to control. Should this excuſe be admitted, in what light muſt the Roman ſenate appear! But from the manner in which Aemilius had juſt before treated the Aetolians, we are led to form of him a very different judgment. Violent diſputes had for ſome time prevailed among the people of Aetolia, a great number of them having declared in favour of the Romans, whilſt others were ſtill

[14] Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World.

[15] Plutarch ſays, Every ſoldier had only eleven drachmas to his ſhare (ſomewhat more than ſeven ſhillings.) Livy ſays, That every horſeman got 403 denarii (about 12l. 18s. 4d.) and every foot-ſoldier half that ſum.

for

for maintaining an oppoſition to a power, which they ſaw threatened ruin to the Aetolian liberties. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of Aemilius in Macedon, two chiefs of the Roman faction, Lyſiſcus and Tiſippus, obtained from A. Baebius, the Roman commander in Aetolia, a body of ſoldiers; with which ſurrounding the place where the convention of the Aetolian eſtates was held, he fell unexpectedly on thoſe in the contrary intereſt, and having put to the ſword five hundred and fifty of the principal perſons, baniſhed the reſt, and confiſcated the poſſeſſions of them all. The matter was ſoon after laid before Aemilius; and the families of thoſe who had periſhed, together with the unhappy exiles, made application to him for redreſs. His anſwer is memorable. The only queſtion before him, he ſaid, was, 'To what party 'the ſufferers had belonged; if not friends to 'Rome, whatever they had ſuffered, they had 'ſuffered deſervedly:' nor would he reverſe the iniquitous decree. Yet ſo flagitious in the eyes of the Romans themſelves was the barbarous deed, that this acquittal of the perpetrators of it did not ſave Baebius: he was pronounced guilty of having debaſed the Roman ſoldiery, by making them the inhuman inſtruments of the perfidious maſſacre.

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 167.

Liv. 45. 28.

Ibid. 31.

FROM Livy it appears, that this deciſion of the Aetolian cauſe, in which Rome ſeems indeed to have laid aſide all diſguiſe, completed the humiliation of moſt of the Grecian commonwealths. The creatures of Rome became now all-powerful in almoſt every place; they obtained poſſeſſion of every magiſtracy, and the direction of every meaſure: whilſt thoſe who preſumed to vindicate their ancient liberties, or even to recommend temperate counſels, were marked out as harbouring treaſonable deſigns againſt their Roman lords, or

BOOK VII. Sect. 2.

or of having ſome ſecret connection with their enemies.

Bef. Chriſt 167.

THE Romans, on their part, did every thing to confirm them in this ſervile dejection. Neon the Boeotian, and Andronicus the Aetolian, two perſons of the firſt rank in their reſpective countries, had ſerved under Perſeus: they were both beheaded, as having departed from the allegiance they owed to Rome. Emiſſaries were diſpatched throughout Boeotia, and all the adjacent ſtates, with ſpecial inſtructions, to make inquiry concerning all who had favoured the Macedonian intereſt, and report them to Aemilius; when the accuſed were commanded immediately to attend him to Italy, in order to take their trial. This mode of inquiry was extended even to Aſia. It having appeared that Antiſſa, a city of Leſbos, had in the courſe of the late war received the Macedonian fleet into her harbour, and ſupplied them with proviſions, Labeo was ſent to exterminate the inhabitants, and to lay the place in ruins.

OF all the Grecian ſtates, Achaia alone remained not yet totally ſubdued, having hitherto been exempted from this ſpecies of inquiry. The reaſons of this apparent lenity, however, we are not to look for in the moderation of the Romans. A portion of the ſpirit of ancient days ſtill animated that republic, from which they apprehended much oppoſition. And though even there they had gained over ſeveral leaders, who were prepared to betray the liberties of Achaia, it was neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection, leſt the deſtruction of their own creatures ſhould defeat the Roman deſigns. Theſe conſiderations Livy himſelf mentions. He adds another conſideration, which, for the honour of his country, a leſs candid hiſtorian had concealed. 'After the ſevereſt

Liv. 45. 31. Polyb. Legat. 94.

ſcrutiny.

ſcrutiny, not the leaſt veſtige was found of a correſpondence having ever ſubſiſted between any member of the Achaean body and the late king of Macedon.' Accordingly, in order to ground an accuſation, *invention* was to ſupply the place of *evidence*. On this account it was thought expedient, that ſome of the Roman commiſſioners ſhould, in perſon, paſs over into Achaia, and either by terror or ſubtilty, bring the Achaean diet to make conceſſions, of which advantage might be taken at ſome future period. Bef. Chriſt 167.

THE diſhonourable ſcheme was accordingly carried into execution; with what ſucceſs, will be ſeen in the following pages.

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION I.

ACHAIA, guiltleſs of any connection with Macedon, remained unſuſpicious of the Roman machinations. Whatever jealouſy ſhe might have entertained of the deſigns of Rome againſt Greece, or however averſe, in general, the Achaeans might have been to the total overthrow of the Macedonians, yet the follies and the crimes of Perſeus, with the apprehenſion of being involved in his ruin, had given a bias ſo different to the national councils, that, far from aſſiſting that depraved and puſillanimous monarch, repeated offers had even been made to ſecond the Roman

Bef. Chriſt 167.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

operations in Macedon with the united ſtrength of Achaia. But their innocence or guilt was a matter perfectly indifferent to the Romans. *Is Achaia formidable?* was the ſole queſtion at Rome.

Bef. Chriſt 167.

THOUGH much fallen from her antient ſplendour, Achaia ſtill maintained a reſpectable appearance. That form of government which had been the foundation of her power, notwithſtanding the wide breaches made by foreign cabals and domeſtic faction, ſtill ſubſiſted. She was at the head of the Peloponneſian ſtates, and ſhe poſſeſſed a territory well cultivated and populous. Her cities were numerous; and ſome of them, Corinth particularly, ſuperbly ornamented with thoſe works of magnificence and taſte, which are conſidered as indications of opulence and power. All theſe, to a Roman eye, were objects of envy and of rapacious deſire. The Achaeans were, beſides, diſtinguiſhed by their diſcipline, and that kind of warlike knowledge which experience alone can teach; while many of their leaders were conſpicuous in the cabinet and the field. What rendered all theſe circumſtances the more formidable to Roman jealouſy and ſuſpicion, was, that they could not be ſuppoſed to have beheld the fate of Macedon with an indifferent eye; and yet not the leaſt trace was to be diſcovered of their having had any correſpondence with Perſeus: an alarming proof, according to the interpretation of Rome, of their well-concerted ſchemes, and of the art with which they were conducted.

FRAUGHT with theſe impreſſions, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, the two Roman commiſſioners who had Achaia for their department, entered the Achaean diet. The infamous Callicrates, whoſe perfidious practices againſt his country have been already recorded, had previouſly delivered to Claudius and his collegue a liſt of

Polyb. Legat. 94. Liv. 45. 31. Pauſan. in Achaicis.

of all thoſe citizens who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their zeal for the liberties of Achaia, and from whom an oppoſition to Roman meaſures was of courſe to be expected. The commiſſioners accordingly opened their addreſs to the diet with a complaint, 'That ſome of the firſt men of Achaia had 'acted in concert with Macedon.' At the ſame time, they required that ſentence of death ſhould be immediately pronounced againſt them; and promiſed, that after ſentence ſhould be given, they would produce the names of the guilty. 'After 'ſentence is given!' exclaimed the aſſembly; 'what ſort of juſtice would that be? firſt name 'thoſe whom you accuſe, make good your charge, 'and we ſhall be ready to proceed againſt them.'' ——'I name then,' reſumed the commiſſioner, 'all thoſe, who have borne the office of chief ma-'giſtrate of Achaia, or have been the leaders of 'your armies.'——'In that caſe,' anſwered Xeno, a noble Achaean of eminent worth, 'I alſo ſhall 'be accounted guilty, for I have commanded the 'armies of Achaia; and yet I am ready to make 'proof of my innocence, either here, or before 'the ſenate of Rome.'——'You ſay well,' replied the ſubtle Roman, laying hold on his laſt words; 'let the *ſenate of Rome* then be the tribunal, before 'which you ſhall anſwer.' A decree was accordingly obtained, by which all whom he ſhould name were to be ſent as delinquents to Rome, in order to anſwer for their conduct.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 167.

THUS, by a ſentence general, indiſcriminate, arbitrary, and ill-founded, was the ſtrength of Achaia, her noble leaders, her ableſt and moſt faithful counſellors, in number above a thouſand, tranſported into a foreign land. It was an act of oppreſſion, ſays a Grecian writer, beyond the moſt daring attempts even of Philip or Alexander, in the meridian of their power.

Pauſan. in Achaicis.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

Ref. Chriſt 167.

THIS tranſaction, ſo reproachful to Rome, exhibits the noble remains of virtue which ſtill exiſted in the midſt of Grecian degeneracy. Every other probable expedient to enſlave had doubtleſs been already tried by the Romans; and it was not, we may ſafely pronounce, till after the failure of all thoſe arts of corruption, which they had practiſed with ſuch fatal ſucceſs throughout the other Grecian ſtates, that they had recourſe to a deed ſo replete with unbluſhing and infamous oppreſſion. What then muſt Achaia have been; that in this little corner of Greece, not three or four choſen ſpirits only, but upwards of one thouſand patriots ſhould have been found, whoſe integrity had remained unſhaken amidſt every effort of corruption, and every impreſſion of fear; who, unſeduced by the ſplendid offers of Rome, and unintimidated by her arms, devoted themſelves with a manly ſteadineſs to the ſervice of their country!

THIS, as a famous hiſtorian [1] juſtly calls it, was truly *the captivity of Greece*. From the ſubſequent treatment of theſe illuſtrious priſoners, the deſigns of Rome appeared notoriouſly conſpicuous. Inſtead of admitting them to an hearing, and inſtead of the ſmalleſt inquiry into the truth of the accuſation, the ſenate imperiouſly decreed, that they ſhould be diſperſed through the cities of Etruria. This was to add cruelty to injuſtice, by depriving them of that mutual intercourſe which alleviates the ſorrows of the unfortunate. The only colouring they could give to theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings was, that their cauſe had been already heard, and their condemnation pronounced, by their own countrymen. Repeated deputations were in vain ſent from the Achaean

Polyb. Legat. 105, 122. 129, 130. 137. and Pauſan. ub. ſup.

[1] Raleigh, Hiſtory of the World.

ſtates,

ſtates, diſavowing this pretended trial, and requeſting the ſenate to take cogniſance of the matter. But theſe cares were ineffectual. The united power, however, of Roman influence and policy could not prove the priſoners to be guilty; and yet their acquittal was a meaſure, which Rome was determined never to permit. The anſwer of the ſenate to one of theſe deputations, addreſſed to the chief magiſtrates of Achaia, has been preſerved by Polybius. It betrays the whole ſecret, and diſcloſes the ſhameleſs rapacity of Roman artifice. 'It is neither advantageous for *you*,' ſay the ſenate, 'who, by the removal of ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, are now at the head of the 'Achaean affairs—nor for the good of your *people*, whoſe wiſeſt policy it is to ſubmit in ſilence, 'and who might be raiſed to bolder hopes than we 'mean they ſhould, were their high ſpirited 'chieftains to be reſtored to them again—that the 'exiles ſhould be ſuffered to return into Achaia.' Thus did the Roman fathers endeavour, at the ſame time, to work upon the hopes and fears of the Achaean magiſtrates, by reminding them, in this indirect manner, that the exile of their countrymen had placed them in the ſeat of power, and that a ſecure poſſeſſion could only be inſured by the abſence of thoſe illuſtrious citizens, whoſe return, with their ſuperior talents and influence in the ſtate would reduce *them* to their former inſignificancy, and rouſe the ſpirit of the *people* to a vain ſtruggle againſt the impoſition of a yoke, which Rome was determined to impoſe. At length, after a period of ſeventeen years, when more than two thirds of the unfortunate victims had periſhed, either by the lawleſs outrage of their tyrants, or by that conſuming

Bef. Chriſt 167.

Legat. 105.

BOOK VIII. Sect. I.

Bef. Chriſt 150.

ſuming anguiſh which preys on the unhappy [2]; and when Achaia was ſo reduced, that the interpoſition of the remaining few could be of little avail; the ſenate granted to the ſurvivors the permiſſion ſo often applied for in vain [3]. Nor had even this indulgence been obtained, had it not been for Cato's repeated expoſtulations: 'Shall we for ever be debating,' ſaid he to the ſenate, 'whether a few old Greeks ſhall have leave to be 'buried in their native land?' An expreſſion of his to Polybius the hiſtorian, who was one of the exiles, paints on this occaſion, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the opinion which that venerable Roman entertained of his countrymen. When the permiſſion to return home had been at laſt granted to them, Polybius implored Cato's mediation with the ſenate, that they might alſo be reſtored to their honours. 'Polybius,' ſaid he, 'you do not imi-'tate the wiſdom of Ulyſſes; you are for going 'back to the den of the Cyclops, in queſt of the 'hat and belt you left behind you.'

Plut. in Catone.

SEVENTEEN years, abounding in events, had elapſed, as we have obſerved, from the firſt perpetration of this act of deſpotiſm, to the return of the remaining exiles. We have given an unbroken and circumſtantial detail of the whole of this memorable event; and ſhall now endeavour to delineate the other tranſactions of this period, which are not leſs important or intereſting.

[2] Pauſanias informs us (in Achaicis) that as many of theſe illuſtrious captives, as were found attempting to eſcape out of the hands of their oppreſſors, were put to death without mercy by the Romans. What a dreadful charge is this againſt Rome!

[3] After ſome years, Polybius informs us, the ſolicitations of the Achaean ſtates were only employed in behalf of a few of thoſe captives, whom they applied for by name; *for*, ſays he, *length of time had conſumed almoſt all the reſt*; *men, whoſe memories well deſerve to be held in reverence*: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλείστους, σχεδὸν ἅπαντας, ὁ χρόνος ἤδη καταναλάκει, τούς γε δὴ καὶ μνήμης ἀξίους. See Legat. 212.

THE

THE carrying to Rome as delinquents the chief men of Achaia was only a ſmall part of the Roman plan of ſubjugation. Having removed that barrier againſt their tyrannical deſigns, the Romans took the remaining ſteps with more confidence of ſucceſs, and contemplated with a ſecret ſatisfaction the future completion of their ſchemes. What had principally contributed to render the Achaeans formidable, was the aſſociation, which they had framed, of the ſeveral ſtates of Peloponneſus and the adjoining parts. To diſſolve this confederacy was the object the Romans had in view. For this purpoſe Sulpicius Gallus was ſent to Greece, with inſtructions to encourage faction and diſſenſion among the ſtates compoſing the Achaean league, and in the name of the Roman ſenate to hold out the lure of protection and aſſiſtance to all who ſhould conſent to be diſmembered from that powerful body. The temper of the times was but too favourable to this inſidious plan. Numbers, to ingratiate themſelves with the Romans, were aſſiduouſly employed in ſowing every where the ſeeds of diſcontent, and in foſtering a jealouſy of the preſent eſtabliſhment. The Spartans, above all, bore with impatience their preſent abject condition, and wiſhed eagerly for an opportunity of attempting a revolution. The Achaean councils too were perplexed, unſtable, and turbulent; the families of thoſe who had been carried off into Italy, filled all Achaia with their complaints; the people warmly eſpouſed the ſame intereſt; and under the pretence of ſupporting this public-ſpirited cauſe, the factious and moſt contemptible of the citizens had got poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration. A general ferment thus prevailed throughout all Greece; in which there was ſcarcely a ſingle ſtate or city, that was not tainted with corruption, or inflamed with anger.

Bef. Chriſt 166.

Juſt. 34. 1. Pauſan. ub. ſup.

IN

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, it was hardly poſſible that Sulpicius could have failed to effectate the purpoſes of his commiſſion. Pleuron, a city of Aetolia, which ſome time before had been incorporated into the Achaean league, now applied to be relieved from this connection, and was pronounced an independent ſtate. A difference about their boundaries, between the Lacedemonians and Argives, was referred to the arbitration of the Roman commiſſioner. He might eaſily have ſettled the diſpute; but this would not have accorded with his views. He choſe rather to leave it to the deciſion of Callicrates the Achaean, who being the moſt inſolent of all the Greeks, and one of the moſt flagitious inſtruments of Rome, was therefore the moſt likely to widen the breach. There was, beſides, a farther policy in this. The Spartans, exaſperated by the treatment which they were probably to receive from Callicrates, would have an additional reaſon for reſenting the domination of Achaia, to whoſe ſupreme court of judicature they, as part of the Achaean body, were now amenable; and they might reſolve upon a ſeparation, and demand their independency. Sulpicius accordingly gave them a private intimation, that Rome was ready to encourage and aſſiſt them in their expectations of this kind. Similar intimations, it appears from Pauſanias, were given to all the ſtates belonging to the confederacy of Achaia. So that this noble fabric of alliance, being ſhaken and diſjoined, became every day more feeble and more ruinous.

Bef. Chriſt 166.

Pauſ. in Achaicis.

Pauſan. ibid. Plut. in Catone.

The Athenians mean time, impoveriſhed by their continual wars with Macedon, had been tempted by the proſperous circumſtances of the people of Oropus[4], to make a predatory incurſion on their territory, and had taken and plun-

[4] A city on on the confines of Attica.

dered

dered their capital. The Oropians carried their complaint before the ſenate of Rome; who (with what view is obvious) inſtead of determining the matter themſelves, left it to the deciſion of the Sicyonians. They accordingly condemned Athens to pay a fine of five hundred talents; from which ſentence the Athenians having appealed to the Roman ſenate[5], the Romans, ſtill farther to excite the

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Bef. Chriſt 166.

[5] The conteſt, in which this affair of Oropus involved the Athenians, holds a diſtinguiſhed place in hiſtory, from the ſhare it had in introducing the arts of Greece into Rome. The Athenians, according to Plutarch in Catone, had ſent thither Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic, (to whom Cicero, Orator. 2. and Aulus Gellius 7. 14. add Critolaus the Peripatetic) to plead their cauſe before the ſenate; the three perſons, doubtleſs, from whoſe eloquence they thought the greateſt ſucceſs was to be expected. Some years before, certain Greek philoſophers and orators had attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves in Rome; but thoſe Romans who ſtill retained the ancient ſpirit of their anceſtors, apprehenſive that this kind of ſtudy might check the martial ardour which they rather wiſhed to encourage, procured an edict to be iſſued, by which they were expelled the city. This, according to Suetonius de Clar. Rhetor. happened in the year of Rome 592, in the conſulſhip of C. Fannius Strabo and M. Valerius Meſſalla. The preſent philoſophers ſtood on a different footing. They came inveſted with the ſacred character of ambaſſadors, and by the law of nations were entitled to an honourable reception upon their arrival. All the Roman youths therefore, who had a taſte for learning, crouded to hear them. Above all, they were charmed with the impetuous and forcible eloquence of Carneades, *who*, ſays Cicero, *never attempted to ſupport an argument, which he did not eſtabliſh, or to combat an opinion, which he did not overthrow*: 'qui nullam unquam rem defendit, quam non probârit; nullam 'oppugnavit, quam non everterit:' ſo that his reputation filled in a ſhort time the whole city, and drew an audience of the politeſt and moſt conſiderable perſons in Rome. The report was, 'that 'there had come from Greece a man of aſtoniſhing powers, whoſe 'eloquence, more than human, was able to control and diſarm 'the fierceſt paſſions, and who had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion 'on the Roman youths, that, abandoning every former amuſe-'ment andpurſuit, they burned with an enthuſiaſtic love of philo-'ſophy alone.' The fathers in general were delighted to behold their ſons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow theſe wonderful men. Cato, on the contrary, was alarmed. From the moment he perceived this paſſion for Grecian learning to prevail, he began to fear, that the Roman youths would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to reputation for arms. When he found, that the fame of theſe philoſophers was riſing higher every day, and that even ſome of the ſenatorial

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. the mutual enmity and contention of the Grecian ſtates, pronounced the puniſhment to be exceſſive, and reduced it to a mulct of an hundred talents, but without taking the leaſt ſtep to inforce its payment. The Oropians, thus baffled, implored the protection of Menalcidas, at this time firſt magiſtrate of Achaia; who, in conſideration of a reward of ten talents, engaged to oblige the Athenians to do them juſtice. Callicrates, then at the head of the Roman faction, and therefore exceedingly powerful in the ſtate, was prevailed upon, by the promiſe of three talents, to join with him in perſuading the Achaean diet to ſupport the cauſe of Oropus. This compact, however, was of little ſervice to that city; for the Athenian garriſon, as ſoon as they heard that the Achaeans were haſtening to its relief, pillaged it a ſecond time, and carrying off every thing of value, had evacuated the place, and marched back to Athens, before Menalcidas appeared. This hireling protector contrived, however, to extort the ten talents from the

Bef. Chriſt 166.

natorial order did not diſdain to tranſlate their ſpeeches into Latin, he had no longer patience, but went to the ſenate, and preferred a complaint againſt the magiſtrates for detaining ſo long ſuch ambaſſadors as theſe, who could perſuade the people to whatever they pleaſed. 'Decide in their affairs,' ſaid he to them, 'as ſpeedily 'as poſſible, that, returning to their ſchools, they may hold forth 'to the Grecian youth; and that our young men may again give 'attention to the laws and the magiſtrates.' He had conceived an opinion, Plutarch tells us, which he was wont to deliver with a kind of prophetic confidence, 'that, when the Romans came tho-'roughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would loſe the 'empire of the world.' The event in ſome meaſure juſtified the prediction; Rome having loſt her conſtitution and liberties, at the very time ſhe had reached the ſummit of Grecian literature, and had made the greateſt progreſs in every kind of erudition. This, however, is not to be charged to the account of literary improvement: the cauſe is to be ſought in that irreligion, that luxury, that diſſoluteneſs and general immorality, the attendant and diſgrace of thoſe times, in which the greateſt politeneſs of taſte and refinement of living are found. Rome ceaſed to be free, not becauſe ſhe ceaſed to be rude and ignorant, but becauſe, corrupted by proſperity, ſhe ceaſed to be virtuous. The reader will readily conclude, that, defended by ſuch able advocates, the Athenian cauſe was victorious.

wretched

wretched Oropians; and to complete his baſeneſs, he defrauded Callicrates of his ſhare, under the pretence that this Achaean, who in fact had fulfilled his engagements, having failed in the performance of the ſtipulated ſervices, was entitled to no reward. The vengeance of diſappointed avarice is blind and unrelenting. As ſoon therefore as Menalcidas was out of office, Callicrates, though himſelf a traitor to his country, accuſed him before the convention of the Achaean eſtates of having betrayed the intereſts of Achaia to the Romans, and of having laboured to detach Sparta from the Achaean confederacy. So powerful was his influence, that the condemnation of Menalcidas was inevitable, had he not, with the three talents which were to have been the portion of Callicrates, bribed Diaeus of Megalopolis, his ſucceſſor in the office of chief magiſtrate; who managed the buſineſs with ſuch dexterity, that he was acquitted, in oppoſition to the general ſenſe of the aſſembly.

Before Chriſt 166.

THESE intrigues in the Achaean councils, which ſtrongly marked the degeneracy of Grecian manners, had ſerious conſequences. Diaeus, finding that the protection given to Menalcidas had loſt him the confidence of his countrymen, became ſolicitous to reinſtate himſelf in their affections, and formed the plan of bringing the Spartans into a total ſubjection to Achaia; a meaſure moſt grateful to the Achaean people, whoſe jealouſy of Sparta nothing could extinguiſh. By the laſt arrangement made by the Romans, all matters of a civil nature, in which Sparta had any concern, were to be finally determined by the Achaean diet. Diaeus pretended, that by this arragement all their criminal cauſes were likewiſe to be decided by the ſame tribunal. The admiſſion of this claim, with their former ſubjection in civil matters, inveſted

Paus. in Achaicis.

Achaia

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. Achaia with full power over the property and lives of the Spartans, and reduced them to the moſt abject ſtate of dependence. The legality of the claim was therefore denied, and Sparta would have appealed to Rome: but the Achaeans alledged, that ſuch an appeal could not conſtitutionally be made, unleſs with the concurrence of the Achaean ſtates, and immediately prepared to eſtabliſh their pretended right by force of arms. It was in vain for Sparta to attempt reſiſtance. Diaeus, to inſure the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, imperiouſly demanded, that twenty-four of their principal citizens, who had moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerted this *laſt* immunity of their country, ſhould be delivered into his hands. The Spartans durſt not refuſe; yet to have obeyed, had been the higheſt cruelty. They took a middle courſe. The obnoxious perſons were ſuffered to eſcape; and under colour of having fled from juſtice, their eſtates were confiſcated, and the ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced againſt them. They had, however, been previouſly inſtructed to repair to Rome, in order to lay the whole matter before the ſenate; whither the Achaeans, being ſoon appriſed of their intention, ſent alſo a deputation to juſtify their proceedings.

Bef. Chriſt 166.

THE Romans acted on this occaſion with their uſual duplicity. They heard, and gave hopes to both parties; and at laſt, inſtead of deciding, appointed commiſſioners, whom they promiſed to ſend into Greece, to inveſtigate and determine the matter in diſpute. But theſe commiſſioners, being on various pretences artfully detained in Rome, every thing was ſtill left in ſuſpence: both parties returned elated with the ſucceſs of their negociations, without having obtained any formal deciſion. The Achaeans aſſerted, with exultation, that the ſubjection of Sparta was unqueſtionably decided; while

while the other party maintained, with equal confidence, that ſhe was henceforth to be conſidered as independent.

THESE contradictory accounts led to conſequences, which were agreeable to the wiſhes of the Romans. The contending powers had recourſe to arms; the Spartans in vindication of their liberties, the Achaeans to inforce their ſubjection. A battle enſuing, the Spartans were defeated, with the loſs of above a thouſand of their beſt troops; and Sparta itſelf muſt probably have fallen, had not Damocritus, then at the head of the Achaean commonwealth, preferred plunder to the main object of the war: for which he was afterwards condemned, and fined in fifty talents. To Damocritus, Diaeus ſucceeded; who, at the requeſt of Metellus, then commanding in Macedon, granted the Lacedemonians a truce, which was merely illuſory; for Diaeus employed the reſpite it afforded in gaining over and garriſoning all the circumjacent towns; ſo that the unſuſpecting Spartans ſoon found themſelves environed by their enemies. Irritated by theſe treacherous proceedings, they renewed the unequal war; which, from their enfeebled condition, turned out as unproſperous as before: their depopulated country could not raiſe an adequate military force, nor could their exhauſted treaſury afford the neceſſary ſupplies. Bef. Chriſt 166. Pauſ. ub. ſup.

AFTER the ſtrength of Peloponneſus had thus, during more than two years, been waſted in theſe inteſtine wars, the Roman commiſſioners at length appeared, with Aurelius Oreſtes at their head, and required the attendance of the Achaean chiefs at Corinth, in order to receive the final determination of the ſenate. The Roman plan now began to unfold itſelf. The Achaeans were commanded to retire within their ancient boundaries; and Bef. Chriſt 164.

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thoſe ſtates, not originally of the Achaean league, but which, in the courſe of time, had been incorporated into their confederacy[6], were pronounced by the Romans to be diſſevered from it, and henceforth unconnected and independent. This was evidently no more than a prelude to future humiliations, and was probably intended by the Romans as a kind of experiment. Should the Achaeans tamely ſubmit, it was eaſy to proceed by degrees to the total diſſolution of the league: if they made reſiſtance, that would ſerve to palliate whatever violent meaſures Rome ſhould find it neceſſary to adopt. The beſt expedient that ſeemed left to this devoted nation was, apparently to have ſubmitted for the preſent to what it was not in their power to prevent. But the republican fire was not yet extinguiſhed; and it burſt forth on this occaſion with uncommon ſpirit.

THE Roman envoys had not yet made an end of reading the decree, when the Achaean chiefs quitted the aſſembly in a tranſport of indignation, and ſpread the alarm among the populace, who had crouded in numbers to Corinth. The rage of the multitude was inexpreſſible; and, as if Sparta alone had been guilty, it proved fatal to every Spartan that could be found. Popular fury, as blind as it is violent, could not diſcern that Rome was the ſource of all the miſchiefs of which they had to complain, and that, under this pretended regard for Sparta, ſhe was only executing her own deſigns. The ſacred character, with which the Roman miniſters were inveſted, could not, however, command reſpect amidſt this ſtorm of tumultuary violence. Their houſe was forced open, and every Spartan torn from that aſylum:

6 Sparta, the Arcadians of Orchomenus, the people of Heracleum near Mount Oeta, Argos, and Corinth.

nay,

nay, the envoys themſelves, ſay the Roman hiſtorians, owed their ſafety only to their flight.

IT was to be expected, that the Romans would have called Achaia to a rigorous account for an outrage ſo violent. They nevertheleſs ſent a ſecond embaſſy thither, with particular inſtructions, not to animadvert with ſeverity on the inſult, but to employ only gentle expoſtulations; to conciliate, if poſſible, the minds of the Achaeans; and to leave to themſelves the detection and puniſhment of the guilty. It is not difficult to trace the reaſons of this uncommon and unexpected lenity[7]: they

Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 164. Juſt. 34. 1. See alſo Polyb. Legat. 134, and Florus 2. 16.

7 Polybius, (Legat. 140 and 144) willing to excuſe the Romans, pretends to believe, that their purpoſe, in thus threatening to diſmember from the Achaean commonwealth the ſtates which had been incorporated into it, was, not to carry their menaces into execution, but only to intimidate a people, whoſe high ſpirit had often been troubleſome to them, and to awe thoſe turbulent republicans into a more reſpectful obſervance of the dictates of Rome. And hence, according to him, aroſe that conciliatory temper, which they ſhewed on this occaſion. However, there were others, he himſelf acknowledges, who accounted for this lenity in a very different manner; aſcribing it, not to any regard they had for the Achaeans, but to their own apprehenſions of what the conſequence might be, ſhould they at this time have provoked Achaia to take up arms againſt them, when Carthage was not yet deſtroyed, and Spain was endeavouring to throw off the yoke. But nevertheleſs, ſays Polybius, the charge is ill-grounded: 'the 'intentions of Rome towards Achaia had nothing hoſtile in them; 'ſhe had admitted the Achaeans into her friendſhip, and repoſed 'a confidence in their faith, far greater than in that of any other 'of the ſtates of Greece.'——Is it poſſible to read this without amazement? And could Polybius, who knew ſo well how treacherouſly the Romans had brought humiliation on Achaia, and with what exceſs of cruelty they had treated her illuſtrious chiefs; Polybius, who was himſelf one of the number, (ſee Legat. 105, and 122) Polybius, who was able to point out, as he fully does, the flagitious motives that engaged them in the Dalmatian war, viz. *to keep their military men in practice*, who, now the Macedonians were ſubdued, had no other nation in thoſe parts, in whoſe blood they could drench their weapons, (ſee Legat. 125) Polybius, who had been himſelf a witneſs of the prevarication they had been guilty of in the caſe of Demetrius of Syria, ſon to Seleucus Philopator, and grandſon to Antiochus the Great, whom, in the view of having Syria at their diſpoſal, they endeavoured to deſpoil of his paternal throne, (ſee Legat. 114) Polybius, who had alſo witneſſed how inſidiouſly they had drawn in, firſt the Aetolians, (ſee Legat.

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Bef. Chriſt 164.

they are diſcoverable in the ſituation of the Roman affairs at this period. The final deſtruction of Carthage, alike the object of the hatred and dread of Rome, was not yet effected. The Roman arms, beſides, had lately been unſucceſsful in Spain; while new commotions, on a detail of which we are juſt about to enter, and which were not yet compoſed, had ariſen in Macedon. In theſe circumſtances, a war in Greece, an event to be expected from the preſent violence of the Achaean councils, would have added conſiderably to the embarraſſment of the Roman affairs. The Achaeans, however, from all that now appears, might have derived important advantages from the mild and pacific aſpect which the Romans aſſumed on this occaſion. It certainly preſented them with the opportunity of ſoothing a power, which they could neither expect to ſubdue nor to reſiſt; and of obtaining more favourable terms upon the ſubverſion of their conſtitution, which, it was obvious, could not long be preſerved.

See Pauſ. in Achaicis.

GUIDED, however, only by their reſentments, they acted in direct oppoſition to all ſuch prudential conſiderations. Unfortunately too for the Achaeans, their chief magiſtrate, Critolaus, was a man daring and precipitate. He had riſen to power by encouraging the frantic multitude in their defiance of Rome, and of conſequence, beſides the impulſe of his natural temper, was im-

gat. 13) and afterwards the Carthaginians, (ſee Legat. 142) *to intruſt their deareſt intereſts to the faith of the* Roman *people*; I ſay, with ſuch examples before his eyes, could Polybius be at a loſs to know, by what motives Rome was now actuated?

It is not impoſſible to diſcover what miſguided the pen of this excellent hiſtorian. He was a captive of Rome, and Scipio's friend. Either therefore his attachment to the one led him to think more favourably of the Romans than they deſerved; or his dread of the other induced him to ſuppreſs ſentiments, which he could not avow without danger. So difficult is it for the hiſtorian, who lives near the times of which he writes, to keep cloſe to the line of truth, unwarped by fear or by affection.

pelled

pelled to violent meaſures by the additional inſtiga- BOOK
tions of popularity and ambition. Sextus, who VIII.
was at the head of the Roman embaſſy, had, upon Sect. 1.
his arrival, demanded of him to convene the na- Bef. Chriſt
tional council, that he might lay before them his 152.
commiſſion from the ſenate. Critolaus in ap-
pearance complied, and accordingly iſſued his Polyb. Le-
ſummons; but he ſent at the ſame time private di- gat. 144.
rections to the ſeveral members of the Achaean
diet not to obey it: ſo that, upon the appointed
day, the Roman ambaſſadors had none but Crito-
laus to confer with; who, as if to add to the moc-
kery, told them, that they had only to wait the
expiration of ſix months, and a ſecond diet ſhould
be convened. The conſequence was, that the Ro-
mans, highly offended, returned to Italy without
executing the buſineſs of their embaſſy. No ſooner
were they departed, than Critolaus, to evince that
he meant to keep no meaſures with Rome, aſſem-
bled the national council at Corinth, wherein, Polyb.
notwithſtanding the conciliatory interpoſition of Pauſ. ibid.
Metellus by his deputies Papirius and Scipio
Africanus the younger, he obtained a declaration
of war againſt Sparta, though avowedly protected
by Rome: and to this mad reſolution Thebes and
Chalcis imprudently acceded.

WE have entered into a minute detail of the i-
trigues and conteſts, which appear to have agi-
tated theſe petty republics during this period, to
the end that the inſidious policy of Rome, as far
as regards them, might be developed and expoſed
to view. We have beheld her affecting the moſt
ſolicitous concern for the immunities of ſome par-
ticular city, that ſhe might kindle the fire of vari-
ance and contention in the neighbouring ſtates,
and thus excite them to mutual hoſtilities, and
mutual deſtruction. We have ſeen her beſtowing
her favours on the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs
among

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among the Greeks, becauſe, falſe to their country, they were the ready and pliant inſtruments of her ambitious purpoſes; whilſt thoſe diſtinguiſhed by wiſdom, authority, and temperate counſels, by whoſe faithful ſervices the public ruin might have been retarded, were diſcountenanced, oppreſſed, and baniſhed. And laſtly, we have ſeen her employing the very miſchief which ſhe herſelf had encouraged, the madneſs of an incenſed populace, which her own oppreſſions had provoked, as an excuſe for the violence and flagrant cruelty ſhe exerciſed on this unfortunate people.

Bef. Chriſt 152.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Achaia, a war had again broken out in Macedon, which, from the few imperfect hints hiſtory has preſerved to us, appears to have been attended with circumſtances of a very extraordinary nature. Andriſcus, a man of obſcure extraction, ſay the Roman writers, originally of Adramyttium, a town of Troas, was thought to bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the late Macedonian king. Sixteen years had elapſed ſince the defeat of Perſeus. Upon the credit nevertheleſs, of this ſuppoſed reſemblance, a ſtory was fabricated, that he was ſon to Perſeus by a concubine; that his father had directed that he ſhould be educated in the utmoſt privacy, leſt, if his parentage ſhould be known, he ſhould be involved in the ſame deſtruction with the reſt of his royal houſe; and that he had intruſted the ſecret to certain perſons, who had authentic vouchers to produce in ſupport of the allegation. Andriſcus firſt applied to Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, whoſe ſiſter had been wife to Perſeus; who doubting the truth of the ſtory, or probably fearing the Romans, ſeized him as an impoſtor, and ſent him to Rome. But in ſuch contempt, from his appearance and manners, was he held by the Romans,

Liv. Epitom. l. 49. 50. Florus, l. 2. 14. Zonaras, Tom. 2.

that they paid no attention to the confinement of their priſoner; who ſoon after effected his eſcape, and fled for refuge into Thrace. Here the tale of his birth and misfortunes being eagerly liſtened to, and readily believed by this plain people, he had ſoon formed a party, and through them had introduced himſelf to their Macedonian neighbours. The ſpirit of diſcontent, which at this time univerſally prevailed in Macedon, ſecured him a favourable reception: the nation began to feel the ſeverity of the Roman yoke; and without ſcrupulouſly inveſtigating the claims of Andriſcus, conſidered him only as a daring adventurer, through whom they had a chance of being delivered from their oppreſſors. There is much reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Romans were not ill pleaſed at ſeeing theſe diſcontents ripen into open rebellion; and that they at firſt connived at them, in the hope of availing themſelves of the pretence with which they furniſhed them. Exhauſted and humbled as the Macedonians were, ſtill a little property, and a few privileges remained to them; and a new war would afford the Romans an excuſe for doing, what they had hitherto been reſtrained from by motives of policy alone. But the deſpair of an oppreſſed people found reſources, of which the Romans were not aware; and where they expected only to find an opportunity of gratifying their deſpotiſm and rapacity, they met a war difficult and dangerous. When accounts arrived at Rome, that the inſurrection in Macedon would probably become a much more ſerious buſineſs than had been imagined, Scipio Naſica, who, ſince the time he had ſerved under Aemilius Paulus, had a conſiderable influence in Greece, was diſpatched thither to obſerve the ſituation of affairs. His report was, that, by the aſſiſtance which he had obtained from the Achaeans and ſome of the can-

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tons of Theſſaly, he had with difficulty covered the northern provinces of Greece from the incurſions of the enemy; but that the revolt was general throughout Macedon, where Andriſcus was in poſſeſſion of the throne, and had aſſumed the name of Philip; that moſt of the Thracian tribes had likewiſe declared for him; that ſeveral of the Grecian ſtates were ſuſpected of favouring the ſame cauſe; and that, unleſs the Romans exerted themſelves ſpeedily, and with vigour, the iſſue of the war was to be dreaded. In conſequence of this intelligence, a conſiderable army was immediately ordered into Greece, under the command of the prætor Juventius Thalna. Juventius, at the ſame time raſh and conceited, marched immediately againſt the uſurper, with a ſettled contempt of this pageant-king, and in the full aſſurance that he durſt not meet him in the field. His vanity had its reward. The Macedonian took care, by various feints, to confirm the preſumption of the prætor, until at laſt he drew him on to an engagement on the terms he wiſhed, in which the Romans were totally defeated, with the ſlaughter of the greateſt part of the army; Juventius himſelf falling, while he endeavoured in vain, by perſonal courage, to compenſate for his want of abilities as a general.

Bef. Chriſt 152.

THIS unfortunate event was attended with circumſtances exceedingly alarming. Theſſaly, with moſt of the northern provinces of Greece, acknowledged the claims of the victor, and took up arms in ſupport of him. And though the Achaeans had not followed their example, yet the preſent diſcontents of that people, and the manner in which their ſervices had been repaid in the beginning of the Macedonian war, afforded little hopes that they would again be active in the intereſts of Rome. Even as far as Africa did the influence of this

this revolution appear to have reached; and an embaſſy arrived from the Carthaginians to congratulate the new king, and to negotiate an alliance with Macedon. To guard againſt theſe impending dangers, a powerful force was levied with all poſſible expedition, and Metellus, an illuſtrious Roman of high reputation, was appointed to conduct the war. Bef. Chriſt 152.

By this time, if the hiſtorians of Rome may be depended on, the blandiſhments of royalty were beginning to effect what the Roman arms had in vain attempted. Andriſcus, thinking himſelf eſtabliſhed upon the throne, abandoned himſelf to a vicioufneſs of diſpoſition, which he had before concealed. Not content with indulging to a ſhameful exceſs in all the gratifications of luxury, he ruled with all the wantonneſs of inſult, rapacity, and cruelty; ſo that the unhappy Macedonians, inſtead of that freedom, in hopes of which they had crouded to his banners, experienced all the miſeries of ſlavery. This as a Roman account, eſpecially when compared with facts to be gathered from the ſame hiſtorians, ſeems liable to ſome objections. Notwithſtanding his dubious title, the Macedonians, unprovoked by all theſe alledged vices, preſerved to him an unalterable fidelity; a kind of proof, that either he was not altogether ſo diſſolute and oppreſſive as the Roman writers pretend, or that the Romans themſelves were ſuch execrable maſters, that the yoke of the moſt outrageous tyrant was deemed light, and thought preferable to theirs. And ſo far was he from being odious among his allies, that, even when overpowered by the Romans, he found a friendly and ſafe retreat in Thrace, nor was he delivered up; until Roman gold, it is to be ſuſpected, proved an overmatch for Thracian honeſty. His misfortunes ſeem to have been chiefly owing to his temerity,

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

merity, and the contempt he entertained of his enemy. Though Metellus, who had advanced againſt him, was far ſuperior in cavalry, yet the Macedonian ventured an engagement, and obtained a complete victory. Elated with this ſucceſs, and thinking that the Romans would hardly, for ſome time, hazard a ſecond battle, he made a conſiderable detachment for the ſecurity of Theſſaly. This proved fatal to him. Metellus marked the opportunity, and attacking him with a great ſuperiority of numbers, cut his little army to pieces, and obliged him to take refuge among the Thracians. The Thracian princes ſoon ſupplied him with freſh troops. But the Roman commander had improved in ſuch a manner the advantages derived from his late victory, and was ſo well prepared for his reception, that notwithſtanding the moſt ſpirited exertion on the part of Andriſcus, he was routed, with the loſs of the greater part of his army, and found himſelf under the neceſſity of again retiring into Thrace. The prætor could not purſue him thither; the commotions, we have before mentioned, in Achaia, which now threatened to involve all the adjacent ſtates, calling off his attention to the ſouthern provinces of Greece. Mean while, it was not his purpoſe that Andriſcus ſhould eſcape. He had already entered into a negotiation with the Thracian chiefs, at whoſe court the fugitive prince had taken ſanctuary, who, for certain conſiderations eaſily to be conjectured, but which the Roman writers have not thought proper to ſpecify, delivered him up to Metellus.

Bef. Chriſt 152.

THE unhappy fate of Andriſcus, it might have been expected, would have reſtored peace to Macedon But ſuch now was the deplorable ſituation of the miſerable Macedonians, that they were eager to ſupport the pretenſions of every claimant, through whom they had the moſt diſtant

tant proſpect of deliverance. No ſooner had Andriſcus periſhed, than Alexander, another pretended ſon of Perſeus, made his appearance, and met with the ſame loyal welcome from this oppreſſed and credulous people; and nearly with the ſame ſucceſs. A conſiderable party had taken up arms in ſupport of his title; but unequal to a conteſt with Metellus, who, upon the firſt tidings of this inſurrection, had haſtened back into Macedon, they were ſoon diſperſed; the pretended prince making his eſcape into Dardania. To the hoſpitality and incorruptible honeſty of the inhabitants of this country he was much more indebted, than the unfortunate Andriſcus had been to thoſe of Thrace. The Romans, after the ſtricteſt inquiry and the moſt laviſh offers, could never diſcover his place of concealment. And from this time, as hiſtory is ſilent, nothing more is known of this adventurer.

Bef. Chriſt 152.

THESE repeated inſurrections in Macedon effectually anſwered the end, which the Romans doubtleſs had in view. We have already ſeen the ſeverity of the terms, impoſed on that kingdom by the arrangement of Aemilius Paulus. Theſe terms, nevertheleſs, the Romans conſidered as the exceſs of mercy. It was thought expedient to finiſh more completely the ſubjection of the Macedonian people; which accordingly, we are told, was now fully accompliſhed. This event took place about twenty years after the ſettlement by Aemilius. And henceforward Macedon remained in the humiliated ſtate of a Roman province. By what arrangements the final humiliation of the Macedonians was effected, hiſtory has not exactly informed us; but of this it is eaſy to form very probable conjectures. The Macedonians had, at firſt, been allowed to have judges of their own for the deciſion of trivial matters: but even this faint ſhadow of judicial power

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1. Bef. Chriſt 152.

power they now loſt; and, according to the cuſtomary Roman practice with conquered nations, a general confiſcation probably took place of all the eſtates throughout Macedon, which were in the ſmalleſt degree objects of deſire to theſe rapacious conquerors.

In this manner did Rome eſtabliſh her dominion on the ruins of every national conſtitution. At firſt, her yoke was for the moſt part laid on with an affectation of gentleneſs; but afterwards, repeated arbitrary and oppreſſive proceedings having provoked reſiſtance, every manly effort againſt them became an excuſe for additional exertion of power; until the ſyſtem was by degrees completed, and appeared in all the ſtern ſeverity of deſpotiſm.

Some years after, there appeared a third adventurer, a ſecond Philip, and another pretended ſon to Perſeus; who found that Macedonian credulity was not yet exhauſted, and that their deſire of liberty was not yet at an end.

Liv. Epit. 53. Eutrop. 4.

But his career was ſoon run. Having hazarded an engagement with Tremellius Scrofa, the Roman commander, his army was totally defeated, and he himſelf was ſlain.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION II.

THE Macedonian inſurrection under Andriſcus was not yet completely ſuppreſſed, when the flames of war, which the Achaeans had lighted up, were already ſpreading through the ſouthern provinces of Greece. Metellus had at firſt endeavoured, by repeated remonſtrances, to ſtop the progreſs of theſe commotions. But finding his repreſentations to be ineffectual, he had, as ſoon as the Macedonian affairs permitted him, advanced ſouthward, to intimidate, ſince he could not perſuade; and perhaps not without the hope, that to the reduction of Macedon he ſhould have the glory of adding the conqueſt of Peloponneſus. BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 152.

FROM

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 152.

FROM the extraordinary ſpirit diſplayed by the Achaeans on this occaſion, and from the precipitancy with which they ruſhed into this war, a judgment may be formed of the violence of their reſentment. The Roman arms, from their late ſucceſs in Macedon, were become more formidable than ever; and of all the Grecian ſtates without the Iſthmus (whatever might be their ſecret wiſh) not one had ventured to avow itſelf the confederate of Achaia, Thebes and the people of Chalcis excepted. The Achaeans nevertheleſs, as if unconſcious of their weakneſs, and inſenſible of the recent fate of Macedon, provoked a conteſt, which was evidently to terminate in diſcomfiture and ſervitude.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

See Pauſ. in Achaicis

THE ſiege of Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, which had revolted ad declared for Rome, was the commencement of hoſtilities. It was inveſted and taken by Critolaus; who afterwards hearing that Metellus was on his march to attack him, endeavoured to retreat to Scarphaea [1], where, the Romans coming up with him before he could get into the city, he was forced to engage [2]. The iſſue was fatal to the Achaeans: they were defeated, and the greater part of their army ſlain, or made priſoners. The fate of Critolaus himſelf is uncertain, his body not having been found. He is ſuppoſed to have periſhed in ſome of the moraſſes [3], which then covered a great part of this country, from the Maliac bay towards the foot of Mount

1 A city of the Locri.

2 Pauſanias (in Achaicis) blames Critolaus for his retreat to Scarphaea, and thinks that he ought rather to have ſecured the ſtraits of Thermopylae, and thus have ſtopped the progreſs of the Roman army. But the way over the mountain was no longer conſidered as impracticable; and unleſs he had ſecured the paſſes above, for which probably his forces were not ſufficient, his being poſſeſſed of the ſtraits below had been of little ſervice.

3 So ſays Pauſanias: Livy's epitomizer, 52. in contradiction to him, ſays, that he poiſoned himſelf.

Oeta.

Oeta. In addition to the loſs ſuſtained by the Achaeans in the field, a thouſand Arcadians, who had eſcaped, were intercepted in their retreat homeward by Metellus, and all put to the ſword.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

THE Roman general marched then to Thebes, which he found deſerted, moſt of the inhabitants having fled to the mountains upon his approach. To induce them to return and ſubmit, he gave orders to ſpare the city, and required only, that Pytheas the Boeotian chief who had adviſed the league with Achaia, ſhould be put to death.

His intention now was, to enter Peloponneſus, and at once, if poſſible, to put an end to the war. However, as if averſe from the deciſion of arms, he once more endeavoured to gain the Achaeans by expoſtulation and friendly profeſſions; and even offered to conclude a peace, on the condition that Sparta, and the other ſtates they held in ſubjection, ſhould be reſtored to their antient privileges. But, either governed by paſſion, or perhaps diſtruſting an enemy by whom they been ſo often deceived, the Achaeans rejected his propoſals. It appears indeed from the account given by the Romans themſelves, that this proffered peace was but a political expedient, in which the Achaeans would have found but little ſecurity; and that in fact, under the pretence of ſerving them, the Roman general was only conſulting the intereſts of his own ambition. For Mummius, one of the new conſuls, had been appointed his ſucceſſor; and jealous of having the fruits of his victory wreſted from him, it might be his wiſh to ſettle the affairs of Peloponneſus on any terms, rather than allow his ſucceſſor to reap the glory of terminating the war.

See Pauſ. ub. ſup.

MUMMIUS ſoon after arrived, and aſſumed the command. But neither the arrival of the new general, nor the ſupplies he brought with him, occaſioned

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

caſioned the leaſt alteration in the Achaean councils. Diaeus the Megalopolitan, a man not inferior in daring enterpriſe to Critolaus, had been appointed chief magiſtrate in his ſtead. Immediately upon his appointment, he ſummoned to the field every Achaean and Arcadian who was able to bear arms, and conſiderably augmented his forces by the manumiſſion and inliſting of the ſlaves. With an army amounting at moſt to twenty thouſand men, this impatient and adventurous commander prepared to diſpute the fate of Achaia with Rome. A trifling advantage, obtained at the beginning, emboldened him the more. Mummius, being encamped within the Iſthmus, that he might be appriſed of the motions of the enemy, had poſted a body of auxiliaries at its ſouthern extremity, where the ſtreight opens into Peloponneſus. The apparent remiſſneſs and ſecurity of this advanced guard tempted the Achaeans. They attacked and carried the poſt, after having ſlain about five hundred of the detachment. This ſucceſs to theſe vain republicans was a ſure preſage of victory. In full confidence that the defeat of Mummius might as eaſily be accompliſhed, they with the utmoſt ardour demanded to be inſtantly led againſt him; and their demand was readily complied with by the impetuous Diaeus.

MEAN while Mummius, who marked the exultation and confidence of the Achaean troops, and foreſaw the conſequences, had already formed his army in order of battle, and upon the approach of the enemy, commanded his horſe to charge the Grecian cavalry; who thrown into confuſion by this unexpected vigour, after a ſhort reſiſtance, were broken, and put to flight. The infantry, undaunted by this misfortune, for ſome time maintained their ground with reſolution and firmneſs: but being deſerted by their cavalry, and attacked in

in flank by a detachment which the conſul had kept in reſerve for that purpoſe, they were at length totally routed. BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

THIS battle was fought within the ſtreights. And ſo well aſſured were the Achaeans of the victory, that all the hills around were covered with their women and children, whom they had brought to be ſpectators of the overthrow of the Roman army. The purſuit was continued by the conſul as far as Corinth, to which it was his intention to lay ſiege; but to his great amazement, he found the gates open, and the city deſerted. The remains of the Achaean army had puſhed through it; and the bulk of the inhabitants, abandoning themſelves to deſpair, accompanied them in their flight. This extraordinary appearance, ſo different from what he expected, ſtruck the cautious Roman. A city, the pride of Greece, famous from the ſieges it had ſuſtained, and known to be of conſiderable ſtrength, forſaken, without an attempt to ſave it, induced him to apprehend a ſnare. Impreſſed with ſuſpicions, it was not till the third day after he had encamped before it, that he ventured within the walls. On entering the city, a ſcene, the moſt ſplendid that Greece had to diſplay, was exhibited to the eyes of the Roman army. Beſide the advantages derived from the fertility of its territory, Corinth had for ages been the great emporium of both the eaſtern and weſtern worlds; and ſince its reſtoration to freedom by Aratus, it had become the principal city of the Achaean confederacy. From theſe copious ſources, its opulence had increaſed to a wonderful degree. Whatever decorations either private wealth or public magnificence, under the direction of the moſt delicate and refined taſte, had ever beſtowed on any city, it had accordingly enjoyed. Its noble edifices, porticos, temples, and palaces, were the admiration

Bef. Chriſt 146.

Pauſ. ub. ſup.

Juſt. 34. 2.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

admiration even of the Greeks, to whom objects of this kind were familiar; and its paintings and ſtatues, in number as well as in value, were not inferior to what Athens had to boaſt. Its elegance accordingly had paſſed into a proverb[4].

Bef. Chriſt 146.

Of all this wealth Mummius became now the maſter. The poſſeſſion of Corinth, a prize of ſuch value, and ſo eaſily gained, afforded ſuch a ſtriking acknowledgment of the humiliation of Achaia, as might have diſarmed the reſentment of the victor. But the ſternneſs of Roman ſeverity was not thus to be ſoftened. The ſituation of Corinth made it formidable[5], and conſequently pointed out its deſtruction, according to the deſolating plan of Rome. The horrid ſcene began with the maſſacre of the few men found in it, and the ſale of the women and children. The conſul having then directed his ſoldiers to remove the moſt valuable of the paintings and ſtatues, with which the temples and other public buildings were adorned, commanded the city to be ſet on fire, and all its boaſted monuments of art and genius to be conſumed. And ſuch, it is ſaid, was the quantity of curious works in gold, ſilver, and braſs, thus devoted to the flames, that, during the conflagration, the united ſtreams of theſe various metals poured along the ſtreets of this unhappy city, forming that famous conſolidated mixture, which obtained the name of *Corinthian braſs*, and which, for many ages, was held in the higheſt eſtimation. This unprovoked deſtruction many of the Romans, however, ſeem to have lamented; and the *nollem Corinthum!* of one of the fineſt geniuſes of Rome is a laſting teſtimony of this opinion.

Flor. 2. 16.

See Cicer. de Offic. 1. 11. & 3. 11.

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. Hor. Ep. I. 17. 36.

5 This reaſon is aſſigned by Cicero himſelf. See Leg. Manil. 32. Offic. 1. 11.

To

To the honour of Mummius it is nevertheleſs to be obſerved, that he ſtands altogether clear of a ſpecies of guilt, with which other Roman commanders are generally charged. To the unpoliſhed taſte of the rough ſoldier, hiſtory has, with ſome apparent reaſon, aſcribed his contempt for thoſe exquiſite productions of art, which an improved and travelled Roman would have beheld with admiration. Being preſent, we are told, at the ſale of ſome of theſe Corinthian paintings, when the Bacchus of Ariſtides, a piece eſteemed one of the fineſt in the world, was purchaſed for king Attalus, at the price of ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, 'it is impoſſible,' cried Mummius, it 'ſhould be of ſuch value, unleſs ſome magical 'power is concealed in it; and if ſo, it muſt not 'be poſſeſſed by an Aſiatic.' He then commanded it to be ſet aſide. Nay ſo little was he acquainted with the unrivalled excellence of the great Grecian maſters, that he is ſaid to have bargained with the commanders of the veſſels, to whoſe care he intruſted the ſtatues and paintings which he was ſending to Italy, 'that in caſe any of them were 'loſt, they ſhould deliver him new ones in their 'ſtead.' How much ſoever, at the ſame time, men of taſte may lament the unrefined manners of the Roman conſul, his diſintereſtedneſs ſtands unimpeached in hiſtory. No portion of the riches of Corinth was applied by Mummius to his own private emolument. Cicero himſelf informs us, that though ſeveral of thoſe curious works of the painter and ſtatuary, which he had ſaved out of Corinth, were to be ſeen in the temples and public edifices throughout Italy, yet in the houſe of Mummius not one was to be found. And in ſuch indigence, after all his conqueſts, did he leave his daughter, an only child, that proviſion was made for her by the ſenate out of the public treaſury.

Before Chriſt 146.

Plin. 34. 4.

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See Vell. Patercul. 1. 13.

In Verrem 1. 21. & Offic. 1. 22.

Front. Stratag. 4. 3. 15.

MAY

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

MAY it not then be ſuſpected, that theſe Corinthian works owed their deſtruction rather to the virtuous and patriotic apprehenſions of the honeſt Roman, than to inelegance of mind? While the fine arts had been progreſſively carried to an uncommon degree of perfection in this part of Greece, every kind of luxury had kept pace with them. And, diſtinguiſhed by their delicacy of taſte, the Corinthians had not been leſs remarkable for their voluptuouſneſs and diſſolute manners. Hence probably the apprehenſions of Mummius, that the introduction of the ſame arts into Italy would give riſe to a ſimilar degeneracy. The ſtatues and paintings he preſerved, as they appeared to him the leaſt dangerous articles of Corinthian ſplendour[6]: the reſt he conſidered as tending only to enervate; and, in this view he deſtroyed what he feared might prove fatal to his countymen. To ſave Rome, he burnt Corinth[7].

THEBES and Chalcis now fell the victims of their Achaean alliance. Mummius, to whom an affectation of lenity was no longer neceſſary, raſed them to the ground. Meanwhile Achaia remained in a ſtate of inactivity, without forming a ſingle plan, or attempting the leaſt exertion for ſelf-defence. Diaeus, whoſe raſhneſs had principally contributed to bring on the preſent calamity, had fled from the field of battle to Megalopolis, and in the frenſy of deſpair, murdered his wife,

Liv. Epit. 52.

6 And yet this very introduction of theſe productions of the great Grecian maſters into Italy, Salluſt, certainly an able judge, numbers among the cauſes of the corruption of the Roman people. Velleius Paterculus uſes the ſame language. *Better*, ſays he, ſpeaking of Mummius's ignorance in the arts, *that the Roman taſte had ſtill remained thus unimproved, than that it ſhould have acquired the improvement it now has, at the expence of the public manners.* See Vell. Paterc. 1. 13.

7 About 103 years after, it was rebuilt and colonized by Julius Caeſar.

and

and laid violent hands on himſelf. Of the Achaean cities the greater part were forſaken by their chiefs, many were abandoned by numbers of their inhabitants, and all waited the determination of their fate with anxious and trembling ſolicitude. The demolition of three great cities ſeeming in the mean time to have ſtayed the victor's fury, he now contented himſelf with diſmantling every place of ſtrength, and with obliging the inhabitants to ſurrender up their arms. Even this, however, was but a temporary ſuſpenſion of ſervitude and ruin. Mummius, in fact, could not proceed farther till the arrival of commiſſioners from Rome, jointly with whom he was to be impowered finally to ſettle the affairs of Achaia. Accordingly, upon their arrival, the long-projected ſcheme of Roman policy was carried into execution. They began by the diſſolution of the Achaean conſtitution, and by declaring the ſeveral ſtates and cities, formerly component parts of that reſpectable league, to be henceforth entirely diſtinct and independent. All popular aſſemblies were forbidden throughout Peloponneſus; and that ſmall ſhare of the civil adminiſtration which the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people, and placed in the hands of the richer few, whoſe reſponſible circumſtances the Romans conſidered as a pledge of their ſubjection. At the ſame time, leſt any individual ſhould acquire an influence that might be troubleſome to Rome by the poſſeſſion of extenſive property, they not only took care to impoveriſh the more opulent families by fines and ſevere taxations, but alſo enacted, that a Grecian ſhould be incapable of encreaſing his poſſeſſions by the purchaſe of any lands in Greece.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 146.

It had, in former times, been the conſtant policy of Rome, in giving laws to the conquered, at firſt

BOOK VIII. Sect. 1.

firſt to diſguiſe the ſeverity of the humiliation to which ſhe deſtined them. But now Achaia, for many years the moſt reſpectable of the Grecian ſtates, of whoſe aid Rome had frequently availed herſelf, and whoſe greateſt crime was, that ſhe had liberties which were dear to her, ſaw herſelf doomed at once to the moſt abject vaſſalage. The reaſon is evident. In thoſe days of ſeeming gentleneſs, Syria, Macedon, and Carthage were ſtill formidable; and had Rome at once avowed her purpoſes, the mingled feelings of intereſt, indignation, and deſpair, would ſurely have united theſe nations in a cauſe, which was in reality the cauſe of them all; and Rome might have been involved in a conteſt pregnant with difficulty and danger. Whereas now, neither Syria nor Macedon was in a condition to excite her apprehenſions; and the final deſtruction of Carthage by the younger Africanus, which had taken place about the ſame time with that of Corinth, enabled them to throw aſide the maſk of gentleneſs, as it left them not an enemy to fear.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

THE terms granted to Achaia, which we have mentioned, are recorded by Pauſanias. But the particular ſeverities employed on this occaſion, he and every other hiſtorian have paſſed over in ſilence. Indeed an exact relation of all occurrences of this kind which ſuch a revolution muſt have produced, was hardly to be expected from the writers of thoſe days; who, whether Grecian or Roman, influenced either by fear or ſhame, would avoid a minute detail of the melancholy ſtory. With what unrelenting acrimony the Romans purſued theſe wretched remains of the Grecian people, we may, however, gather from a circumſtance which Polybius, though in a great meaſure the advocate of Rome, has preſerved to us. The commiſſioners encouraged the preferring an accuſation

In Achaicis.

See Polyb. de virtut. & vitiis, p. 1483, & ſeqq. Caſaub. 89.

accuſation againſt thoſe Achaean chiefs, who of old had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in advancing the proſperity, or vindicating the liberties of Achaia. Philopoemen and Aratus were arraigned as criminals: and even Achaeus, the ſuppoſed founder of the Achaean people, as if on this account he ought to be numbered among the enemies of Rome, was to have ſuffered by a poſthumous condemnation. A requeſt was preferred to the commiſſioners, that all the decrees which had been enacted to the honour of theſe patriots ſhould be reſcinded, and their ſtatues overthrown. But while this extraordinary trial was carrying on, and when ſentence was on the point of being pronounced, Polybius arrived in Peloponneſus, in his return from the ſiege of Carthage, whither he had acccompanied his friend Scipio. Diſpoſed, as Polybius might be, from a regard to his perſonal ſafety and intereſt, and ſtill more, from an attachment to his Roman friend, to give way to the prejudices of that all-powerful people, and well appriſed of the jealouſy they entertained of theſe illuſtrious citizens, the boaſt and honour of Achaia, ſtill this great man could not ſuppreſs his indignation at the ungenerous attempt. Philopoemen he had perſonally known in his earlier years, and had in part been a witneſs of the exalted virtues of that excellent patriot: 'and ſhall then,' ſaid he, 'that integrity of conduct, which was his glory, 'be now his guilt? Far from having been the in'veterate enemy of Rome, he ſupported your 'cauſe, he fought under your banners, againſt 'Philip, againſt Antiochus; and if at any time 'he engaged in oppoſition to you, it was only 'when he was impelled by the leading motive of 'all his actions, regard for his country. Such as 'he was, ſuch were alſo Aratus, and thoſe other 'Achaean chiefs, whoſe ſtatues you are about to 'demoliſh;

Bef. Chriſt 146.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 146.

'demoliſh; criminal only, becauſe unalterably faithful to the intereſts of Achaia. And will you condemn in a Grecian, what in a Roman you would have accounted worthy of the higheſt praiſe?'

THE commiſſioners ſeemed convinced; and, probably conſcious of the infamous part they were acting, artfully gave up to Polybius what they could not have inſiſted on, without making themſelves altogether odious. They not only dropped the proſecution, but likewiſe cauſed the ſtatues of Achaeus, Aratus, and Philopoemen, which had already been tranſported out of Peloponneſus, to be brought back. They even affected to do Polybius particular honour; and orders were iſſued to preſent him with whatever portion of the confiſcated eſtates he ſhould think worthy of his acceptance; an offer which he nobly refuſed, diſdaining to grow rich by the ſpoils of his unhappy countrymen. His diſintereſted ſpirit raiſed him ſtill higher in the eſtimation of the Romans; and he had a commiſſion given him, to viſit the ſeveral diſtricts of Achaia, and to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and cultivation throughout that diſtracted and deſolated country. The ability and zeal with which he acquitted himſelf in the diſcharge of this delicate office, endeared him to all. To have encouraged the Achaeans in the moſt diſtant hopes of that liberty which they were never more to enjoy, would have been the higheſt cruelty. He therefore endeavoured to reconcile them to their preſent fate; to allay the various diſcontents and perſonal animoſities, which the late times of tumult and confuſion had engendered; and to induce them to acquieſce in a peaceable ſubmiſſion to thoſe laws, under which they were now deſtined to live.

AMIDST

Bef. Chriſt 146.

AMIDST unavailing regret for having been ſo long deprived of the preſence of a citizen, whoſe ſalutary inſtructions might poſſibly have prevented their ruin, the Achaeans gratefully acknowledged the importance of his preſent ſervices by every mark of public eſteem. Some of the ſtatues then erected in honour of this patriot, Pauſanias, who lived three hundred and twenty years after the deſtruction of Corinth, tells us, remained till his time. On one, which he ſaw in Arcadia, within the ſacred precinct of the *Deſpoina*, the moſt revered of the Arcadian deities, appeared the following honourable inſcription: 'Polybius, from 'whoſe counſels Greece might have derived ſafety, 'had Greece ſuffered herſelf to be guided by 'them; and in whom ſhe found her only pro- 'tector, in the day of her diſtreſs.' See Pauſ. in Arcadicis.

THE overthrow of the Achaean commonwealth finiſhed the debaſement of Greece, which ſoon after ſunk into a Roman diſtrict, under the denomination of the province of Achaia; becauſe with the overthrow of this republic was completed the final reduction of the Grecian ſtates. In this province were compriſed Peloponneſus, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the ſouth of Epire and Theſſaly. All to the north of that line, as far as the utmoſt verge of the Macedonian frontier, was the province of Macedon. Theſe two provincial governments of Macedon and Achaia, including the antient dominions of the Macedonian princes, together with the ſeveral ſtates and republics of Greece——that once illuſtrious land, ennobled bya number of glorious atchievements, the choſen ſeat of liberty, ſcience, polity, and arts—were henceforward to be conſigned to humiliation and ſervitude! Pauſ. ib

THE Roman writers, however, ſpeak of Greece, and particularly of Athens, as ſtill retaining, under all

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

all the disadvantages of this provincial establishment, that pre eminence in literature, by which she was distinguished in her days of freedom and glory. Accordingly, for some ages after, we find the Roman youth resorting thither in quest of that improvement, or at least of that reputation, which the arts and sciences of Greece were supposed capable of bestowing. But nevertheless, rather to the fame of antient days, than to any merit she from this period possessed, is the estimation of Rome to be ascribed. The liberties and genius of Greece gradually declined, and at last expired together. For, though her philosophical schools for a while maintained a respectable name; though, at distant intervals, a few writers of distinguished merit made their appearance, especially in the antiquarian und historical lines; yet did the general turn of the Grecian people soon become frivolous, and, in resemblance of their fortunes, groveling and servile. Their walk of learning seldom produced any thing higher than the professional rhetorician, or the captious disputant; and what abilities they possessed were meanly prostituted in humouring the follies, or in administering to the depravity, of their Roman masters. By degrees, therefore, the very appellation of Greek, which once implied superior talents and the highest mental improvement, came to signify somewhat exceedingly abject, and under the Roman Caesars was frequently used, by the satirists, as a term of the utmost reproach. Even those literary productions, which in this decline of Greece do her most honour, when compared with what went before, can only be considered as feeble rays of the evening sun, when contrasted with his meridian splendor. What praise soever we may be willing to allow them, we search in vain for that originality, that just observance of nature, that rich-

Bef. Christ 146.

See Juvenal passim.

ness

neſs of invention, that nervous ſenſe, that glow and dignity of ſentiment, that power of expreſſion, which characterize her earlier poets, hiſtorians, philoſophers, and orators.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

FROM the days of Cimon, when Greece had attained the ſummit of her glory, to her final ſubjection to the Roman power, about three hundred and twenty years had elapſed; and from the death of Alexander the Great, when the whole Perſian monarchy confeſſed the Grecian dominion, about one hundred and eighty. It may then be matter of uſeful inſtruction to inquire, from what cauſes that total alteration was brought on, which, within this period of time, appears to have taken place in the Grecian character; and whence a people, whoſe civil inſtitutions, proweſs, and extenſive accompliſhments ſeemed to lead to univerſal empire, ſhould have thus declined, and with ſo little ſtruggle have ſunk into dependence and inſignificancy.

I. THERE was originally a principle of weakneſs and decay in the very conſtitution of the Grecian government. Greece, parcelled out into a number of ſmall ſtates, each enjoying an independent ſovereignty, was incapable of that exertion of ſtrength, which reſults from conſpiring counſels, and the joint efforts of an embodied people. On the important day of Marathon, of all the Grecian ſtates, only ten thouſand Athenians and one thouſand Plataeans appeared in ſupport of the common cauſe. And though afterwards, rouſed by the example of Athens, other Grecian powers armed againſt the Perſians, yet was this the armament only of a few ſtates; formed too by moſt of them on a partial and confined plan, rather for the preſervation of their own particular territories, than in vindication of the general liberties, and the defence of the country at large:

ſo

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Bef. Chriſt 146.

ſo that, had not the artifice as well as the firmneſs of Themiſtocles been employed on this intereſting occaſion, it had been hardly poſſible to have ſaved Greece. The council of the Amphictyones was indeed a kind of national ſenate, and probably in its firſt inſtitution was deſigned to be the center of unity of the ſeveral ſtates, whoſe repreſentatives compoſed this auguſt aſſembly. But this tribunal was chiefly adapted to the infant times of Greece. As particular ſtates advanced in power, it was often too feeble to controul the refractory, and at length found itſelf, as in the caſe of the ſecond ſacred war (that fatal aera, from which Greece dates her decline) under the neceſſity of calling in foreign aſſiſtance to render its deciſions effectual.

II. FROM theſe numerous ſovereignties there aroſe, beſides, endleſs jealouſies and conteſts; the weaker ſtates ſtill ſuſpecting the ſtronger, and the ſtronger by their ambitious encroachments juſtifying but too much the ſuſpicions of the weaker. Scarcely had Greece recovered from the terror of the Perſian invaſion, when Sparta, regardleſs of the noble part that Athens had lately acted, could not conceal her envy at ſeeing this rival city ſpring more powerful from her ruins, and endeavoured to perpetuate her deſolation. Throughout all the Grecian commonwealths the ſame unhappy ſpirit of envy and diſſenſion prevailed, which was conſtantly encouraged and fomented by the policy of the ſeveral princes who ſat after Xerxes on the Perſian throne. Conſcious of their inferiority in arms, they endeavoured to divide thoſe whom they could not ſubdue, and their intrigues and treaſure were but too ſucceſsfully employed. 'Ten thouſand archers[5] have driven me out of

See Plut. in Ageſilao.

5 An archer was the impreſs on the Perſian coin,

Aſia,'

'Aſia,' ſaid Ageſilaus, when the orators of Athens and Thebes, penſioners to the Perſian king, had ſtirred up a war againſt Sparta, which obliged him to abandon his Aſiatic conqueſts, and haſten to the defence of his own kingdom. To the like practices the Macedonian kings owed whatever advantage they obtained over Greece: and the Romans purſued the ſame arts with ſtill greater effect; until, exhauſted by her own domeſtic feuds, Greece fell an eaſy prey to her oppreſſors.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

III. THE flame of inteſtine animoſity acquired more fierceneſs, and more deſtructive rapidity, from the difference in the forms of government that ſubſiſted in the ſeveral Grecian commonwealths. Throughout Greece the eſtabliſhment was, at leaſt in part, democratical; but in ſome places, as in Athens, the power was lodged in the hands of the people at large; in ſome, as in Sparta, it was delegated only to a few. Where the *many* had the power, they not only were ſuſpicious of whatever ſeemed to threaten their own privileges, but wiſhed to eſtabliſh the dominion of the multitude in every ſtate around them. And in like manner, the *few*, not content with ſecuring themſelves at home againſt the encroachments of the *many*, aimed at the introduction of their own contracted form of government into all the neighbouring cities. Private ambition had here many tempting opportunities. The ſeeds of diſſenſion every where prevailed: in every city two parties were at all times prepared for civil broils, mutually jealous, mutually credulous of every miſrepreſentation, and equally violent in executing their reſolves as precipitate in forming them. So that under the ſpecious pretence, either of defending the cauſe of freedom, or of controuling the exceſſes of a licentious populace, intereſted and ambitious leaders had always numbers at their call. The powers

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powers of Aſia, of Macedon, and of Rome, in their ſucceſſive attempts on the liberties of Greece, practiſed the ſame kind of artifice; under the guiſe of friendly interpoſition, playing one party againſt the other, and thus betraying the true intereſts of the ſtate, and gradually waſting it into debility and ſubjection. At one period of time, we ſee in Diodorus, the number of exiles, whom party-violence had driven out of their native cities, amounted to twenty thouſand. In the days of Polybius, we find the ſame ſpirit of diſſenſion ſtill continued; and it was happy for the ſufferers, when this atrocious ſpirit was contented with baniſhment alone.

IV. THE democratical form, which, as we have ſeen, prevailed under various modes throughout Greece, however friendly we may ſuppoſe it to liberty, was attended with inconveniences of conſiderable detriment to the national proſperity. It opened an ample field to the factious and the turbulent, to the pretended patriot and the venal orator: it frequently rendered the public councils paſſionate, inſolent, capricious, and unſtable: it baniſhed the ableſt chiefs: it gave birth to thoſe cruel and reproachful edicts, which we meet with even in the Athenian annals, againſt the Aeginetae, againſt the Samians, againſt the ten admirals: and, what is yet a ſtronger inſtance of the folly often prevalent in popular aſſemblies, it produced that abſurd Athenian law[7], which diverted to the amuſement of a giddy multitude thoſe funds, which had been originally appropriated to the moſt important department of government, the ſupport of their naval ſtrength. That in a political form, of which we are apt to conceive great things, and which, it muſt be confeſſed, has often wrought

7 It was made death to move for a repeal of this law.

the

the nobleſt atchievements, theſe miſchiefs ſhould be found, ariſes from the very nature of that form. The *vital principle* of democracy, as a celebrated writer juſtly obſerves, is *virtue*. And therefore, whilſt invigorated by this exalting principle, democracies have reached an height of glory, which other forms of government emulate in vain. But on this very account alſo have democracies been more rapid in their declenſion, than other political conſtitutions. Great opulence and extent of empire, thoſe darling objects of human ambition, whoſe allurements are ſo ſeldom reſiſted by political wiſdom, have been always fatal to them; becauſe ſo prone to corruption is the human heart, that it is hardly poſſible this *vital principle* ſhould preſerve its vigour beneath the baneful influence of an opulent and wide-extended dominion. The ſage founder of the Spartan laws ſaw this, and endeavoured to provide for the ſecurity of Sparta, by excluding the purſuit of wealth and of extenſive empire. But the temptations of ſucceſsful war, and the avidity of man, defeated the purpoſes of the lawgiver. In contempt of the barriers which he had raiſed, avarice and the luſt of conqueſt made their way into Sparta, and produced their wonted effects of corruption and diſſolution. The truth of this obſervation appears yet more remarkably in the fate of Athens. The hiſtory of the pagan world has not a more auguſt ſcene to produce, than what Athens exhibited, from the third year of the ſixty-ſeventh Olympiad, the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidae, to the third year of the eighty-ſecond, the death of Cimon. During this memorable period, ſhe told the number of her heroes by that of her citizens; and every virtue, that can give ſtrength and dignity to a ſtate, was found among that illuſtrious people. But too ſoon

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

Eſprit des Loix, 3. 3.

See Polyb. l. 6. 46. 47.

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Bef. Chriſt 146.

See Polyb. 6. 42.

ſoon there ſucceeded the intoxication of proſperity; and that very democracy which, whilſt they continued virtuous, was a ſource of glory, now, as their degeneracy advanced, added to the public calamity. Corrupted by that exceſs of power which they enjoyed, and which made them ſupreme in the diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments, in the diſpoſal of honours, in the deciſion of the moſt important queſtions of government; corrupted by the adulation with which their leaders and orators generally addreſſed them, the people conſidered themſelves as above controul; and in full confidence of their own ſtrength, and vain, at the ſame time, of the glory derived to them from the proweſs of their anceſtors, they looked down with contempt on other nations, and with fond credulity entertained every viſionary ſcheme of conqueſt, with which their flattering demagogues ſought to amuſe them. Athens had extended her eſtabliſhments along the coaſts of Thrace and Aſia, and over moſt of the adjacent iſlands: yet, as if this were little, both Sicily and Egypt became the objects of her ambition; and a city, that ſcarcely muſtered twenty thouſand citizens, is ſaid to have conceived the mad project of attempting the empire of the world. Meanwhile, they had rendered their yoke inſupportable even to their Grecian neighbours: their confederates they treated as vaſſals; and the contributions which they received from them, and which they were to have adminiſtered for the general good, they wantonly laviſhed on the pride and magnificence of their own city; in name the *protectors* of Greece, but in reality its *oppreſſors*. Amidſt all this inſolence and bold ſhew of enterpriſe, the Athenians nevertheleſs had nothing of their antient vigour remaining. Employed in the buſtle of their popular aſſemblies, or in

in the oſtentatious diſplay of thoſe trappings of ſovereignty with which the citizen of Athens was inveſted, they had ſubſtituted the clamour and chicane of debate to military exertion; and while they were careful of their proficiency in intrigue and cabal, they were backward to maintain a ſuperiority in arms. This debaſement was manifeſted at Chaeronea; and, as if the reproach of that defeat had only ſerved to encreaſe their cowardice and abjectneſs, they ſhewed it in a manner ſtill more opprobrious at Lamia. Only two hundred Athenians, Pauſanias tells us, had fallen there; and yet, as if cut off from all reſource, they tamely opened their gates, and ſubmitted, without reſerve, to Antipater. But indeed proſperity, the pride of dominion, the vacant and unwarlike eaſe of a municipal life, had produced a total change in the Athenian character. That people, whom the devaſtation of their territories, and their city in flames, had not diſcouraged from ſupporting the liberties of Greece againſt the powers of Aſia, were now reduced to the moſt puſillanimous deſpondency, by the ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune; and ſtrangers to the ſpirit of their anceſtors, becauſe ſtrangers to their virtues, they reſigned themſelves to ſervitude with an abject timidity, ſcarcely to be believed of a republic, lately the haughtieſt to be found in the annals of hiſtory.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

In Achaicis.

V. But what ſeems to have had the largeſt ſhare in bringing decay and humiliation on the Grecian people, was *the fatal prevalence of atheiſtical tenets*, which, for above a century, had been ſpreading from the Epicurean ſchool through every part of Greece. It was the wiſh of Fabricius, when told by Cineas of the opinions which Epicurus was then propagating 'that they might be adopted by 'the enemies of Rome!' The event did honour to the

See Plut. in Pyrrho.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. Bef. Chriſt 146.

the wiſdom and foreſight of this virtuous Roman. The baneful doctrine completed the ruin of Grecian manners. Naturally volatile, of a ſceptical turn, and, from the arts of refinement and elegance which were familiar to them, prone to diſſipation and pleaſurable indulgences, the Greeks but too eagerly embraced a ſyſtem, that levelled all religious reſtraints, and left them without a God to inſpect human actions. The conſequence was, what in the like caſe it will ever be. We have it from Polybius, who was an eye-witneſs, that venality, fraud, treachery, an utter diſregard of country, of the moſt ſacred oaths, of all ties whatſoever, human and divine, crimes which indicate in the ſtrongeſt manner the corruption of a nation, and are the ſureſt preſage of its ruin, ſoon became prevalent throughout moſt of the ſtates of Greece. The Achaeans ſeem to have been the only exception. Poſſibly, as they were a plainer people, and leſs converſant in philoſophical reſearches, the contagion had made leſs progreſs among them. Accordingly the Romans, who, from the vicious and enervated ſtate of the other Grecian commonwealths, had obtained an eaſy conqueſt, met here with a vigour and ſtrength of virtue, ſuch as they little expected; and amidſt that general wreck of principle that marks thoſe degenerate days, it was the glory of Achaia to have a number of citizens, who, ſteady to the intereſts of their country, treated the temptations held out by Rome with their merited contempt, and beheld her warlike operations without diſmay. To defeat this formidable oppoſition, the Romans contrived the expedient already related. Under the pretence of tranſmitting them to Rome to prove their innocence of a charge which the Romans themſelves knew to be groundleſs, they ſeized on upwards of a thouſand of the moſt

See Polyb. l. 2. 45. 6. 54, 55. 12. 1. 13. de virtutibus et vitiis.

moſt reſpectable of the Achaean nobles, and ſent them to periſh in Italy. In the mean while, taking advantage of the diſtracted councils of a people who were now abandoned to the miſrule of demagogues of equal turbulence and incapacity, they effected their long-concerted project, the final overthrow of the Achaean liberties. Bef. Chriſt 146.

It would have been, however, ſome recompence to Greece for the loſs of her independence, if ſhe had found an effectual defence in that power, to which ſhe was thus ſubjected; and if, under the protection of her new maſters, ſhe had ſeen her tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed: but ſhe had not even this conſolation. Confounded in that maſs of nations, which formed the enormous and unwieldy body of the Roman empire, ſhe ceaſed to have any fortunes of her own; and at the ſame time, though, from her ſituation, it was forbidden to her to partake unmixed of whatever proſperity the Romans happened to enjoy, ſhe ſhared largely in moſt of their calamities; in the diſtreſſes of the Mithridatic war, in the depredations of the Cilician pirates, in the bloody conteſts between Caeſar and Pompey, between the republican party of Brutus and the avengers of Caeſar's death, between Octavius and Mark Antony; in the various oppreſſions, of which the deſpotiſm of the emperors was afterwards productive; and, at length, in that general devaſtation, which overſpread this mighty ſtate from the repeated incurſions of barbarian nations. Not to mention, how ſeverely the private vices of the Romans themſelves were often felt by this unhappy country, in the exactions and inſults which ſhe had often to ſuffer from her deſpotic governors; the common fate of all the provinces under the yoke of Rome. Until, from theſe ſeveral cauſes, Greece finally was

BOOK VIII. was left, as ſhe is at this day, with hardly a trace of her former glories.

Sect. 2. A CURSORY view of what is moſt memorable in theſe latter events ſhall cloſe our hiſtory.

Bef. Chriſt 146.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF GREECE

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER.

B O O K VIII.

SECTION III.

GREECE, debilitated and exhauſted, and ſtill bleeding from the wounds of Rome, beheld, with all the terror of conſcious weakneſs, the Cimbri hovering on her northern boundaries. To complete her misfortunes, this impending ſtorm of war had ſcarcely blown over, when the ambitious ſchemes of Mithridates of Pontus expoſed her to new dangers, and involved her in freſh calamities. Bef. Chriſt 146. Liv. Epitom. 63.

THIS extraordinary prince, the moſt powerful of his time, and the moſt able and enterpriſing who had ever taken up arms againſt Rome, demands Born bef. Chriſt 136

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mands particular notice. He was the eighth in descent from that Mithridates who, fleeing from the presence of Antigonus to the Euxine sea, had laid the foundation of the kingdom of Pontus. The voice of flattery gave him an origin still more illustrious, tracing his ancestry down from the antient line of the princes of the house of Cyrus. A minor at the time of his father's death, who had perished by domestic treason, and himself exposed to a similar fate, he was driven to seek for safety in the forests; where, under the pretence of pursuing the chase, he changed his haunts night after night, taking his repose on the ground, like the inhabitants of the wild; and never, during seven years, entering into any city, nor venturing under the cover of a roof. By this means he acquired an hardiness of body, that was proof against every extreme of weather, and not to be subdued by any toil. The danger of his situation suggested an additional precaution: he fortified himself with a certain medicine, of which he is said to have been the inventor, and which is reported to have been an infallible antidote against the effects of the most powerful poison.

See Appian de Bello Mithridat. Plut. in Sylla, Lucullo, Pompeio.

His father had been in friendship with the Romans, and had done them important services in their war against Andronicus, the last of the Pergamenian kings. The son was too formidable to be admitted to the same friendly intercourse. The Romans viewed him with jealousy, and resolved to accomplish his humiliation. With this view, the senate judged it expedient to circumscribe his sovereignty within narrower limits. Provoked at the presumption of this arbitrary attempt, Mithridates conceived the bold design of overthrowing the Roman empire in Asia, a great part of which he soon united under his own banners. Three Roman generals marched against him; the proconsul Lucius Cassius,

Caſſius, Q. Oppius, and Manius Aquilius, a man of conſular dignity, who had been honoured with a triumph, and was at this time at the head of the Roman commiſſioners for the ſettlement of Aſia. Mithridates defeated them all, and having gotten the three commanders into his hands, regardleſs of their quality, expoſed them to ridicule and ſcorn, producing them by way of ſpectacle through the Aſiatic cities. Aquilius particularly, whom he charged with being the author of the war, was treated with the utmoſt contumely. He loaded him with chains, and mounting him on an aſs, compelled him, as he paſſed along, to inform the gazing multitude of his name, and his rank in the Roman armies. To mark yet farther[1] the deteſtation in which he held the Roman name, he iſſued orders to the Aſiatics in the ſeveral provinces throughout his dominions, on an appointed day to maſſacre every Roman and Italian they could find among them, without regard to age, ſex, or condition; the debtor to have half the fortune of the creditor whom he ſhould murder, and the ſlave, who had ſlain his maſter, his liberty; and forbidding them, under the pain of death, to ſave any of their lives, or, when dead, to give them burial. The atrocity of theſe orders, and ſtill more, the horrid zeal with which they were executed, ſtrongly evince, how odious the Romans muſt have been

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Bef. Chriſt 89.

Bef. Chriſt 88.

Liv. Epit. 78. Appian. ub. ſup.

1 Mithridates probably conſidered this as an act of juſtice. Manius Aquilius was in fact a perſon who merited infamy: he had triumphed at the cloſe of the Pergamenian war, though in the conduct of it he had done little ſervice, Perpenna having brought that war nearly to a concluſion; but, he dying, Aquilius ſtepped into the command, and claimed the merit of what another had atchieved. A few of the Aſiatic cities ſtill remaining to be reduced, he, in violation of the laws of war, treacherouſly poiſoned the ſprings, from whence they were ſupplied with water, and thus compelled them to ſurrender. We may judge accordingly, how the Aſiatics, who had ſuffered ſo much from his perfidiouſneſs, muſt have enjoyed his humiliation. Flor. 2. 20.

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to the Aſiatic nations. Eighty thouſand, by the loweſt accounts[2], periſhed in this maſſacre. Neither the feelings of humanity, the claims of gratitude, the ties of friendſhip, nor the reverence of religion, ſhielded thoſe unhappy victims from the ſavage fury of unrelenting vengeance, even thoſe who fled for refuge to the temples, being torn from them, or ſlaughtered at the altars. The death of Manius Aquilius cloſed this ſcene of horror: Mithridates cauſed molten gold to be poured down his throat, in reproach of Roman avarice.

THE object of Mithridates was now to attempt an alliance with the ſtates of Greece; with their aſſiſtance to purſue his plan of hoſtilities in the neighbourhood of Italy; and ſhould circumſtances favour him, to carry the war into the heart of the Roman empire. The conjuncture was favourable to his deſigns. The Romans, diſtreſſed at home, firſt by the Italian inſurgents or the confederate war, and afterwards by the diſſenſions which Marius and Sylla had excited, ſeemed to have withdrawn their attention from Greece. Theſe circumſtances, with the powerful arguments that Mithridates had to offer, 'of the exploits already 'atchieved by him, and of his avowed enmity to 'Rome,' could not fail of eſtabliſhing an intereſt with a people, in their happieſt days impatient and changeable, and at this time ſharpened to a keener ſenſe of the oppreſſions they endured, by the very remembrance of the liberties which they had enjoyed. The Athenians even prevented his wiſhes. Exaſperated by certain fines, which the Romans had lately impoſed on them, they had ſent an embaſſy to the king of Pontus, to implore his protection. Nothing could coincide more op-

2 An hundred and fifty thouſand, ſays Plutarch (in Sylla).

portunely

portunely with his views. A conſiderable body of land-forces, under the command of his ſon Ariarathes[3], and another under that of Archelaus, with a large naval armament, were immediately ordered to their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time that his troops under Archelaus took poſſeſſion of Athens, his fleet was employed, with the moſt rapid ſucceſs, in reducing the numerous iſlands that cover the Aegean ſea; and Ariarathes extended his conqueſts through Thrace and Macedon. In Greece, the Roman commander Brutius Sura oppoſed Archelaus at firſt with vigour, and in one engagement obliged him to retreat to his ſhips. But this check produced nothing deciſive. And the whole province of Achaia, from Theſſaly to the Cretan ſea, had ſoon acknowledged Mithridates; the little city of Theſpiae having been, it is ſaid, the only place, whoſe reſiſtance rendered a ſiege neceſſary.

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MEAN while Sylla, having expelled the Marian faction, prepared to puniſh the Grecian revolt. His very name impreſſed terror and diſmay. As ſoon as his approach was known, the Grecian cities, Athens alone excepted, conſcious of guilt, ſent to deprecate his wrath, and to tender their ſubmiſſion. The other more important wars, to which his ambition was exciting him, probably ſaved them. Diſdaining to ſtoop to any mean game, he marched with rapidity to Athens, where the chief of the Mithridatic force ſeemed to be collected. His aim was, to extinguiſh at once the war in Greece, by ſtorming Athens. But this he found a taſk more difficult than he expected. Bef. Chriſt 87.

ATHENS was divided into two parts, the upper town and the lower. The upper, comprehending the city properly ſo called, together with the Acropolis or Athenian citadel, was incloſed within one common wall of conſiderable ſtrength. The lower, diſtant

3 Appian calls him Arcathias.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 87.

diſtant about five miles from the upper, was the great ſea-port of Athens, generally known by the name of the Piraeus; famed for its noble arſenal, for its docks, and the variety and extent of its buildings for naval purpoſes; for the number of ſeamen and artiſans, with which it was crowded; and above all, for its harbour, the work of Themiſtocles, ſaid to have been large enough to afford ſhelter to a thouſand ſhips[4], and opening its capacious boſom to the trade, not only of the adjacent iſlands, but to that of Aſia and Egypt. Around it was a fortification of ſtone, raiſed by Pericles, ſixty feet in height, and of proportionable thickneſs, remarkable for the maſſy ſize of the ſtones with which it was conſtructed, and more ſo for the compactneſs and ſolidity of their junctures. From the Piraeus to Athens there was a road, ſecured on each ſide by a ſtrong wall, which formed a communication between the port and the city.

In the upper town Ariſtion poſſeſſed the command; a factious demagogue, who had riſen to power by an abject compliance with the follies and vices of the multitude; and who by profeſſion was an Epicurean philoſopher, but, like many of that dangerous ſect, concealed under this philoſophic diſguiſe the blackeſt flagitiouſneſs of mind. By intrigue he had been appointed ambaſſador to Mithridates, into whoſe favour he had inſinuated himſelf by the ſervility of his deportment, and by betraying to him the intereſts of his country. On

4 So ſays Pliny, l. 7. 37. Strabo, probably more exact, ſays four hundred. Spon, Voyage de la Grece, tom. 2, ſuppoſes, that in its preſent ſtate it could hardly be capable of receiving fifty of our large ſhips. See Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 5. for a full account of this famed harbour. From a marble lion, of admirable workmanſhip, ten feet high, which was placed at the inmoſt extremity of this harbour, it has been known by the name of Porto Draco, or Porto Lione. The lion has been carried away by the Venetians, and is now to be ſeen before the arſenal at Venice.

his

his return, he had amuſed the Athenians with aſ- BOOK
ſurances, that the great views of Mithridates were VIII.
pointed ſolely to the humiliation of Rome, with Sect. 3.
the reſtoration of the popular government, and Bef. Chriſt
all the ancient liberties of Greece. Having by 87.
theſe arts obtained by degrees the unlimited confidence of the multitude, he ſoon uſurped the ſovereign authority, and uſed it like a tyrant, exerciſing the ſevere ſcourge of arbitrary ſway on the very people who had truſted him with power; murdering or baniſhing, under pretence of having diſcovered their connections with Rome, every man whoſe wealth could tempt his avarice, or whoſe ſtation or virtues could alarm his fears. Urged on therefore by his crimes, Ariſtion, though not truly brave, (which a villain never is) was deſperate, and had embraced the reſolution to ſuffer every extremity, rather than yield to a foe, from whom, he well knew, he had no mercy to expect.

In the lower town, Archelaus had the direction of the military operations, a brave and experienced officer, who was attentive to improve every advantage of his ſituation. Beſide a numerous garriſon, he had a ſtrong fleet at his diſpoſal, which enabled him to command from abroad every neceſſary ſupply. And, in addition to theſe advantages, there was an army of above an hundred thouſand men in Macedon, ready to march to his aſſiſtance.

Sylla, on the contrary, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to carry the place by ſtorm, ſaw himſelf beſet with difficulties. He had brought with him only five legions and a few cohorts, in all about thirty thouſand men; a force far inferior to that of the enemy. Beſides, he had neither the machines neceſſary for a ſiege, nor military ſtores of any kind, nor money to purchaſe them. But in his

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his own daring mind he found resources for every want. He sent Lucullus into Egypt for naval succours. He prevailed on the inhabitants of Aetolia and Thessaly, probably by way of atoning for their late defection, to send him a reinforcement of men, and a supply of arms and provisions. He cut down all the sacred groves round Athens, and spared not those of the Lyceum and Academy in the Athenian suburbs, in order to procure timber for his engines; and he seized on the holy treasures at Epidaurus, Olympia, and Delphi. His answer to Caphis, a certain Phocian, whom he dispatched on this errand to the Delphic temple, is memorable, and shews, that this stern Roman was as little embarrassed by scruples of religion, as by the feelings of humanity. Just as Caphis was preparing to seize the sacred offerings, the priests contrived that the lyre of Apollo should be heard to sound from the inmost sanctuary: Caphis, struck with a religious horror, immediately desisted, and sent the Roman commander an account of the tremendous prodigy. Sylla replied jestingly, 'that he was surprised Caphis did not 'know, that music was the expression, not of anger, but of joy; and that he might therefore 'boldly take the treasures, since Apollo gave them 'with such good will.'

Bef. Christ 87.

Plut. in Sylla.

WITH all these aids, however, Sylla had not much to boast of. He attempted to scale the walls, and was repulsed. His warlike engines were set on fire, and destroyed in a sally of the besieged. He battered their works in vain, while a new wall instantly appeared behind every breach that had been made. He tried to proceed by mining; but the Athenians countermined his works, and slew or put to flight his miners. Thus baffled in every attempt, and winter coming on, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade, in hopes

hopes of reducing the place by famine. He had already thrown down part of the long walls which joined the Piraeus to Athens, and had made a lodgement on the very road which ſerved as a communication between them; ſo that the former method of conveying proviſions from the port to the city was rendered almoſt impracticable. Difficulties, however, he ſtill had to combat; and theſe aroſe chiefly from Archelaus, who, active and enterpriſing, took every opportunity, and often with ſucceſs, to attack the Roman lines, and to throw relief into Athens: but the treachery of two Athenians belonging to the Piraean garriſon at length enabled Sylla to prevent even theſe precarious and hazardous ſupplies. Expert at the ſling, they diſcharged a number of leaden bullets into the Roman camp, day after day, inſcribed with notices of whatever Archelaus was preparing to do--- 'to-morrow we ſhall make 'a ſally'——'on ſuch a part of your lines is the 'attack to be' ——'at ſuch an hour the convoy 'ſets out'—and Sylla took his meaſures accordingly.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 86.

DEPRIVED in this manner of every reſource, Athens ſoon began to feel the utmoſt ſeverity of want. A buſhel of wheat was ſold for a thouſand drachmas[5], the people feeding not only on the herbs and roots that grew ſpontaneouſly in the citadel, but on ſodden leather and oil-bags, ſome even on human carcaſes, while the tyrant indulged in plenty and riot; and when applied to by the prieſts and chief men of Athens, who conjured him to compaſſionate the public miſery, and treat with the Romans, he commanded his guards to anſwer them with a ſhower of arrows, and drive them from his preſence. Sylla had information of

[5] £. 32. 5. 10.

all

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all theſe proceedings, and rightly judging that now was the favourable moment, determined once more to try whether ſtorming might not ſucceed. A part of the wall having been obſerved to be lower than the reſt, there he directed the attack to be made; and taking the opportunity of the dead hour of the night, he carried his point with little difficulty; the inhabitants, from ſurpriſe, or from their preſent feeble condition, or perhaps from the diſaffection of many to a ſervice which terror alone had made them ſubmit to, ſcarcely attempting oppoſition. Theſe conſiderations, the laſt eſpecially, from a more merciful conqueror, might have obtained ſome degree of favour for Athens in this hour of its miſery. But of a temper naturally rigid and vindictive, and by long practice made familiar with deeds of blood, Sylla had become a perfect ſtranger to all the tender feelings of humanity. He had beſides been irritated by the obſtinate reſiſtance he had met with, and ſtill more, if we are to believe Plutarch, by certain perſonal inſults he had received from Ariſtion, who, during the ſiege, fearleſs of the iſſue, had wantonly inſulted the Roman general as he paſſed under the walls: and Sylla poſſeſſed not that greatneſs of mind, which forgives or contemns ſuch indignities.

Bef. Chriſt 86.

Ubi ſup.

EAGER therefore for revenge, he abandoned to his ſoldiers the plunder of the city, with expreſs orders, that all within the walls, whether citizens or ſoldiers, male or female, young or aged, ſhould be indiſcriminately put to the ſword. The ſcene that followed is one of the moſt dreadful that is recorded in the Grecian annals. Goaded on by the fierceneſs of Sylla, and not leſs ſtrongly perhaps, by their own reſentments and avarice, the ſoldiery ruſhed furiouſly againſt this emaciated, diſpirited, defenceleſs multitude. The darkneſs of the

the midnight hour, the ſound of trumpets, the blowing of horns, the clang of arms, the ſhouts of the conquerors, and the ſcreams of deſpair, all contributed to the horrors of this inhuman maſſacre. Unchecked by any reſiſtance, the ſlaughter had ſoon made its way from quarter to quarter; many of the miſerable inhabitants, worn out with want, offering themſelves to the ſtroke of death; and ſome, even before the ſword of the enemy reached them, unwilling to outlive the liberties or the exiſtence of their country, or wiſhing to prevent the violence of the brutal ſoldier, falling by their own hands. The number of the ſlain, according to Plutarch, was ſo great, that it exceeded all computation, and was only to be judged of from the quantity of blood, which is ſaid to have poured in torrents through the gates of the city. Bef. Chriſt 86.

SATED at length with carnage, Sylla yielded to the importunities of thoſe about him, and with ill-feigned mercy, conſented to ſpare what remained of this wretched people. He granted their lives, he ſaid, from the high reſpect he bore to their illuſtrious anceſtors, 'forgiving *the many* on 'account of the *few*, the *living* for the ſake of the 'dead.' Plut. in Sylla

AMIDST the confuſion of the night, Ariſtion and his minions had eſcaped into the citadel: but in a few days the want of water obliged them to ſurrender. The tyrant was put to death by the command of Sylla, and together with him, according to Appian, all who had ſhared in his councils. De bello Mithrid.

SOON after the taking of Athens, the Piraeus was evacuated; Archelaus, who ſaw that it was no longer defenſible, now that the higher grounds were in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, drawing off his troops, and contenting himſelf with blocking up the mouth of the harbour with his fleet. Here therefore

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 86.

therefore human victims were wanting to ſatisfy the exterminating ſpirit of the conqueror; and inſtead of theſe, the magnificent ſtructures, and various decorations, with which Athenian pride and genius had during three hundred years been adorning this favourite port, ſupplied freſh objects to his fury. He ſet fire to the place, and then demoliſhed whatever the flames had not deſtroyed. In the ſacking of the upper city, a conſiderable part of it had been levelled with the ground. But here Sylla reduced the whole to one diſmal maſs of ruins, not a ſingle edifice eſcaping from his more than gothic barbarity.

THIS was the moſt complete deſtruction, that Athens had ever experienced ſince the Perſian invaſion: and it was with difficulty, and by ſlow degrees, that ſhe ever roſe again to conſideration. When the devaſtations of war had ceaſed, the few Athenian families that ſurvived returned to their ruined city; and both public and private munificence were employed, from time to time, in repairing her breaches. But ſtill many monuments of Sylla's vengeance remained long; neither, till the days of the emperor Hadrian, the moſt bountiful of her latter benefactors, did ſhe begin to reſume ſomewhat of her former ſplendor.

THE deſtruction of Athens was, however, but a part of what Greece had to ſuffer from the hands of Sylla. He had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of that city, when Taxiles, who had ſucceeded to the command of the army of Mithridates, on the death of Ariarathes, the king's ſon[6], and now,

6 From the private papers of Mithridates, which Pompey (Plutarch in Pompeio) found in the caſtle of Caenon, it appeared, that the young prince had fallen a victim to *eaſtern jealouſy*: he was taken off by poiſon by his father's orders, whoſe envy and ſuſpicions were probably both awakened by the martial reputation he had acquired in Macedon.

by

by repeated ſupplies, had increaſed his forces to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, marched againſt him from Macedon; and having been joined by Archelaus, advanced into Boeotia. Sylla's numbers, with all the reinforcements he could procure, were two-thirds ſhort of thoſe of the enemy. To intrench himſelf within the Athenian ruins, where it had been difficult for the Aſiatics to force him, ſeemed his only reſource. But the country of Attica being now a waſte, and his troops being in danger of periſhing by famine ſhould he attempt to remain in his preſent poſition, he determined to advance into the plain, and boldly truſt the event to Roman courage. A particular account of the action that followed belongs to another hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, the two armies having joined battle at Chaeronea, Sylla obtained a complete victory, with the poſſeſſion of the enemies camp, while an hundred and ten thouſand of their men were left dead upon the field. Mithridates, unappalled by misfortunes, and fruitful in reſources, immediately diſpatched Dorylaus at the head of an army of eighty thouſand men, to oppoſe Sylla. They engaged at Orchomenos in Boeotia; where, notwithſtanding the moſt ſpirited exertion on the part of the Aſiatics, which at one time had nearly proved fatal to the Romans[7], Sylla proved again victorious. Hiſtory ſpeaks highly of his valour, as well as conduct, on both theſe occaſions. It is ſuſpected, however, that another cauſe contributed much to his ſucceſs. Archelaus is ſaid to have

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. Bef. Chriſt 86.

7 The Romans were retreating in confuſion, when Sylla frantic at the ſight, leaped off his horſe, ſeized one of the enſigns, and ruſhing in among the fugitives, 'Here,' cried he, 'ſhall I die with 'honour: and you, Romans, when aſked, where you betrayed 'your general, remember to tell, it was at Orchomenos.' Shame, and a ſenſe of honour, ſtopped their flight, and turned the fortune of the day. Plut. in Sylla.

been

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been drawn into a treaſonable correſpondence with Sylla, and to have ſold his maſter. Of this Mithridates himſelf, in a letter to Arſaces king of the Parthians, appears to have entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions. It is certain, that Sylla ever after treated Archelaus with extraordinary regard, preſented him with a large tract of land[8], in the iſland of Euboea, and conferred on him the title of the FRIEND AND ALLY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE; favours, which he would never have beſtowed, had they not been purchaſed by important ſervices.

Bef. Chriſt 86.

Frag. in Salluſt. I. 4.

THE firſt uſe that Sylla made of his victories was, to execute vengeance on the Boeotians. This unhappy people, whoſe country had been the ſcene of the late battles, had already ſuffered ſeverely by the common deſolations of war, and the inſolence and rapine of the Aſiatics[9] as well as Romans. Sylla's reſentment was not ſo eaſily to be appeaſed. Beſide the guilt of the firſt defection, in which they ſhared with the reſt of Greece, they were charged, and probably not without reaſon, with having given aſſiſtance to both the Aſiatic armies. In revenge, he abandoned Boeotia to maſſacre and devaſtation: many of the cities[10] were laid in ruins[11], and the inhabitants condemned to

8 Ten thouſand acres.

9 A ſhort time before the battle of Chaeronea, the barbarians, though ſeemingly in friendſhip with the Boeotians, had in their excurſions ſacked two Boeotian cities, Panopea and Lebadea, and pillaged the oracular temple, for which the latter was famed. Plut. in Sylla.

10 Three of them, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alaeae, are particularly mentioned.

11 We have from Plutarch (in Sylla) the following anecdote, from which we may judge, with what an unfeeling ſeverity theſe wretched cities had been treated. Sylla one day in his walks meeting with ſome fiſhermen, who preſented him with a curious diſh of fiſh, inquired, whence they were; when hearing they were Alaeans, "What!" ſaid he, 'are any of the Alaeans alive?'

indiſcriminate

indiſcriminate ſlaughter. To complete the whole, he deprived the Thebans of half their territory, conſecrating it to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter, 'to make compenſation.' ſaid the pious ravager, 'to thoſe gods for the treaſures that he had taken from them.' Bef. Chriſt 86.

As to Mithridates, though Greece had no connection with his ſubſequent fortunes, yet here the following ſhort ſketch of them may not improperly be placed. However humbled by repeated overthrows, he ſtill roſe ſuperior to every diſaſter; continuing, through a long ſeries of wars, of victories, of defeats, of negotiations, and of conventions, the irreconcileable enemy of Rome. Though oppoſed at different periods by three of the greateſt generals of his time, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, yet he was never totally ſubdued. At laſt, when ſeemingly bereaved of all his hopes, and driven into a remote and inhoſpitable corner of his dominions, we ſee with aſtoniſhment this prince forming the bold deſign of an irruption into Italy by the very road, which, ſome ages after, the northern bands attempted and proſecuted with ſuch fatal ſucceſs. At the time he conceived this daring plan, he was drawing near his ſeventieth year; and yet, even thus circumſtanced, Rome had probably found him a ſecond Hannibal, had not the revolt of his ſon Pharnaces diſconcerted his counſels, and put an end to all his ſchemes. Of all his ſons he held him deareſt, conſidered him as the laſt ſupport of his royal houſe, and had appointed him his ſucceſſor; as from him, amidſt the various treaſons which he had experienced from the reſt of his children, he had always met with attachment and fidelity. Overwhelmed by this unexpected blow, the hoary monarch, in a fit of deſpair, at once put a period to his own miſfortunes, and to the fears of Rome. How formidable

Bef. Chriſt 65.

Bef. Chriſt 64.

BOOK VIII. Sect. midable he muſt have been to the Romans, we may judge from the intemperate joy they indulged upon receiving the tidings of his death, 'as if,' ſays Plutarch, 'ten thouſand of their enemies had been ſlain in Mithridates.'

Bef. Chriſt 64.

Plut. in Pomp.

To the calamities of the Mithridatic war there ſoon ſucceeded, what proved nearly as fatal to Greece, the depredations of the Cilician corſairs. Theſe lawleſs rovers had their original ſettlement among the rocks and faſtneſſes of the Cilician coaſt, where, enriched by numerous prizes which the adjacent ſeas and iſlands afforded them, and taking advantage of the conteſts or the weakneſs of the Aſiatic princes around, in whoſe ſervice they were occaſionally employed, they acquired a degree of ſtrength, which rendered them at length the terror of all the neighbouring ſtates. In this ſituation Mithridates found them, when that enterpriſing prince was meditating the empire of Aſia. He ſaw at once the important advantage to be derived from the intrepidity and naval experience of theſe ravagers, and diſdained not to inrol them among his confederates. Emboldened by this alliance, they now adventured on expeditions more diſtant and hazardous, and had ſoon extended their excurſions from the pillars of Hercules to the ſhores of Egypt; whilſt the Romans, embarraſſed on every ſide by inteſtine commotions, and the precarious condition of many of their moſt valuable provinces, marked the gathering ſtorm, without being able to guard againſt it.

See Strab. l. 14. p. 459. Flor. l. 3. c. 6.

ELATED and aſſiſted by incidents ſo alluring and favourable, theſe ſons of rapine roſe to a degree of power, that ſeemed to promiſe nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of the Mediterranean. Not contented with attacking ſhips, they aſſailed towns and iſlands. They had in various parts their arſenals, their ports, their watch-towers, all ſtrongly

ſtrongly fortified. The number of their gallies amounted to a thouſand, which were moſt completely equipped; and the cities, of which they were in poſſeſſion, were not fewer than four hundred. Nor was there one place almoſt of note throughout the whole Mediterranean ſea, that had not paid them contributions, or ſuffered from their depredations. Even the legions of Italy could not ſecure her from theſe piratical invaders. They inſulted her coaſts; they even ventured upon inland incurſions, plundering villas, and carrying off both plunder and people: ſo that, within a certain diſtance of the ſea-ſide, there was no longer any travelling with ſafety. Bef. Chriſt 63.

To theſe predatory invaſions Greece, by her ſituation, was neceſſarily much expoſed. The multitude of iſlands which ſurrounded her, and the great extent of coaſt open to the Aegean, the Cretan, and the Ionian ſeas, abounding with creeks and harbours, and preſenting to the view flouriſhing cities, rich paſturages, and various ſcenes of rural wealth, which overſpread this beautiful country, were objects too inviting to be paſſed over without a viſit from theſe rapacious ſpoilers. Accordingly, few countries appear to have ſuffered more. They plundered her ſhips; they pillaged her towns; they laid waſte her territory. And on the Peloponneſian coaſt with ſuch ſucceſs were their depredations carried on, that the promontory of Malea, the ſouth eaſt point of this part of Greece, received from them the name of the *golden promontory*. They did not ſpare even the temples of the gods. Plutarch reckons ſeven of the moſt revered temples of Greece, which, until that period, the rapacious hand of the invader had never dared to violate. But theſe now were laid in ruins; amongſt which number we find the famous Florus ub. ſup.

BOOK VIII.

mous temple of Juno at Argos, and that of Aeſculapius at Epidaurus.

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Bef. Chriſt 67.

DURING a period of near forty years, theſe enemies of mankind had thus continued their outrages, when the Romans, now in ſome meaſure relieved from their late embarraſſments, reſolved to employ every effort for their extirpation. The arms of Pompey, to whom the conduct of the war was committed, were completely ſucceſsful. He deſtroyed their fleets, purſued them to their moſt ſecret haunts, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their fortreſſes. Having at laſt reduced them to unconditional ſubmiſſion, he diſperſed them in different countries, appointing them inland ſettlements, to the end that, having no proſpect of the ſea, they might not again be tempted to renew their naval depredations. As to Greece, from a remarkable circumſtance recorded by Plutarch on this occaſion, we may judge what at this period was her deplorable ſtate of depopulation, in conſequence of theſe calamities. It was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to tranſplant a conſiderable body of theſe pirates into Peloponneſus. Pompey aſſigned them the territory of the Dymeans, lately one of the principal tribes of the Achaean confederacy; this whole diſtrict, as large, and formerly as fruitful as any in Achaia, being now, to uſe Plutarch's words, *widowed of inhabitants.*

Χηρεύουσαν ἀνδρῶν. In Pompeio.

THE guilty ſcenes, that ſoon after followed, are well known; when ambition finiſhed what corruption had begun; and when the ruin of the Roman liberties, which rapacity, venality, and diſſoluteneſs had been preparing, was completely effected by the bold and ardent ſpirit of Cæſar, the diſſipation of Antony, and the calm time-watching hypocriſy of Octavius. The ſword of civil diſcord had not long been unſheathed, when Italy poured the whole war into this unfortunate land; and by the

Bef. Chriſt 31.

the contending factions of Rome were the plains of Pharſalia drenched in blood. Upon Caeſar's death, the conteſt was renewed; and Greece became again the field, in which the prize of empire was to be diſputed. The jealouſies of Octavius and Antony produced a third war; and ſtill was Greece, as before, the ſcene of action; on the coaſt of Epire being fought the battle, that gave to Octavius the world.

WITHOUT the aid of hiſtory, the mind may eaſily conceive what muſt have been the deſolations[a] of a country, the theatre of all theſe hoſtile operations, compelled to take an active part in civil broils, and thinned of its people by wars not its own; whilſt a multitude of foreign bands, many of them fierce barbarians, from Gaul, from Thrace, from Africa, from the foreſts of Germany, and from the wilds of Caucaſus, invited thither by the hopes of ſpoil, completed the diſtreſs. Yet even theſe calamities, inſeparable perhaps from convulſions ſuch as theſe, and which, it might be expected, would have terminated with the ceſſation of hoſtilities, Greece found to her ſorrow only the commencement of her ſufferings. The war being ended, whoever had not been the victor's friends, were now conſidered as his foes: ven-

a When Antony was preparing to fight Octavius, Plutarch (in Antonio) informs us, the reapers and aſs-drivers, even the very boys, throughout Greece, were forced away to man Antony's fleet. Plutarch's great grandfather, Nicarchus, was at this time at Chaeronea, his place of reſidence; and he uſed to relate, that the inhabitants of this part of the country, not having horſes, were compelled to carry the corn on their own backs to the ſea-coaſt, as far as Anticyra on the Corinthian gulph, and were driven by the ſoldiers with ſtripes, like beaſts of burthen. And after the battle of Actium, in ſuch extreme indigence were the citizens of Greece, having been plundered of all they had, that Caeſar, though highly diſpleaſed with them for their attachment to Antony, was induced by their diſtreſs, to order the corn, which had been provided for the uſe of the war, to be diſtributed among them.

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geance and rapaciouſneſs eaſily found out pretences againſt all, from whom plunder might be expected; and the pillage of cities, and the confiſcation of territorities, were as the right and the reward of the conqueror. Caeſar himſelf, the moſt clement tyrant that ever roſe to power by the ſword, was not altogether innocent of theſe vindictive executions. The Athenians had declared againſt him; and their whole country, now beginning to recover from Sylla's deſolations, he again reduced to a ruinous waſte. The people of Sicyon, who together with the reſt of Peloponneſus had been active in the intereſts of Pompey, he deſpoiled of the Corinthian territory, which had formerly been aſſigned to them; and probably to humble this part of Greece, he raiſed Corinth from its ruins, colonizing it with a body of his veterans, and a number of enfranchiſed ſlaves from Italy.

See Plut. in Cæſare, Pauſ. in Corinth. Strabo Caſaub. 9, 263

When upon the fall of Antony, Octavius, or rather Auguſtus, for ſo had flattery now named him, ſaw himſelf in the uncontrouled poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, the ſuppreſſion of the ſpirit of liberty, wherever in the courſe of the late conteſts any exertion of it had appeared, became his principal object. Greece was not forgotten. Several of her ſtates had not only enliſted under Pompey's banners, but had afterwards eſpouſed the cauſe of the conſpirators, and latterly that of Antony. The Athenians had even celebrated the death of Caeſar as the aera of the re-eſtabliſhment of freedom, and placed the ſtatues of Brutus and Caſſius next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Auguſtus made it his ſtudy to humble theſe *inſolent* republicans. He abridged the few privileges that remained to the Athenians, and deprived them of Aegina. The Meſſenians he reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage; and he plundered the

the Arcadians of their very ſtatues and the monuments of their antiquity. He obſerved a ſimilar policy towards every other Grecian ſtate. And though the Lacedaemonians had declared in his favour, he thought it expedient, in order to reduce their power, to diſmember from them twenty-four cities of Laconia, declaring them to be thenceforward independent, and diſtinguiſhing them by the name of *Eleutherolacons*, or free Laconians. Bef. Chriſt 31.

See Pauſ. in Corinthiac. Laconic. et Meſſeniacis.

FROM the days of Auguſtus, the iron ſceptre of deſpotiſm has been extended over this unhappy land.

UNDER the firſt Roman emperors, indeed, Greece is ſaid to have ſcarcely felt the ſeverity of her lot; and her own writers who lived in theſe times, Strabo[9] and Pauſanias, ſpeak largely of the proſperity ſhe derived from the Roman government. It is not difficult to account for this partiality. The latter days of Grecian liberty had been times of confuſion and inteſtine miſery. From the commencement of the war of the Triumvirs, Greece had been one continued ſcene of devaſtation and bloodſhed. In the eſtabliſhment therefore of the imperial power, which extinguiſhed all theſe conteſts, this unhappy country found relief, and without regret gave up a freedom, long ſince little more than nominal, in exchange for domeſtic peace and protection from foreign invaſion. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the crimes of the earlier Roman tyrants were generally confined to Italy, where the objects of their deſires or their jealouſy were moſtly found; and

See Pauſ. in Atticis, Eliacis, Achaicis.

9 Μέχρι τῶν (ſays Strabo, L. 9. p. 274, ſpeaking of Athens) ἐν εὐθηρίᾳ ἔστι καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Strabo tells us he lived under Auguſtus and Tiberius, *during whoſe reigns*, ſays he, *Rome and her ſubject provinces enjoyed a proſperity ſuch as they had hitherto never known.* See Strab. L. 6. in fin. May not the teſtimony of ſuch a witneſs be queſtioned?

the

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Bef. Chriſt 31.

the provinces, whether from their ſuppoſed inſignificancy, or from the policy of their Roman maſters, were often permitted to enjoy a ſecurity, which was denied to the firſt families of Rome. 'I will have my ſheep ſhorn, not flayed,' ſaid the unfeeling but ſubtle Tiberius to a certain governor of Egypt, who, with the view of recommending himſelf to his favour, had laboured to augment the imperial revenues by mercileſs exactions. He would *enjoy*; but, attentive to his own intereſt, he was unwilling to *exhauſt*. The legionary armies, beſides, afterwards the formidable controulers of the Roman world, ſeemed as yet unconſcious of their own ſtrength, and diſdained not to receive orders, which they were ſoon to impoſe. In addition to theſe conſiderations, there is much reaſon to ſuſpect, that this very repreſentation of the proſperity of Greece under the Roman government was in a great meaſure the language of ſervitude, in order to court the favour of theſe lords of nations; and that Greece was far from poſſeſſing [3]that ſhare of happineſs, which ſome of her writers would perſuade us ſhe enjoyed. What ſtrengthens the ſuſpicion is the ſervile adulation, which Greece appears to have paid even to a Nero. Never did a more flagitious tyrant diſgrace the imperial purple. And yet has Greece inrolled him

3 It is not to be ſuppoſed, that a detail (which there were ſo many powerful reaſons for ſuppreſſing) ſhould have reached us, of all the ſufferings of Greece under the imperial deſpots of Rome; but among Pliny's letters, there is one (viii. 24.) to his friend Maximus, upon his being appointed to the government of Achaia, ſtill extant, where from many expreſſions, and the earneſt charge he gives him 'to remember the reſpect due to this once-illuſtrious 'people, whom,' ſays he, 'to deſpoil of that little ſhadow and 'name of liberty, now left to them, it were hard, it were cruel, 'it were barbarous!' one is apt to conclude, that they had not been treated with a gentle hand. Pliny's repreſentations to his friend ſeem to form a kind of contraſt between what Greece had experienced from former governors, and what Pliny required of Maximus.

among

among her deliverers. Vain of his muſical and dramatic excellence, he had paſſed over thither, to exhibit himſelf on the Greek ſtage, and to diſpute the wreath of victory with the Grecian performers, who had the reputation of being the moſt excellent then exiſting. His ſucceſs in the courſe of this whimſical expedition equalled his utmoſt vanity. Wherever he appeared, and in whatſoever character, (and he attempted every character, high or low, male or female) the judges with one voice, as may well be ſuppoſed when the lord of legions was the performer, proclaimed him victor. At the celebration of the Iſthmian games, which ſoon after followed, he expreſſed his gratitude by publicly declaring Greece free and independent. This was a grant of little value to a people, who had neither the virtue to enjoy, nor the power to preſerve it; and it tended only to renew among them the fatal conteſts of their popular aſſemblies. It was a grant alſo, which Nero himſelf violated with the ſame levity with which it was beſtowed; having, at the very time he announced freedom to them, ſeized every relic of Grecian ſplendor which could be found; and having plundered the very temples of all the valuable ſtatues, which had hitherto eſcaped the hand of the ſpoiler. For this piece of mockery Pauſanias nevertheleſs is laviſh in Nero's praiſe, as if *the reſtoration of Grecian liberty* had been really his intention; and he conſiders it as a mark of 'innate greatneſs of mind' in that emperor, 'to 'have been, with all his crimes, capable of ſo 'generous a purpoſe.' Certainly little of the ſpirit of antient Greece was remaining, when the pen of her hiſtorian could thus attempt to dignify the capricious follies of a madman.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. A. D. 66.

Pauſan. in Boeotia. Dion Chryſoſtom. Orat. 31. In Achaicis.

THIS pretended reſtoration of freedom ended, as it was eaſy to foreſee it would. With the revival

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. A. D. 69

vival of the municipal rights of the Grecian tribes their contentions revived alſo: ſuch at leaſt is the Roman account. In order therefore to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in Greece, Veſpaſian declared it neceſſary to reduce it again to ſervitude.

Pauſ. ibid. Suetonius in T. Veſpaſiano.

In reviewing the liſt of the ſucceeding emperors, it is painful to reflect, how few of their names[5] deſerve to be recorded with honour, in compariſon of thoſe who in cruelty, and in diſſoluteneſs, were the ſcourges, and ſtill more, the reproach of human kind. To add to the ſeverity of the oppreſſion, theſe tyrants ſeldom roſe to the ſeat of dominion by peaceable ſucceſſion, but generally made their way to it by military force; ſo that the defeat of the unſucceſsful candidate, and the ſubſequent depoſition of the ſucceſsful one, proved fatal to all who, however innocent of their crimes, were even ſuſpected of having had any connection with their fortunes. When Geta fell by the hand of Cara-

A. D. 212.

calla, 'it was computed, that under the vague 'appellation of the friends of Geta, above twenty thouſand perſons of both ſexes ſuffered death. 'His guards and freedmen, the miniſters of his 'ſerious buſineſs, and the companions of his looſer 'hours, thoſe, who by his intereſt had been pro'moted to any command in the army, or in the 'provinces, with the long connected chain of 'their dependents, were included in the proſcrip'tion, which endeavoured to reach every one who 'had maintained the ſmalleſt correſpondence with 'Geta, who lamented his death, or who even 'mentioned his name[7].' Marked in like manner with

[5] The two illuſtrious Antonines, a Trajan, a Titus, a Nerva, perhaps are all that can be mentioned with approbation,

[7] See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. VI.

With particular pleaſure I take the opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the elegant work, from which the above quotation is borrowed. I have had frequent recourſe to it in this part of my hiſtory. If I have attempted to place ſome matters in a different light from that in which this ingenious writer ſeems to have

with blood and devaſtation was every revolution, that placed a new family on the imperial throne; the removal of even the moſt guilty tyrant becoming a public calamity, from the ſanguinary and extenſive miſchiefs of which it was productive. Not only party-rage armed the military ruffian; private animoſity alſo availed itſelf of the opportunity, and under the ſemblance of loyal zeal executed its ſelfiſh and vindictive purpoſes. What vengeance did not perpetrate, avarice executed; the plundering of every wealthy individual being frequently the only reſource that remained to the tyrant of the day to ſatisfy the demands of the clamorous ſoldiery, whoſe ſedition had raiſed him to the purple. Not leſs than thirteen of theſe revolutions within the ſpace of ſixty years, from the death of Commodus to the acceſſion of Decius, have diſgraced the Roman annals, and now excite a mixed ſenſation of pity and deteſtation in the human breaſt.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. A. D. 212. A. D. 193. to 249.

AMIDST that variety of miſery, which Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had to ſuffer from this fierce line of tyrants, ſhe had hitherto however been ſafe from the inroads of thoſe barbarian tribes, which for a conſiderable time had inſulted the Roman frontier; and at a diſtance from the ſcene of hoſtilities, ſhe paid little attention to dangers, which ſhe fondly thought were never to reach her. The reigns of Decius, of the unhappy Valentinian and his ſon Gallienus, ſhewed her the vanity of her ſecurity. The Goths, a new race of adventurers, hitherto almoſt unknown to the Romans even by name, had iſſued from the northern extremities of Germany, and

have conſidered them, I ſhall hope, from the liberality of ſentiment which his writings aſſure me he poſſeſſes, that he will not diſapprove of a freedom of inquiry, always ſerviceable to the cauſe of truth.

after

BOOK VIII. Sect. 2. A. D. 251. after various fortunes had proceeded to the Danube; the ſeveral tribes of barbarians that lay on their way, having either fled before them, or, by joining the invaders, added ſtrength to the increaſing hive. Againſt this irruption of ravagers, the feeble efforts of an exhauſted empire could avail little. Decius, a prince worthy of happier times, attempted to oppoſe their progreſs; but, together with his ſon, his aſſociate in the empire, he unfortunately periſhed in the attempt; and but few years had elapſed ſince their firſt appearance, when almoſt every province, from the banks of the upper Danube to the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, and along the Aſiatic coaſts, from the mouth of the Phaſis to the opening of the Helleſpont, had felt their violence, or been forced meanly to purchaſe with gold a temporary and precarious forbearance. They now entered the Archipelago, and plundered moſt of the iſlands. They advanced A. D. 260. into Attica; and getting poſſeſſion of the once-famed Piraean port, they ſpread themſelves over the whole country. Greece, after all her ſufferings, ſtill poſſeſſed many valuable remains, and could yet diſplay various monuments of the magnificence and arts of ancient times. From a civilized conqueror, theſe noble memorials of human genius would have challenged ſome degree of reſpect; but they now ſerved only to provoke the indignation and ſcorn of barbarians accuſtomed to live in the open field, to whom the dwelling in houſes was impriſonment, and the knowledge of letters the badge of ſervitude. Hence the whole of this devoted country, from the eaſtern point of Sunium to the fartheſt verge of Epire, preſented one continued ſcene of deſolation. Finding it neceſſary at length to retire from the deſart, they prepared to paſs over into Italy, where the daſtardly Gallienus completed the diſgraces of the Roman name.

name. The defence of the empire reſted on him; and he had actually aſſembled a powerful force, under pretence of covering the Italian coaſts from the inſults of theſe plunderers. But ſubdued by his fears, he declined oppoſing them in battle, and ſubmitted to accept of peace on terms at once pregnant with ignominy and with danger, 'the 'receiving of a conſiderable body of them among 'his troops,' and 'the inveſting one of their 'chieftains with conſular honours.' The remainder of theſe bold invaders filed off to the northward laden with the ſpoils of Aſia and of Europe; returning home unoppoſed, to diſplay to their countrymen what ſplendid rewards awaited the daring adventurer. BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. A. D. 260.

UNDER the ſucceeding emperors, from the warlike Claudius to the bloody Dioclefian, Greece, though her coaſts were ſtill expoſed to the tumultuary deſcents of barbarian rovers, began to enjoy better days, and had little more to complain of than her ſhare in the general humiliation, the common fate of every people in ſubjection to the yoke of Rome.

THE acceſſion of the great Conſtantine ſeemed to promiſe to the Grecian annals a new aera of glory. Sole maſter of the Roman world by the removal of his imperial rivals, he ſaw himſelf relieved from the conſequences of that jealouſy ever incident to a divided empire, and which had often drenched the Roman provinces in blood. Of the barbarians, many of the moſt formidable had either felt and dreaded his ſtrength in war, or having acquired an eſtabliſhment in the countries which the fears of Rome had formerly aſſigned to them, had formed an acquaintance with the arts of peace, and aſſiſted in cultivating the lands they once had ravaged. The emperor himſelf, intelligent, enterpriſing, reſolute, and vigorous, appeared A. D. 306.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. A. D. 306. peared to have both the desire and ability to advance the prosperity of his people. The confines of Greece, also, he had made choice of for his place of residence; and the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been seated, were now to give a new capital to the world. Amidst these interesting events, a revolution still more important took A. D. 312. place: the gloomy shades of paganism fled before the light of the Gospel, and instead of the absurd and frequently impure fictions which had hitherto disgraced the religion of Greece, succeeded the beneficent and exalting doctrines of Christianity.

THE disciples of Christ, from their earliest appearance, had to encounter the most obstinate contradiction, first from the Jewish zealots, and afterwards from the pagan votaries; and ten[8] persecutions had tried and attested the sincerity and undaunted firmness of the professors of the Gospel. Their virtues, their fervent piety, their resolute spirit superior to reproach, to tortures, to death, had often made a deep impression on their enemies; and even of those who had been the most inveterate persecutors of the Christian faith, many had become its most zealous preachers. Some of the emperors themselves are said to have beheld with admiration these uncommon exertions of the human mind, and to have entertained a strong suspicion, if nothing more, 'that a faith 'so active, so generous, so much superior to every 'worldly concern, must have had a divine origin.' Still however the ancient superstition kept its ground, supported by the deep-rooted bigotry of the multitude, by the illusive pageantry of pompous rites, by the captivating decorations of painting and sculpture, with which the temples of

8 Sulpic. Severus (2, 48.) says nine only.

Greece

Greece eſpecially abounded) where the beings of fiction ſeemed to ſtart into life, and fable aſſumed a kind of reality) but above all, by the intrigues of an intereſted, ſubtle, and numerous prieſthood; and its moſt ſtrenuous advocates bore witneſs in behalf of Chriſtianity, by their alarms at every appearance of its ſucceſs, and the earneſt endeavours they employed for its ſuppreſſion. A.D. 312.

SUCH, during near three hundred years, had been the ſtate of the Chriſtian church, when the great Conſtantine, in obedience to an heavenly viſion, according to ſome writers, or according to others, inſtructed by his mother Helena, who, in full perſuaſion of the truth of Chriſtianity, had taught him from his early years to hold the Goſpel in reverence, avowed himſelf the diſciple of Chriſt, renounced the worſhip of the gods of paganiſm, and invited the various nations, who lived beneath his imperial ſway, to embrace with him *a religion*, whoſe DIVINE OBJECT, whoſe PRECEPTS, and whoſe PROMISES, preſented to the mind whatever can alleviate the fears, purify the faith, and enliven the hope of man; whatever can either adorn and bleſs private life, or give increaſe and ſecurity to public happineſs. A.D. 324.

EVERY circumſtance here ſeemed to announce to Greece a proſperity, which, in the times that follow, we look for in vain. It may be of uſe to trace the cauſes, to which the diſappointment is principally to be aſcribed.

I. THE crowd of pagan worſhippers, firmly attached, from the ſtrong dominion of ignorance, domeſtic example, and habit, to the altars of their country, ſaw with a kind of religious horror the triumphs of Chriſtianity, and employed every device, that prieſtly craft or popular ſuperſtition could ſuggeſt, to obſtruct its eſtabliſhment. Paganiſm had always abounded with prodigies. Theſe

See Monteſquieu Grand. et Decad. des Romains, c. 19. See alſo Libanius & Ammian. Marcellin. paſſim.

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These were now the arms employed in defence of her cause. Spectres were seen; the order of nature was inverted by monstrous births; the hallowed grove resounded with nocturnal voices; all omens of tremendous import, menacing the empire with the vengeance of its deserted gods. At the same time, every public disaster became a convenient instrument, to impress new terror on the credulous multitude. Was any part of the Roman dominions desolated by earthquakes, laid waste by tempests, or afflicted with contagious disease? it was the indignation of Aesculapius, the vindictive arm of Apollo, the wrath of Neptune, the anger of the Capitoline Jove, that had sent forth the judgment. Or did the barbarians spread again the waste of war, and had discomfiture disgraced the imperial banners? it was the goddess of victory who abandoned a people, by whose daring hands her statue, once the pride of Rome, had been overthrown. Or did intemperate seasons blast the hopes of the husbandman? the goddess of harvests was the cause, who, defrauded of her due honours, had resented the impious violation.

With the same active zeal, and with still greater art, the Grecian sophists joined in the opposition. These sophists, the boasted successors of the Grecian sages of antiquity, ashamed of the legendary tales of paganism, and not honest enough to confess, with the excellent Socrates, the weakness of human reason, had adopted the subtle but illiberal plan of disguising what they could not support. With them the whole pagan theogony became the mysterious repository of wisdom. Beneath the rough covering of the most uncouth fable some valuable truths, they pretended, lay concealed; and the several pagan divinities were, according to their intrepretation, to be considered as subordinate

ordinate miniſters of the Sovereign of the univerſe, or as allegorical perſonages, emblems of his operations or his attributes.

A. D. 324.

THE attempt was ſpecious. Ancient wiſdom had frequently been employed in reducing many of the fables of heathen ſtory to the allegorical rank, which ſeems primarily to have belonged to them, and in withdrawing the reverence of the pagan world from thoſe beings of fiction, whom the ſimplicity of the timorous and ſuperſtitious villager, or the artifice of ſome deſigning impoſtor, had erected into gods.

FAR different were the views of the ſophiſts. By clearing away the various abſurdities which enveloped and obſcured the pagan ſyſtem, their purpoſe was, to give it a more plauſible appearance, and a permanent eſtabliſhment. For, whilſt they paid their offerings at the ſhrine of every fabulous god, and required of their diſciples a ſtrict compliance with every idolatrous and abſurd rite of the pagan worſhip, it was their artful boaſt, that to the SUPREME ORIGIN OF ALL GOOD their piety was aſcending gradually, and in HIM was ultimately to terminate.

IN ſupport of this laſt refuge of paganiſm (to which probably it had been driven by the bold attacks of the Chriſtian converts) all the various aids that Grecian literature could furniſh, and the keeneſt weapons that ſophiſtry had to wield, were inceſſantly employed; with what ſucceſs, the length of time, during which the ſchools of the ſophiſts continued to flouriſh, bears ample teſtimony. Sixty years elapſed from the iſſuing of Conſtantine's edict in favour of Chriſtianity, before theſe ſons of fallacy had ſunk into the neglect and obſcurity, which they had long deſerved.

See Julian. Epiſt. ad Athen. et Epiſt. paſſim. Ammian. Marc. 21, 1. &c. Liban. Or. Eutrop. in Maxim.

II. THESE however were not the enemies, from whom the churches of Greece had moſt to fear. In theſe

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these days of Grecian degeneracy, versatility of genius, an acute and ready wit, a restless inquisitiveness, a fondness for argument and cavil, formed the principal lines of the Grecian character. This was more conspicuously the characteristic of the Athenians. As long as their democracy had subsisted, political contests, and the bustle of popular assemblies, had been their favourite occupation; after its dissolution, the captious disputations of the sophists, to whose direction the several schools of philosophy in Athens were now entrusted, became their chosen amusement. Many of the Greeks therefore, who embraced the Gospel, brought with them into the Christian church the practice of disputation, with a strong habitual fondness for curious disquisition and subtile argument. Not satisfied to abide within the boundaries which the Almighty seems to have prescribed to man here below, their bold fancy attempted to explore the regions of the invisible world; and to pry into, to unfold, and to judge, the secret counsels of Infinite Wisdom. Points the most abstruse, and probably not meant for human discussion, were brought into debate. The pride of science begot contention, obstinacy, and mutual hatred. The haughty disputant levelled his anathemas at those who presumed to question his decisions; and his opponents, not less absurd, by way of vindication, retorted on him the condemnation he had dared to pronounce. Doctrine was set up against doctrine, tribunal against tribunal; and at the very time it was uncertain, and perhaps even of no importance, which of the two parties was in possession of the truth, the cause of the highest importance to the happiness of mankind, the cause of real religion, of brotherly affection and mercy, was deeply injured by both.

See Euf. de vita Conftant. 3. 4, 5. Sulp. Sev. 3, 50. & feq. See alſo Fleury Hiſt. Eccl. l. 10, 11, 12, &c.

III. LOVE of fame, the imperious pride of the decisive dogmatist, and impatience at being vanquished

quiſhed in the field of argument, had almoſt in the earlieſt periods diſturbed the peace of the Grecian church: conſiderations ſtill more ſordid ſoon contributed to provoke new conteſts, and to ſpread the flame of animoſity. Conſtantine choſe to ſignalize his zeal for the Chriſtian eſtabliſhment by the favour he ſhewed to its miniſters. The ample revenues and ſumptuous offerings, with which the miſtaken piety of the early ages had enriched the temples of paganiſm, and the magnificent and oſtentatious diſplay employed in the celebration of its feſtive ſolemnities, were known to have contributed principally to the veneration of its votaries. Conſtantine would have thought he had been wanting in what he owed to the true God, had he aſſigned a leſs reſpectable ſituation to thoſe who were more immediately engaged in his ſervice. Emoluments and honours were therefore liberally, perhaps profuſely, beſtowed. The noble and wealthy emulated the example; till, by a natural progreſſion, to add to the ſacred patrimony was accounted the ſureſt pledge the diſciple of the church could give of his piety, or of his repentance.

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Euſeb. de vit Conſtant 3, 15. & 4, 1.

THE days of tribulation had been days of glory to the Chriſtian church: ſhe was diſhonoured by ſplendor and opulence. The experience of many generations has ſufficiently informed us, that the human heart, even within the ſanctuary of religion, is not exempted from frailty: it found here numberleſs temptations to avarice, to ambition, to inſolence, and but too often confeſſed their fatal influence. With many, the ſtation more than the duties of the churchman became the object of purſuit. Religious debates multiplied, and were maintained with additional acrimony, when an epiſcopal

See Sulp. Sev. 2, 47.

5 For an account of the liberalities of Helena, the emperor's mother, ſee Euſeb. L. 3. 44, 45.

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throne and princely treaſures were to be the rewards of victory. And within leſs than forty years after the death of Conſtantine, the prudence of a Chriſtian emperor, Valentinian[6], was exerted to conſult the real intereſts of religion, by preſcribing limits to the property of the church.

IV. If the unbounded munificence of the firſt Chriſtian emperors had brought reproach on the church, the exceſs of their zeal in behalf of the purity of her doctrine proved nearly as dangerous. Conſtantine himſelf had led the way. Too fond of taking an active ſhare in religious controverſy, he frequently encouraged and foſtered thoſe contentions, which he ought to have repreſſed or terminated. Inſtead of extending a parental, and perhaps conciliatory tenderneſs to all thoſe of his ſubjects whoſe opinions were their only crimes, he ſet up party againſt party, and by lending the ſanction of his imperial name to whatever tenets he happened to honour with his approbation, often gave ſtrength and continuance to paſſions and enmities, which it was in his power at leaſt to have ſoothed, and perhaps to have extinguiſhed. Conſtantine went too far; his ſucceſſors proceeded farther; and the diſciple of the goſpel has it to lament, that under Conſtantius[7], Valens, Grati-

See Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. 3. 64, 65.

See Sulp. Sev. 2, 64, 65.

6 By an edict of his (Cod. Theod. L. 26. tit. 2. leg. 20) addreſſed to Damaſus biſhop of Rome in 370, and publiſhed in the ſeveral churches on the 3d of the kalends of Auguſt, the director was no longer permitted to receive from his ſpiritual daughter any gift, legacy, or inheritance: every teſtament contrary to this edict was to be null and void. See Fleury Hiſt. Eccl. L. 16. Mr. Gibbon (ch. 25.) thinks, that by a ſubſequent regulation, all eccleſiaſtical perſons were rendered incapable of receiving teſtamentary gifts.

7 The words of l'Abbé Fleury are worthy of notice. Il troubla, ſays he, ſpeaking of Conſtantius, la Religion Chretienne, ſimple d'elle meme, par une ſuperſtition de vielle; et s'appliquant plus à l'examiner curieuſement qu'à la regler ſerieuſement, il excita pluſieurs diviſions, qu'il fomenta enſuite par des diſputes de mots. Hiſt. Eccleſ. 14. 575.

an,

an, Theodoſius, Juſtinian, &c. the church, emboldened by the imperial protection, frequently exerted againſt the unhappy recuſant the ſame mercileſs violence, which ſhe herſelf had ſo juſtly complained of, when the ſcourge of power was exerciſed by pagan authority.

V. Even the neighbourhood of Conſtantine's imperial city, whoſe riſing glories Greece beheld with conſcious pride and fond expectation, afforded little encreaſe to the Grecian happineſs. The opulence and pomp of Rome had been removed thither; but ſo had her vices. And all that Greece appears to have derived from the ſplendid vicinity of Conſtantinople was nothing more than what provinces bordering on a great city have generally to boaſt of, the fatal pre-eminence[8] of being exhauſted to ſupport her magnificence, and of being corrupted by her example.

The act that cloſed the life of Conſtantine was as injurious to the public proſperity, as any that hiſtory has charged him with. His dominions he divided among his three ſons, Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Conſtans, and his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus[9]; bequeathing to the Roman world the melancholy legacy of inteſtine wars and deſolated provinces. Scarcely was the celebration of his obſequies ended, when Dalmatius and Hannibalianus periſhed in a military inſurrection, excited by the creatures, and proba-

See Gibbon, Ch. 18.

8 See Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. 17, p. 19, oct.

9 Conſtantine had Spain, Gaul, and the Britiſh iſles; Conſtantius Aſia, with Egypt, and all the eaſtern provinces; Conſtans Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Illyricum; Dalmatius Thrace, and all Greece; Hannibalianus Cappadocia, Armenia, and Pontus. Aurel. Victor. 7 Epit. Eutropius (L. 10, 9) makes no mention of Hannibalianus. Socrates alſo (L. 2, 25.) mentions only Dalmatius.

bly

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bly by the arts[10], of Conſtantius. The crime of theſe two young princes evidently was, that a part of the imperial dominions had been aſſigned to them: beſide this, Dalmatius ſtood alſo charged with having inherited a large ſhare of the late emperor's abilities. Such guilt was not to be expiated but with their blood. Seven other princes of the imperial houſe, uncles or couſins to the ſuſpicious Conſtantius, ſhared their unhappy fate, together with all their friends, officers, and dependents, ſome of whom had been high in the favour and confidence of Conſtantine himſelf. Two princes more, Gallus and Julian, couſins likewiſe to Conſtantius, would have ſuffered in the maſſacre, had not the policy of the tyrant ſaved them. Julian, a child only ſix years old, was too inconſiderable to be the object of his kinſman's jealouſy: Gallus was aged twelve; but his infirm ſtate of health afforded to Conſtantius the pleaſing hope, that nature would ſoon relieve him from the neceſſity of employing againſt him the hand of the aſſaſſin.

A. D. 337. THE three ſons of Conſtantine had now the whole extent of the Roman empire to divide among them. But each aſpired to the whole. Conſtantine, the eldeſt, fell by the ſword in attempting to deſpoil his brother Conſtans of his dominions. Conſtans himſelf, a prince, if hiſtory may be truſted, of the moſt deſpicable character, derived but little advantage from a victory, in which neither his proweſs nor his conduct had any part. Magnentius, one of his chief officers, tempted by his incapacity and diſſoluteneſs, conſpired againſt him, put him to death, and boldly aſſumed the imperial purple, in thoſe days of military deſ-

10 *Conſtantio*, ſays Eutropius (ub. ſupra) ſpeaking of the death of Dalmatius, *ſpernente potiùs quàm jubente*. Socrates (loc. praedicto) ſpeaks ſtill plainer, οὐ κελεύοντος Κωνσταντίου τὸν σφαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύοντος.

potiſm

potiſm the cuſtomary reward of the ſucceſsful traitor. Of the ſons of Conſtantine the Great, Conſtantius alone now remained. Called forth by his brother's wrongs, and probably incited ſtill more powerfully by the voice of ambition, he haſtened from the eaſtern provinces, over which he reigned, to chaſtiſe the guilty uſurper. He found in this enterpriſe more difficulty than his flattering courtiers had taught him to expect. And it was not till after a deſtructive war of three years, which in two bloody fields ſwept away the flower of the Roman legions, that vengeance at length overtook the perfidious Magnentius[2]. A. D. 353.

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During the inteſtine commotions of the weſtern empire from the ambitious attempts of the younger Conſtantine, and the feeble adminiſtration of the diſſolute Conſtans, Conſtantius had been engaged in a doubtful and unproſperous war againſt his Perſian neighbours. Amidſt the confuſion of theſe buſy times, Gallus and Julian had been ſuffered to live; and the cautious deſpot had contented himſelf with concealing them from public notice in a lonely caſtle of Cappadocia, formerly the place of reſidence of the Cappadocian kings. Upon the murder of Conſtans, and the erection of the ſtandard of rebellion by Magnentius, the whole weight of the empire at this ſeaſon of anxiety reſted on Conſtantius. He felt the burden, and venturing to ſeek relief in the aſſiſtance of Gallus, removed him from a priſon to his court,

1 At Murſa in Pannonia, now Eſſek in Hungary, and at Mons Seleuci, in the Cottian Alps.

2 During the revolt of Magnentius, Vetranio had aſſumed the purple in Illyricum, as collegue to Magnentius, but had afterwards abdicated in favour of Conſtantius. Nepotian alſo, the nephew of Conſtantine by the princeſs Eutropia, had been ſaluted emperor at Rome, in oppoſition to Magnentius, but periſhed, after a reign of twenty-eight days. Eutrop. l. 10, 11.

under

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under the title of Caesar, associated him to the honours and toils of the imperial station, and left him to provide for the security of the Asiatic provinces, whilst he himself advanced against the rebel. After the overthrow of Magnentius, and the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, Constantius found himself at leisure to examine more attentively into the conduct of Gallus, since his elevation. Gallus had faults, and he had enemies. The eunuchs, at this time the despicable and insolent rulers of a luxurious court, deadly foes to whomsoever they could not govern, had placed their emissaries around him, who marked with jealous observation all his moments of pride or of passion. It was discovered, that Gallus affected an independence, which the emperor and his ministers did not mean to allow him. Some unjustifiable acts of violence committed at Antioch against certain confidential servants of the emperor, with the connivance, if not by the orders of Gallus, had thrown a deeper shade on the errors of which he had been guilty. Credulous nevertheless of what was artfully suggested to him, that it was his interest to have an interview with Constantius, and that his presence would dissipate every complaint, he was prevailed on to intrust himself to this insidious court, and in a few days after his arrival in Pannonia, on his way, as he thought, to Milan, where the emperor then resided, he was on a sudden carried away under a strong guard to Istria, and there beheaded privately without even the formality of a trial.

See Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14 1, 7, 9, 11.

JULIAN still survived. For some time his fate hung in suspence: and it was a question, whether the enjoyment of life could safely be permitted to a prince, who had so many domestic and personal injuries to revenge. To the generous interposition of the empress Eusebia, wife to Constantius,

tius, he owed his preſervation. Her lenient counſels, inforced by the multiplicity of cares with which the emperor found himſelf oppreſſed, did even more. Softened by her repreſentations, Conſtantius at laſt conſented to admit his young kinſman into his preſence, to inveſt him with the ſame imperial honours that Gallus had been graced with, and to appoint him to the important ſervice of defending the frontier of the Gallic province againſt the warlike tribes of Germany. Julian executed his truſt with ſpirit and ſucceſs. Repeated accounts aſſured the emperor of the abilities and atchievements of the governor of Gaul. He became alarmed. At the head of a victorious army, by whom he was adored, the Caeſar might be tempted to forget what he owed to the emperor; and the ſword of Julian, which was to have guarded the throne, might be employed to invade it. It was reſolved to ſecure his allegiance, by depriving him of the means of revolt. The Perſian bands ſtill infeſted the eaſtern borders of the empire, and often made inroads into the adjacent provinces. Orders were iſſued, that the ſtrength of the Gallic legions ſhould immediately be diſpatched to protect the Aſiatic frontier. The tidings ſpread a general conſternation. Theſe legions were moſtly compoſed of provincials, fondly attached to their native ſoil; and who, in violation of a promiſe ſaid to have been ſolemnly pledged to them, now ſaw themſelves torn away from their families and homes, probably never to reviſit them more. Julian, with much pretended zeal for the honour of the emperor, and a ſeeming firmneſs in requiring obedience to the imperial orders, appeared however to ſhare deeply in their affliction; and having on the eve of their departure convened them together, that he might take his laſt farewel of the beloved companions of his toils and of his victories, after

See Ammian. Marcellin. l. 20, 4. Eutrop. l. 10, 14, 15. Abbé de la Bleterie Vie de Julien; and Gibbon's Dec of Rom Emp 22.

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after a grateful recital of their gallant actions, he affectionately lamented a diſtreſs, *which, bound as he was to obey, it was not his power to relieve.* The hint was greedily caught up. 'The Caeſar, if 'once emperor, might preſcribe the orders, in-'ſtead of receiving them,' was the cry of numbers of the friends of Julian, who doubtleſs had been duly inſtructed; and 'Long live our emperor Julian!' inſtantly reſounded from all the ranks.

IT is ſcarcely poſſible to avoid remarking, how much of the artifice[8] of the ſophiſt Julian's conduct betrays on this occaſion. An apparent amazement at what he muſt have expected, and what probably his own dark arts had been labouring to accompliſh, was firſt of all aſſumed; he next anſwered their acclamations with all the ſemblance of the moſt poignant concern; he expoſtulated, conjured, menaced, bewailed; he even fled from their ſolicitations, and ſhut himſelf up during the whole enſuing night; confirming them the more effectually, by this appearance of unambitious reluctance, in the very choice he affected to reſiſt. The farce concluded with his *ſubmiſſive* acceptance of their ſplendid offer, and his promiſing to reward their ſedition with a ſuitable gratification; the plunder of the public treaſure being, in theſe days of corruption, the uſual recompence, which the gratitude of the new emperor beſtowed on the inſtruments of his fortune.

THE army of Gaul had created an emperor. Their next object was to ſupport him. And theſe very legions who, rather than encounter the inconveniences of a diſtant ſervice, had plunged into rebellion, were now impatient to brave every danger of an Aſiatic expedition, under the banners of their favourite Julian. But the death of Conſtan-

8 See his dream in Ammian. Marcellin. l. 20, 5. and his own account of another dream (Epiſt. 17.) to which, he confeſſes, he gave credit.

tius

tius ſaved the new emperor from the guilt of civil bloodſhed. He died at Mopſucrene[9] in Cilicia, on his way to diſpute the empire of the world.

JULIAN did not long ſurvive him. Ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a war, which hitherto had generally baffled the Roman arms, he formed the plan of humbling the Perſian king. Some inconſiderable advantages, obtained at the beginning, encouraged him to penetrate into a country with which he was ill acquainted. A defeat was the conſequence of his imprudence; and in the confuſion of the rout, he was pierced by an arrow from an unknown, and probably an ignoble hand. A. D. 363.

FEW princes have been more variouſly ſpoken of than Julian, few more the object of exaggerated praiſe and reproach: dignified by ſome writers with all the attributes of the hero, he is held forth by others to univerſal execration. From both parties a more temperate deciſion ought doubtleſs to have come, and would perhaps have approached nearer to the truth. In his private life he ſeems to have been deſerving of praiſe: his manners were unſtained with licentious pleaſures; his meals, his ſleep, were the frugal, ſlight refreſhments of the philoſopher; and his leiſure hours, inſtead of being waſted in diſſipation and frivolous amuſements, were generally employed in the purſuit of knowledge, though in the road to it he was unhappily miſtaken. As *a ſoldier*, the character he bears is high; not to be deterred by difficulty, nor diſcouraged by hardſhip; firm in the hour of battle, and always among the foremoſt in the path to glory. As a general, his abilities may be called in queſtion. In his Gallic campaigns, he was ſuppoſed to have acquitted himſelf with honour; in

9 The fountain of Mopſus. An oracle had formerly been there.

the

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the Perſian war, where we have a more diſtinct view of him, he appears to have been injudicious, raſh, preſumptuous; and in the action in which he fell, he diſcovered himſelf to have been animated with a valour that bordered on infanity.

But what ſeems chiefly to have engaged philoſophic attention in the hiſtory of Julian, is his character as a religioniſt. He had been educated in the Chriſtian faith from his early years, had profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, and had grown up to manhood in that profeſſion. Yet no ſooner were his fears from Conſtantius removed, than he threw off the maſk, abjured the faith of his former days, avowed himſelf the determined enemy of the religion of Chriſt, and with all the virulence of an enraged, but crafty adverſary, laboured for its extirpation to the laſt gaſp of his life. What appears ſtill more extraordinary; an infidel with relation to the Goſpel, he became the zealous believer of the whole Grecian mythology, adopted its gods, its legends, and its ſacrifices. Even its divinations, one of the moſt dangerous illuſions that ever debaſed the human mind, of which, in the gloom of the dark ages, heathen prieſtcraft had frequently made fatal uſe, and which in a more enlightened age had been reprobated by the wiſeſt of the pagan world, he reſtored, and protected with all the credulity of the moſt abject and uninformed bigot; importuning the altars of every divinity with anxious inquiries, and oftentimes with his own eyes, and an unfeeling curioſity, ſeeking his future deſtiny in the panting entrails of the innocent victim. Could it be from principle, that he renounced Chriſtianity? If it was, how could the ſceptic, who found it difficult to believe what the Goſpel teaches, thus relax from the ſturdineſs of unbelief, and embrace with ſo eaſy a faith all the abſurdities of pagan fable? Or

ſhall,

ſhall we ſay, with certain inſidious advocates, that whatever might be his profeſſion, Chriſtianity or Paganiſm, the liberal-minded Julian was of both equally an unbeliever; a Chriſtian by conſtraint, a Pagan from policy?

THE various revolutions of fortune which he experienced may perhaps, when more attentively conſidered, throw ſome light on this obſcure part of Julian's hiſtory.

HE was a child, when the arm of violence deprived him of his father, and robbed him of his liberty. To the ſtern officers of a jealous tyrant was his education of courſe intruſted; and under the impreſſions of terror, natural in ſuch a ſituation, he received the rudiments of Chriſtianity. The truths of the Goſpel, conveyed to the young diſciple by inſtructors of this kind, inſtead of conciliating his affections, had all the ſtubborn prepoſſeſſions of diſlike, of ſuſpicion, of reſentment, to contend with. Theſe prepoſſeſſions, deeply rooted in the heart, grew up with his years, and ſtrengthened with his ſtrength. When he was firſt permitted to approach the imperial court, new and more powerful prejudices took place in his breaſt. He ſaw in Conſtantius the mercileſs aſſaſſin of his family. And Conſtantius was *a Chriſtian*. The croud of eunuchs and fawning ſycophants with which the throne was ſurrounded, the counſellors or miniſters of the tyrant's crimes, and who in their treatment of Julian meaſured the reſpect they were to ſhew him by the degree of regard paid him by Conſtantius, were alſo *Chriſtians*. How many objections to the religion they profeſſed muſt have ariſen here in the ſuſceptible mind of Julian, irritated by paſt wrongs, and inflamed by preſent contempt! And is it a matter of wonder, that he ſhould have been led to confound a *religion*, which

BOOK VIII. which they disgraced, with the *principles* which seemed to actuate their conduct?

Sect. 3. THE votaries of paganism were still numerous, and though humbled, were powerful. Suspicious of Constantius and his ministers, they exulted in the thought, that in Julian their party might find a friend and protector. They marked, and strengthened, the impressions he had received. They courted his confidence. The most plausible and seducing of their sophists were employed to insinuate themselves into his intimacy. Julian's attachment to Christianity, if he had any remaining, was slight and wavering. A total rejection of all religion is a state ill suited to the human mind. Even the boldest pretender to infidelity will have his scruples, his moments of irresolution, diffidence, and anxiety. Julian felt, that a religion was wanting to him; this the heathen sophists were ready to supply. They offered him a religion, the religion, said they, of his forefathers, under whose propitious auspices Greece had reached the summit of human glory, and Rome had triumphed over a subjected world; a religion now purified by philosophy, and set free from those absurd disguises that a pious ignorance had cast over it. A multiplicity of gods, indeed, crouded their temples; but in doing honour to these, they were in fact paying homage to the perfections of the Supreme Father of the universe, of which these emblematical personages were representations, or expressing their gratitude to those intermediate intelligences appointed by the great First Cause to minister unto man. Neither were these intelligences the airy creation of an enthusiastic fancy: their existence had been ascertained by the strongest proofs, by the oracles, the dreams, the monitory omens, which they had repeatedly addressed to faithful votaries. They had even been known to assume

aſſume a viſible form, and perſonally to inſtruct or protect the humble ſuppliant in his hour of difficulty. And the all-powerful evocations and holy rites, of which the guardian of the ſacred myſteries was in poſſeſſion, could ſummon them from their aerial or ſubterranean abodes, and force them to reveal the dark ſecrets of futurity.

To this artful repreſentation Julian liſtened with pleaſure. His mind ſeems to have been prediſpoſed to meet it with approbation. Homer was his favourite[10], and there appeared a wonderful agreement between the poet's mythology and the ſophiſt's ſyſtem. Probably, the *one* was a tranſcript of the *other*. What rendered theſe tales of deceit the more captivating to Julian, was a ſpecies of flattery well adapted to his hopes. They perſuaded him, that the oracular voice of all the gods, and the promiſe of every victim, announced to him the ſpeedy poſſeſſion of the imperial throne[1]. Julian was not ungrateful. He ſteadily adhered to the altars of thoſe gods, of whoſe veracity he had received ſuch a *convincing* proof; and here perhaps it is not unjuſt to rank him among the moſt ſuperſtitious of the pagan zealots.

It is the reproach of Athens, that ſhe had a principal ſhare in miſleading the mind of Julian. Some time before he was inveſted with the honours of the Caeſar, he obtained permiſſion from Conſtantius to purſue his ſtudies in that city. His paſſionate attachment to paganiſm has its date

10 He appears to have had moſt of his works by heart.

1 The dreams and viſions, which Julian's hiſtorians (Zoſimus, l. 3, 155. Ammian, l. 20, 5. Libanius paſſim) tells us he had, and which he himſelf avowed (Epiſt. 17, ad Oribaſium) ſpeak him, if not an artful impoſtor, certainly a confirmed enthuſiaſt. The latter probably is the truth. And in a mind ſo diſpoſed, the fond perſuaſion, that he was the peculiar care of the gods, and by them deſtined to the empire of the world, might eaſily find admittance.

from

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from that period; before, the friend of that religion, here he became a bigot to it. Thoſe pretended philoſophers alſo, who were afterwards moſt aſſiduous in faſtening their bandage of illuſion on this unhappy prince, were moſtly from the Athenian ſchool, in thoſe days the great ſtore-houſe of heathen ſuperſtition. In a ſucceeding reign, we have a ſtrong proof of the powerful dominion of ſuperſtition over that infatuated people. They petitioned the emperor Valentinian to permit the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries, which, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, had been ſuppreſſed, and to reſtore to Athens a ſolemnity on which depended her glory and happineſs. So little had the city of Socrates profited by a LIGHT, which that venerable ſage would have beheld with rapture!

FROM this delineation of Julian's character, however we may be induced to pronounce leſs ſeverely againſt him, and to behold him even with compaſſionate indulgence, as a *deſerter of the Goſpel*, yet either as an *hero*, or a *philoſopher*, the candid hiſtorian can afford him little praiſe. The oppreſſions of Conſtantius, and the manners of a ſervile court, may have driven him from the Chriſtian church; but vanity, credulity, the curioſity of an ambitious mind, fixed him a pagan. How he has deſerved the exalted name which certain writers have been pleaſed to beſtow on him, it is not for us to determine. Some perhaps will be apt to ſuſpect, that his panegyriſts would have been fewer, had he not inliſted among the enemies of Chriſtianity.

IN Julian ended the houſe of Conſtantine. From the death of the latter to that of Julian, about twenty ſix years had elapſed[2]. At the time of

2 Conſtantine died in the year of Chriſt 337, Julian in 363.

Conſtantine'

Conſtantine's death, the imperial family was in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Hiſtory numbers no leſs than thirteen princes, brothers, ſons, nephews, to the deceaſed emperor, the ornament and ſtrength of the imperial houſe. In this ſhort period of time they had all periſhed, two only by the ſtroke of ſickneſs, and one in war againſt a foreign foe; all the reſt by the ſword of diſcord or domeſtic treachery. Such, in thoſe ages of arbitrary power, was the precarious tenure even of imperial greatneſs.

THE emperors, who ſucceeded Julian, reſtored the religion of the Goſpel, but without being able to re-eſtabliſh the public proſperity; of which a general profligacy of manners, and the fierce deſpotiſm of a military government, had been long before preparing the ruin. To theſe internal evils were added the terrors of hoſtile invaſion. An enemy, provoked by a wanton war, and now fluſhed with victory, threatened the eaſtern boundaries. And Jovian, whom Julian's army had called to the vacant throne, ſignalized his acceſſion by yielding to the Perſian monarch a conſiderable territory, to atone for his predeceſſor's raſh attempt. Similar dangers ſurrounded the empire on every ſide. In Britain, the Roman rampart oppoſed but a feeble and impotent barrier to the impetuous valour of the warriors of the north, and even the legionary troops had been found unable to withſtand the onſet of the Caledonian ravagers. In Gaul, the defenceleſs condition of the frontier, moſt of whoſe braveſt protectors had followed the banners of Julian, had encouraged the German tribes to renew their hoſtilities. Africa was in rebellion; and among the barbarian tribes of the Danube, there were ſtrong indications of a ſpirit of commotion.

WHAT

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WHAT rendered this ſituation of things the more formidable theſe ſeveral inſurrections, and forebodings of war had been excited by repeated cruelties and oppreſſions. Moſt of the nations that bordered on the empire had revered the name of Conſtantine; but they could not continue their reſpect for a line of princes, of whoſe follies, incapacity, or crimes, they were inceſſantly the witneſſes, often the victims. The meaſures purſued by the imperial court to defeat theſe impending dangers, fully ſhew the guilty policy by which it was governed, and have left an indelible ſtain on the miniſters that could adviſe, and the princes that could adopt them. The following inſtances are a ſufficient illuſtration of this truth. Two princes, a king of Armenia, and a king of [3] the Quadi, were both, within a few years of each other, under the vague pretence that their fidelity was ſuſpected, murdered at interviews to which they had been treacherouſly invited; and in both caſes, was the unguarded hour of the hoſpitable banquet choſen for the perpetration of this work of blood. Valentinian, the ſucceſſor of Jovian, is accuſed of the one; his brother Valens, to whom he had reſigned the eaſtern throne, ſtands charged with the guilt of the other.

VALENS ſoon after received the merited reward of his perfidious counſels. The Huns, a new tribe of barbarians, from the north-eaſt extremities of Aſia, in manners and aſpect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontier, attacked the Gothic ſettlements on the further ſide of the Danube. The affrighted Goths implored the protection of Valens, and were permitted to take refuge within his dominions. The peaceful habits of a ſettled home had already con-

Ammian. Marc. l. 29.

3 A Gothic nation.

ſiderably

ſiderably diminiſhed the native ferocity of theſe Gothic tribes; and under the mild government of equal laws, and in poſſeſſion of an eſtabliſhed property, they might without much difficulty have been improved into uſeful ſubjects. Valens had not the wiſdom to avail himſelf of this valuable encreaſe of population. Seduced by the fears of his miniſters, and perhaps not leſs by his own, he repented of what he had done; he had promiſed theſe ſtrangers a ſupply of proviſions, and he violated his promiſe. They complained; their complaints were diſregarded; neglect was aggravated by inſult, inſult by violence. The Goths, naturally haughty and impatient, were exaſperated; they flew to arms; and a long, fierce, and deſtructive war enſued, which in the courſe of it proved fatal to Valens himſelf. After having ſeen the total defeat of his army under the walls of Adrianople, he was burned alive in a cottage, where he had taken refuge from the victorious and purſuing enemy.

See Ammian. Marc. 31. 12, 13.

THE calamities of the times raiſed Theodoſius to the imperial throne. Gratian, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Valentinian, the nephew and now the heir to Valens, was ill able to ſuſtain the weight of two empires, one of them over-run by a revengeful and victorious enemy: he therefore conſigned the precarious empire of the eaſt to the valour of Theodoſius; in whoſe hiſtory is ſeen one of thoſe ſignal revolutions, that are ſometimes to be met with in the fortunes of this world. His father, of the ſame name, was of all Valentinian's generals the ableſt and moſt faithful. In Britain he had checked the inroads of the Caledonians; he had repulſed the Germans from the Gallic frontier; and he had reduced the inſurgents of Africa. Theſe ſeveral exploits had raiſed him in the eyes of a ſordid court to a dangerous pre-eminence. Valentinian

A. D. 379.

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lentinian was dead, and his ſon Gratian, as yet a youth, was under under the controul of a vicious miniſtry, who pretended that Theodoſius entertained ambitious views, and ſacrificed his life to their ſuſpicious jealouſy. For ſome years the young Theodoſius had ſerved with glory under his illuſtrious father, and had ſhewn himſelf already emulous of his noble example. But every aſpiring hope being thus blaſted by his father's death, he withdrew from a court which he muſt have held in abhorrence, and was cultivating the virtues of retirement on his paternal eſtate, in an obſcure corner of Galicia, when the commands of Gratian called him forth to the public ſervice.

THEODOSIUS, with conſiderable abilities, had alſo many amiable qualities. But the licentiouſneſs of a diſſolute age often diſappointed the *one*; and the baneful influence of deſpotic power ſometimes contributed to obſcure the *other*. No ſooner was he placed at the head of the armies of the eaſt, than he diſcovered, with equal amazement and regret, that the boaſted ſtrength of the Roman legions had ceaſed to exiſt. Corrupted by the example of the times, by the inſolent dominion they had uſurped over the throne, by the profuſe donatives they extorted from the tranſient objects of their favour, by the indulgences they obtained from the fears or the ambition of their leaders, the legionary troops had become ſtrangers to that frugal life, that patience of toil, and obſervance of diſcipline, which had triumphed over the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and had laid Carthage in the duſt. The ponderous helmet and maſſy ſhield were caſt aſide; and the effeminate ſoldier choſe rather to expoſe himſelf defenceleſs to the weapons of the foe, than to ſubmit to the oppreſſive weight of an armour, which his gallant anceſtor deemed his ornament. Even the neceſſary work of entrenching

trenching a camp, which the companions of Caeſar, and the partners of his glory, did not diſdain to execute with their own hands, had become the ſcorn of a delicate and indolent ſoldiery. One reſource was left to Theodoſius, and he adopted it. Thoſe Goths, whom, after a four-years war, and many a bloody conflict, he found it impracticable to exterminate, he reſolved to tempt with offers of amity and confidence: he received them into the imperial ſervice, intruſted their leaders with important commands, and aſſigned them emoluments, honours, poſſeſſions; flattering himſelf that he ſhould thus convert enemies into friends, and that the late ravagers of the Roman territories would now become the defenders of a country in which they had acquired rank and property. This expedient, the reſult probably not of choice but of neceſſity, proved however a ruinous meaſure. Acquainted with the legionary arms, and inſtructed in the Roman diſcipline, the Goths no longer felt that inferiority in war, which was owing to the want of military ſcience; they ſaw and deſpiſed a weakneſs, which they were called to protect; the Danube, no longer guarded by a reſpectable barrier, ſupplied them with continual recruits from that variety of barbarian tribes, which, though divided againſt each other by internal feuds, yet always ſhewed the utmoſt cordiality in their attacks upon the Roman empire; and theſe new confederates of Theodoſius ſoon learned to controul a government, whoſe exiſtence or diſſolution was totally in their power.

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See Veget. de re militari 1, 20.

But if all the ruinous conſequences of this fatal expedient are not to be imputed to Theodoſius, he muſt ſurely bear the whole guilt of the maſſacre at Theſſalonica. An inſurrection had broken out in this part of Greece, and in the madneſs of popular fury an imperial officer had been torn in pieces. Such an inſult to ſovereign power was not, it ſeems, to be expiated but with the extermination

A.D 390.

Soz. 8. 25. Ru. Hiſ. 18. See Gibbon, 27.

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of the Theſſalonians. A body of troops marched into Theſſalonica, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of guilt or innocence, of age, ſex, or condition. Theſe orders were executed in their fulleſt extent. And to cruelty was added perfidiouſneſs. Care was taken to remove all apprehenſion of danger from theſe devoted victims; and when the whole city, fully aſſured of the emperor's clemency, had aſſembled in the circus to enjoy a feſtive ſpectacle, theſe military ruffians were let looſe on the unſuſpecting multitude. According to ſome writers, upwards of fifteen thouſand perſons periſhed in this maſſacre. Such a violation of all the laws of juſtice and humanity would at one time have armed more than one half of Greece againſt the tyrant that durſt attempt it: but ſuch is the ſubduing power of deſpotiſm, it now ſerved only to add to the terrors, and confirm the ſervitude of this abject people; and the epiſcopal reproof of Ambroſe biſhop of Milan was the only oppoſition Theodoſius had to encounter. A penance of eight months, to which the emperor piouſly ſubmitted, was ſuppoſed to have atoned for all this bloodſhed. At the time Theodoſius reigned in the eaſt, Gratian held his imperial ſeat at Treves; Gaul, Spain, and the Britiſh iſles were ſubject to his ſway, while Valentinian, the youngeſt ſon of the late emperor Valentinian II. reigned in Italy. But Maximus of Britain having revolted againſt Gratian, and deprived him of empire and life, and Valentinian having fallen by domeſtic treachery, Theodoſius, after revenging both their deaths, remained in poſſeſſion of all the Roman dominions.

FROM the abilities and perſonal valour of Theodoſius, the empire, during his reign, maintained an appearance of vigour: the reign of his ſons re-
A D. 395. vealed the fatal ſecret of the public debility.

Warped

Warped by the fond partiality of a parent, he divided his dominions between them. To the eldeſt, Arcadius, a youth of eighteen, he bequeathed the throne of the eaſt; to the youngeſt, Honorius, aged only eleven, the weſtern empire: an appointment as unhappy to themſelves, as it was unfortunate to their people. With a natural imbecillity of mind, in which their ripening years made little alteration, and brought up in the boſom of a luxurious palace, they both ſunk into a ſlothful inactivity, the eaſy dupes of every miniſter, who had the boldneſs or the art to ſeize the reins of government, which fell from their feeble hands. The fatal partition of the imperial dominions brought on an encreaſe of calamities. The empire was weak before; divided, it was weaker. A longer line of frontier was now to be defended; and the means of defence were leſſened. Inſtead of the whole ſtrength of the empire acting in concert, an oppoſition of intereſts and counſels took place. Jealous of the ſovereign of the weſt, the court of Conſtantinople ſaw with unconcern, and even with pleaſure, the bordering nations pour the war on the weſtern provinces, and enjoyed a diſtreſs, in which their own territories were ſoon to be involved; whilſt the barbarian leaders, ſeated in the heart of the empire, many of them inveſted with offices of truſt and dignity, and in full poſſeſſion of the opportunity of marking and encouraging every internal miſchief, profited by the follies of theſe nominal princes, and on the ruins of the imperial power planned an empire of their own. A detail of the diaſtrous events that enſued belongs to another hiſtory. Here it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Roman empire in the weſt cloſed with the ignoble reign of Honorius. In leſs than fifteen years after the death of Theodoſius, Alaric, the Gothic chief, who in the days of that emperor deemed it his

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BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. his glory to follow the imperial banners, after having ſpread the ravages of war throughout Italy, compelled Rome to ſubmit to his victorious arms, and ſaw himſelf the uncontrouled arbiter of the throne of the Caeſars.

ROME, long the haughty tyrant of the world, was now made to feel, what ſhe had often impoſed, the humiliation of ſervitude. The eaſtern empire, mean while, had not eſcaped. Previous to his irruption into Italy, Alaric, at the head of his fierce bands, had attempted the dominions of the eaſt; and Greece, which ſeldom failed to ſhare largely
A.D 396. in the adverſe fortunes of her imperial maſters, was again made the ſcene of devaſtation. Hiſtory has charged Rufinus, by whom the councils of Arcadius were then directed, with the guilt of having opened Greece to the ravagers; for, if we are to believe the united teſtimony of all the writers of thoſe days, never did a more flagitious miniſter diſgrace the confidence of his ſovereign. It may however be a queſtion, whether the abandoning of Greece to the barbarians was not rather his policy than his crime. Had this impetuous torrent of war ruſhed with unſpent fury againſt the capital of the empire, the iſſue might have been doubtful. And it was poſſibly to ſave Conſtantinople, that Rufinus gave up Greece.

A CALAMITY ſo great completed the deſolation of this unhappy country. Whatever the cruelty, the avarice, the luſt, of an inſolent and brutal conqueror could inflict, Greece now experienced. Her magnificent cities became a maſs of ruins. her numerous towns were levelled with the ground, and thoſe monuments of her glory, which had hitherto been preſerved from violation, were all defaced and overthrown; while the inhabitants, either ſlaughtered by the barbarian ſword, or dragged from their homes to a life of ſlavery, left

left this once popoulous and well cultivated country a lonely waſte. Where every ſcience and every art had, during a long ſucceſſion of ages, eſtabliſhed their abode, there now reigned a melancholy ſilence; the voice of the rural pipe was no longer heard on the hills of Arcadia; and of all the noble ſtructures, which the piety, the gratitude, or the pride of ancient ages had erected, only mouldering palaces, deſolated temples, defaced inſcriptions, and mutilated ſtatues remained, at once the objects of regret and of admiration. In this humbled ſtate, with very little variation, Greece continued from the Gothic invaſion to the final overthrow of the throne of Conſtantine's ſucceſſors; her principal inhabitants being the few families, who having eſcaped to the mountains during the late inundation of the barbarians, had afterwards taken up their dwelling amidſt theſe ſequeſtered ruins, and whoſe only wealth was the produce of their hives and of the ſilk-worm[4]. Some of the emperors ſeem indeed to have remembered what Greece had been, and to have wiſhed to raiſe her again to an happier fortune. But the embarraſſments of a declining empire ſtill defeated the viſionary plan. Conſtantinople herſelf, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a faint ſhadow of imperial greatneſs. Governed moſtly by weak or oppreſſive princes, diſtracted by domeſtic factions, and what is worſe, by endleſs controverſies, which were diſgraced by all the virulence of religious diſputation, this empreſs-city ſunk by degrees into con-

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4 The ſilk-worm is ſaid to have been brought from India to Conſtantinople about the year 550. The artificers, who introduced the culture of ſilk into Sicily, from whence it paſſed into Italy, were brought from Greece by Roger the firſt king of Sicily, in 1130. The ſlow progreſs of this art may ſerve as a proof of the low ſtate of induſtry, and the difficulties of intercourſe and communication during that period.

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BOOK I. Sect. 1.

tempt with every people around her. Having neither ſecurity at home, nor ſtrength abroad, ſhe was often compelled to purchaſe, at the price of her faireſt poſſeſſions, a temporary peace from the barbarian tribes by whom ſhe was encompaſſed; who, making uſe of the very conceſſions they extorted from the fears of one prince to exact larger conceſſions from his ſucceſſor, reduced at length the extenſive dominions of this mighty empire to the narrow compaſs of a few provinces. At the ſame time, a general profligacy of manners had prevailed. Private luxury and magnificence advancing as the public fortune declined, the people, with an unfeeling levity, indulged in all the gay diſſipations of the higheſt proſperity, in the midſt of the miſeries of their country. In addition to theſe menacing appearances, the throne itſelf, always inſecure when founded in deſpotiſm, was become more precarious than ever, ſtained not unfrequently with the blood of the ſhort-lived poſſeſſor, and but too often the reward of the ſucceſsful crime of the rebel, the traitor, the ruffian; ſo that Porphyrogeneta (of imperial birth) came to be the diſtinguiſhing appellation of thoſe few emperors, who could boaſt ſo illuſtrious a parentage. Such is the melancholy ſummary of the Byzantine hiſtory, till, in the year 1453, the Othman arms put an end to this phantom of an empire.

See Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, Ch. 21.

Of the ſhock of the various revolutions, which, during this bloody period, began, advanced, and at length effected the final overthrow of the imperial throne, Greece however appears to have felt little, probably from the obſcurity of her condition. Too inſignificant to be the object of ambition, thoſe who had in view the diſmembering of the eaſtern empire, paſſed her by; beholding with indifference a land without inhabitants or cultivation; and leaving the poſſeſſion of it to any of

of the rovers of thoſe days, who were inclined to attempt a temporary ſettlement in that deſolated country. For ſome centuries, Greece even ſeems to have been altogether forgotten; or if remembered, was only conſidered as overſpread with heaps of ruins, in which human induſtry might in vain ſeek to trace any of thoſe venerable ſcenes recorded in antient ſtory. The tale of the traveller, who talked of having diſcovered the ſite of Athens, and made his way to the remains of that illuſtrious city, was heard at firſt with amazement, if not with incredulity. The report, that amidſt this rubbiſh of ages many veſtiges of the arts of antient Greece were ſtill to be deſcried, induced others to viſit this long-neglected tract; and numbers of adventurers from different countries, but eſpecially from the Italian cities, formed eſtabliſhments on various parts of the Grecian coaſt.

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3.

By degrees the modern Conſtantinople, now the capital of the Turkiſh empire, has once more aſſumed a dominion over the Grecian territory. Muſtapha the ſecond colonized anew ſeveral diſtricts of it. And at this day Greece, with her adjacent iſles, acknowledges ſubjection to the throne of the Othmans.

The preſent Greeks appear to be a mixed race, of whom few, if any, are of the antient Grecian lineage. Moſt of them have been tranſplanted into this country from different parts, and at different periods, by thoſe who were attracted by curioſity, or views of gain. In addition to theſe partial colonizations, the Othman princes have, from their firſt invaſion of Greece, at different times thrown in a conſiderable encreaſe of inhabitants. Theſe coloniſts, of every deſcription, the Turks only excepted, have long ſince coaleſced into one people, who, unmindful of their original extraction, ſeem to regard Greece as their parent-ſoil. And

it

BOOK VI. Sect. it is worthy of remark, that the Greeks of this day, whether from the influence of climate, or from having fallen into an early imitation of the manners which on their arrival they found here eſtabliſhed, bear in ſeveral particulars a ſtriking reſemblance to the antient inhabitants. Even now, inſtruments of muſic are to be met with in every hamlet, and ſong and dance are ſtill the delight of the Grecian peaſant. The Boeotians are remarked for credulity and ignorance. And among the Greeks of Attica, low as their ſtate of literature now is, we find a conſiderable ſhare of that vivacity and acuteneſs, by which the Athenians of antient times were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. More ſtrongly ſtill does their ſpeech exhibit this affinity to the Greeks of old, of whoſe language the modern Greek is a manifeſt corruption. The Turks ſtill remain diſtinguiſhed from the other inhabitants, perſevering with a lordly inflexibility in their national dreſs, language, and mode of living; in obedience poſſibly to the law of their Koran, but more probably from a contempt for the manners of a people whom they equally deſpiſe and oppreſs.

THE Goſpel was known early in Greece. Before the middle of the firſt century, Athens, Corinth, with moſt of Achaia, and many parts of Macedon, Theſſalonica, Beroea, Philippi, had been enlightened by the labours of the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles. A ſpecies of Chriſtianity[5] Greece ſtill retains, but ſuch as would move the indignation of that excellent Apoſtle[6], not leſs than did formerly the ſuperſtitious exceſſes of idolatrous Athens. A number of abſurd obſervances,

5 See Spon. Voy. de la Grece; Tournefort Voyage du Levant, Lettre 5; and Dr. Chandler's Travels into Greece, ch. 18.

6 See Acts of the Ap. 17. 16.

a paltry diſplay of the figures of ſaints and martyrs in their places of worſhip, a profound reverence for the Panagia or *mother of God*, as they ſtill blaſphemouſly ſtyle the Bleſſed Virgin, an obſtinate adherence to every opinion ſaid to have been held by their Chriſtian anceſtors, and a loquacious zeal in defending theſe opinions, as far as their ſcanty portion of learning will permit them, make up nearly the whole of what is dignified with the name of Chriſtianity by this ignorant and degraded people.

In the ſeveral arts, once the boaſt of Greece, they are equally uninſtructed; and, for the moſt part, ſeem hardly conſcious of the former glories of their country. What a Solon taught, or a Themiſtocles atchieved, Athens herſelf has long ſince ceaſed to remember. And thoſe precious monuments of the power and wiſdom of antient days, which might inrich the cabinets of princes, are now ſuffered to be ſpurned by the inſolent foot of the illiterate Janizary, or perhaps employed, like vulgar materials, in fencing an incloſure, or in repairing the dwelling of ſome turbaned exactor. The cunning and intereſted Greek may ſometimes be found to ſet an high value on the ſculptured fragment he poſſeſſes: but what taſte might be ſuppoſed to do in another, is in him the effect of avarice; he only ſeeks to enhance the price of what he wiſhes to part with; and from the earneſtneſs of the curious traveller, he judges of that which he would otherwiſe want the ſkill to eſtimate.

Of how uncertain a tenure are even the advantages of human genius! Greece, famed for arts and arms, from whoſe horizon beamed forth thoſe rays of ſcience, which have gradually illumined our European world, now ſtands in need of the inſtruction ſhe was wont to give. From thoſe

BOOK VIII. Sect. 3. those nations, whom she held most in contempt, she is at this day to learn what Greece once was. And were it not for the learned researches of the descendants of those very barbarians, whom in her age of glory she had deemed it a reproach to have numbered among her denizens, the fierce German, the unlettered Caledonian, the barbarous Briton, the rude Gaul[7], many of her most highly valued marble records had remained unread, and some of her noblest memorials had been buried in oblivion.

7 It were superfluous, and indeed scarcely possible, to mention here all the illustrious personages of these nations, to whose munificence and labours these later ages owe the many instructive monuments we possess of the atchievements and arts of antient days. To Britain's glory be it however remembered, that among her sons antient literature has found a greater number of bountiful patrons, than any other country has to boast of; and that at this very time there exists in the midst of her a society of persons, not less distinguished by their taste and public spirit, than by their opulence and noble birth, (the Dilettanti) who are employed in the generous plan of animating the studies and promoting the information of the rising generation. See Chandler's Travels, and the Ionian Antiquities, for which we are indebted to this respectable society.

THE END.

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The history of Greece

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